

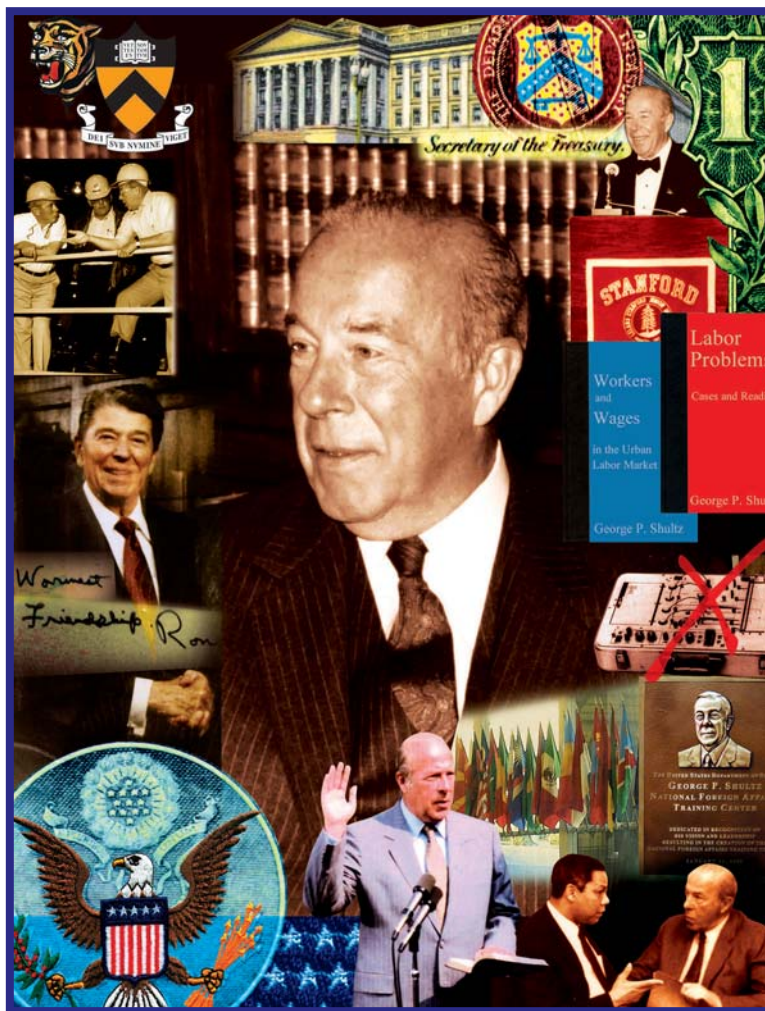
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George P. Shultz

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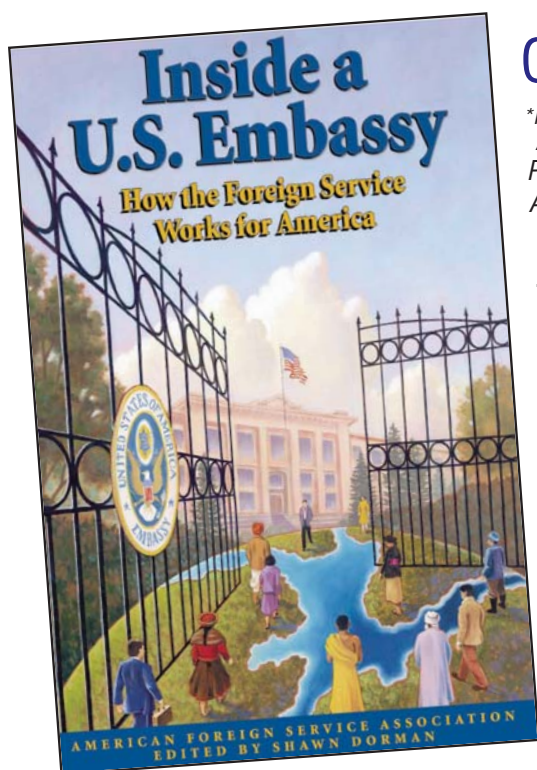
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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Exclusive Representative

BY JOHN K. NALAND

This is my penultimate column after four years on the AFSA Governing Board. While many of my columns have focused on AFSA's role (dating from 1924) as a professional association, I am honored to use this month's page to commemorate the 30th anniversary of AFSA's certification as the exclusive representative — i.e., union — of the U.S. Foreign Service.



If you are among the 30 percent of the active-duty Foreign Service who have entered on duty within the past four years, you will have heard me personally explain the significance of AFSA's union role when you attended our welcoming luncheon at AFSA headquarters. For everyone else, I will start by quoting from the Foreign Service Act of 1980:

"The unique conditions of Foreign Service employment require a distinct framework for the development and implementation of modern, constructive, and cooperative relationships between management officials and organizations representing members of the Service. Therefore, labor organizations and collective bargaining in the Service are in the public interest and are consistent with the requirement of an effective and efficient Government."

Collective bargaining means that

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

*AFSA is often
the initiator of
employee-friendly
changes in
the rules.*

management officials at the foreign affairs agencies must obtain AFSA's concurrence before they may alter any of the conditions of employment that affect Foreign Service members. Examples of negotiable issues include promotion precepts, assignment rules, commissioning and tenure rules, and time-in-class and time-in-service rules.

AFSA uses its negotiating power constructively. For example, it has been over a decade since AFSA and State Department management reached a negotiating impasse that required outside mediation. But that is not to say that we rubber-stamp management's proposals, either. Accounts of our tough negotiations can be found from time to time in the AFSA News section of this *Journal* or in our update telegrams and AFSA Net e-mails.

In addition to reacting to proposals made by agency managers, AFSA is often the initiator of employee-friendly changes in the rules. Many of our best proposals come from our members in the field. We work hard to listen to our members and active-

ly promote their interests.

Elsewhere in this month's *Journal*, you will find some fascinating articles describing how AFSA became a union three decades ago. Sitting here today, it is hard to imagine what the Foreign Service would be like had AFSA not become a union.

Much of what AFSA has accomplished for the Foreign Service was achieved either directly or indirectly because of our union status. For example, employees would likely get less bang for the buck from a non-union AFSA that could not negotiate with management on members' behalf. Fewer tangible accomplishments would probably result in a smaller membership than we currently enjoy. Fewer dues-paying members, in turn, would translate to less money available to fund key activities such as our legislative action and public outreach efforts — efforts that have accomplished much over the years.

Thankfully, AFSA did become a union 30 years ago. For that, we owe deep gratitude to the AFSA leaders and members of that era who made it happen. Some of them are named in the retrospective articles in this month's *Journal*. What I find remarkable is that many of the key players of that period — including Ambassador William Harrop, Ambassador Thomas Boyatt, F.A. "Tex" Harris, and Ambassador Herman Cohen — are still very active in AFSA right now. We owe a special debt to them for both creating and nurturing the AFSA that we know today. ■

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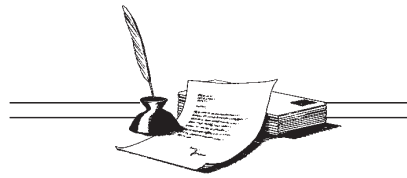
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Enjoying the Journey

John Naland got it right in his April "President's Views" column when he said, "The Foreign Service career is best viewed as being a journey rather than a destination." Simon Hankinson illustrates this attitude beautifully on the last page of the April issue in "Reflections," writing about his life in Suva and his yearning for a "Big City Fix." Hankinson acknowledges the allure of something bigger, but clearly appreciates the passage, as well.

David Casavis
U.S. Department of
Commerce
presently detailed to
Homeland Security
New York, N.Y.

Memories of James Todd

Following up on the obituary in the April *Journal* regarding the passing of James Richard Todd, I would like to add a small addendum. In the early 1960s, I was a diplomatic courier and one of our African trips included an overnight stop at Ft. Lamy, Chad (now N'Djamena). Mr. and Mrs. Todd and their daughters invariably invited us couriers to dinner during our evening in Ft. Lamy. Believe me, the welcome mat extended by the Todds was very much appreciated by all of us because by then we had been traveling in Africa (mostly by propeller aircraft) for several days.

Although nearly 40 years have

passed since those days, the expressions of kindness shown us by the Todd family have not been forgotten.

Edward H. Wilkinson
FSO, retired (on WAE to
Consular Affairs)
Springfield, Va.

Remembering Daniel Patrick Moynihan

I was a widow of a certain age on an initial consular assignment in India when Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan and his wife hosted a reception for newcomers, which I attended with my 9-year-old daughter, Nancy. All of the children were given souvenir balloons. Nancy's was purple, on a long string.

As we stood on the covered terrace of the beautiful residence, saying goodbye to the Moynihans, the balloon caught on the sharp prongs of a brass light fixture and suddenly popped. "I'm so sorry," the ambassador murmured.

"That's all right," my daughter assured him. "It's happened before."

The very tall Moynihan leaned forward. "I can see," he said gravely, "that you are a young woman of some experience."

On another occasion, an elderly Indian man, trying to ingratiate himself with me (and influence my decision on a visa for his son) submitted a 200-stanza poem he had written to honor the coming bicentennial of

the United States. The poem rarely rhymed and didn't make much sense. It was, however, the heartfelt presentation of an old gentleman who admired America and was in love with the English language.

I sent it, with a note, to the ambassador.

Days later, Moynihan, back from a hasty trip to Washington, summoned his huge staff to the conference room. He loved having an audience for his invariably witty reports on the U.S. government in action. My office was in a building connected to the chancery by an underground tunnel. I put my work on hold and raced to the meeting. Arriving late, I self-consciously dropped into the chair nearest the door.

The ambassador was reading aloud from Mr. Ramanujan's opus. His voice rose to dramatic heights, as did his leprechaun eyebrows, as he concluded with an ode to Henry Kissinger:

*You dashing healthy bachelor,
Most well-dressed and admired
ever,
Until wife Nancy stole your love
and came
To mellow your memoirs as loyal
dame.*

Moynihan then asked for "a round of applause for Ginny Carson, who brought this to my attention." My colleagues responded. I damn near floated back through that tunnel to the interview counter where a

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LETTERS



hundred visa applicants were still patiently waiting.

Another memorable time was when Moynihan was peeved at the Indians over their refusal to accept a proposed number of U.S. Fulbright scholars. He decided to close the consular section until permission was granted. Someone told him this was against regulations. "We'll close for painting, then."

Mrs. Gandhi's government got the message. The handful of requested American scholars were quickly readmitted, before any consular refurbishing could take place (alas).

Daniel Patrick Moynihan was a gem, a pixie, an unorthodox voice in a bureaucratic world. I'll never forget him.

*Virginia Carson Young
FSO, retired
Washington, D.C.*

Homesick Students

After the April snow when trees finally turn green at Columbia University, many foreign students prepare to leave campus to spend summer break at home. But this summer, many foreign students are seriously reconsidering plans to leave the U.S., because they don't know whether they can come back.

"I won't go home this summer, because I am a chemistry major, which is on their (consular lookout) list," said a Chinese student pursuing his Ph.D. at Columbia. "I really miss my family in China, but I don't want to take chance."

Since last summer, more and more foreign students and scholars who are in the middle of degree or research programs at U.S. institutions and temporarily left the U.S. have had to undergo a "security check" procedure when applying for a re-entry visa. Many of them have

waited for months before being notified of any status or results.

A database for trapped Chinese students to share information has been set up, which already includes more than 300 cases. Some students have been waiting for over 10 months.

Each year, thousands of international students and scholars come to U.S. institutions bringing academic and technological advancements that serve U.S. and global interests. Along with their American classmates and friends, international students and scholars witnessed the tragedy of 9/11: the horror has been haunting them ever since. "We stand by the U.S. policy of tightened security and appreciate her great efforts and achievements in fighting terrorism," said Jiang Zhu, president of the Chinese Students and Scholars Association of the University of California, Berkeley.

However, the current visa procedure has derailed study and research plans of many international students and scholars because the visa adjudication process is taking too long. This has caused many problems for students and U.S. institutions: significant delay in research projects; interruption of courses and examinations; loss of research funding, fellowships and/or teaching assistantships; inability to unite with family; and waste of rent, insurance, institution-paid office space, tuition, and facilities.

It is in the U.S. national interest for the visa decisions, especially for those seeking re-entry visas, to be made as quickly as possible, consistent with immigration law and homeland security concerns. The current security delays seem to be neither an effective nor a reasonable measure to boost national security, but a reflection of extreme conser-

LETTERS



vatism and discrimination against certain countries, whose citizens are never issued multiple-entry student visas. What is indeed counter-intuitive, is that the current visa security check process is actually penalizing a group of international students and scholars who have already been studying and living in the U.S. for years in good faith and character, for no reason but a temporary departure from the U.S.

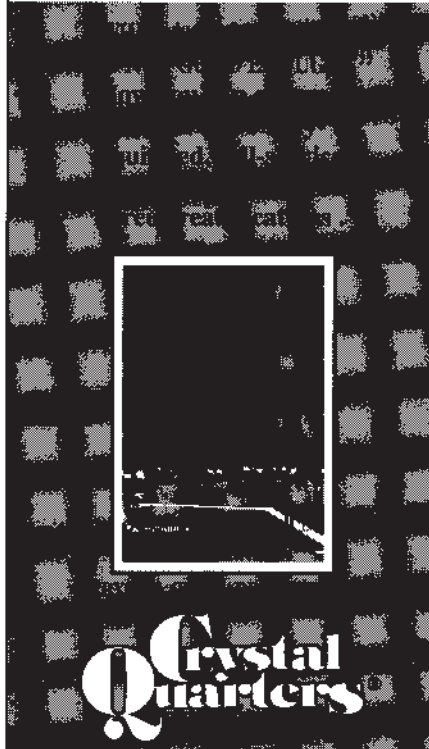
Why is this process taking so long? The Student and Exchange Visitor Information System was supposed to streamline the process. Why not set up a pre-departure clearance process for those who are already in the U.S. and need temporary departure? Answers to these questions might help to balance the efforts to facilitate international education and exchange with those to screen out visa applicants who pose a threat to the U.S.

He Huang
Alumnus of Columbia
University
New York, N.Y. ■

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The editors wish to thank Dr. Svante E. Cornell for the title of the April issue of the *Journal*, which focused on Central Asia. "Entrenched in the Steppes" was taken from the original title of Dr. Cornell's lead article for the focus section, "The U.S. Redraws the Map" (p. 18).

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CYBERNOTES

Historic Success, Unfinished Work

In January 2001, Colin Powell took over as CEO of a State Department that had been weakened by years of budget cuts and hampered by antiquated operating procedures. Secretary Powell proceeded immediately and vigorously with a wide range of steps to equip the department and the Foreign Service to meet the foreign policy challenges of the 21st century.

And, according to an independent assessment by the Foreign Affairs Council, an umbrella group of 11 organizations — including AFSA — concerned about U.S. diplomatic readiness, the Secretary and his management team have had “substantial, even historic, success” in revitalizing the machinery of U.S. diplomacy. Still, “this ambitious transformation is far from complete,” states the FAC, whose 30-page report, released at the

end of March, is available online at www.diplomatsonline.org.

Among Secretary Powell’s major accomplishments, the Council points to a strong beginning at changing the organizational culture of the State Department; securing an infusion of resources for personnel, information technology and facilities; enhancing working conditions, security and morale in the Foreign Service; and, improving State’s relations with Capitol Hill. The report spells out the background, actions taken and unfinished business in each area.

But the main focus of the forward-looking report is unfinished work. The Task Force Report contains 45 specific recommendations in 11 areas such as: ensuring that top appointees have the experience and expertise to advance U.S. interests; obtaining additional resources to strengthen diplomatic readiness; harnessing the

information revolution to serve America’s foreign policy interests; upgrading overseas facilities to reduce diplomats’ vulnerability to terrorist attack; building a broader base of domestic public understanding for the work of diplomacy; better aligning consular staffing and procedures with post-9/11 realities; further improving the State Department’s relations with Congress; and determining the future of the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Failure to accomplish the suggested reforms, the FAC states, would have serious consequences for America’s national security.

The FAC assessment was chaired by retired Ambassador Thomas D. Boyatt, and the assessment coordinator was AFSA President John K. Naland. The report was unanimously endorsed by the following FAC member organizations: AFSA, Associates of the American

Site of the Month: Best of History Web Sites

The World Wide Web is a great research tool for historians, but finding quality sites can be a tiresome chore. *Best of History Web Sites* (www.besthistorysites.net) takes away some of the guesswork by reviewing, rating and categorizing more than 800 sites devoted to different periods of human history.

Thomas Daccord, a history teacher and instructional technology consultant at the Noble & Greenough School in Dedham, Mass., does most of the research. The site has won such awards as the 2002-2003 Golden Web Award from the International Association of Webmasters and Designers, and is recommended by a number of organizations, including The National Council for the Social Studies and The British Library Net.

The home page gives links to “the best sites” devoted to

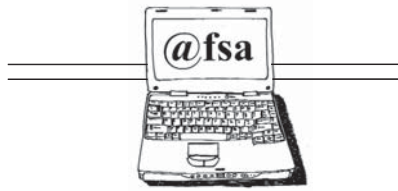
different historical periods including prehistory, medieval, U.S. history and, of course, World War II.

For example, clicking on the “Early Modern European” link takes one to a long list of rated sites, which includes titles such as “Exploring Leonardo,” “Exploring the French Revolution” and “The End of Europe’s Middle Ages.” The sites are created by organizations from around the world.

Not every period of history is covered, but *Best of History* seems to be growing rapidly in scope. More than 50 new sites were added between October 2002 and January 2003.

The site’s creators admit that reviews, by nature, are not impartial, but it is a good starting point for someone interested in learning more about history or in need of a quick reference.

— Stephen E. Mather, *Editorial Intern*



CYBERNOTES

Foreign Service Worldwide, Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, Association of Black American Ambassadors, Business Council for International Understanding, Council of American Ambassadors, Una Chapman Cox Foundation, Nelson B. Delavan Foundation, Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired, and Public Members Association of the Foreign Service, USA.

Modern Pirates

The word “pirate” conjures up images of tall ships with Jolly Roger flags and swashbuckling villains. Today’s pirates are more likely to use modern conveniences like speedboats and wield Uzi submachine guns, but they are every bit as brutal as their predecessors.

An International Chamber of Commerce report released in October 2002 showed that the number of pirate attacks is increasing. According to the report, 271 pirate attacks occurred in the first nine months of 2002, compared with 253 for the same period in 2001.

The secretary was astonished that Mr. Gingrich attacked the president. ... It’s clear that Mr. Gingrich is off his meds and out of therapy.

— Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, when asked for Colin Powell’s reaction to the former House speaker Newt Gingrich’s speech denouncing the State Department, and then for his own; *www.usatoday.com*, April 22, 2003.

Indonesia reported the highest number of attacks.

The ICC’s International Marine Bureau (www.iccwbo.org/ccs/menu_imb_bureau.asp) has a piracy reporting center in Kuala Lumpur, funded by corporate donations. The center provides free daily broadcasts alerting shipping of piracy and armed robbery incidents. Web surfers can read the weekly piracy report.

Interested in learning more about

modern pirates? The Society of International Law (Singapore) hosted a 1999 piracy seminar and a detailed summary of the proceedings is available online (<http://www.sils.org/seminar/1999-piracy-00.htm>). The site includes an informative overview of modern piracy by Jayant Abhyankar, Deputy Director of the International Maritime Bureau.

Cindy Vallar, a career librarian, has written extensively about piracy (<http://www.suite101.com/article.cfm/pirates/44096>). Clicking on the “Articles” link will take you to some 40 articles by Vallar on all aspects of piracy, both old-fashioned and modern.

— *Stephen E. Mather*

Information: A Double-Edged Sword?

The Defense Department’s Total Information Awareness project, a plan to hunt terrorists by scanning the Internet and other electronic records for suspicious behavior, has come under fire from Congress and privacy advocates.

Congress amended its January 2003 omnibus spending bill to limit spending on the controversial project. The amendment requires the Defense Department to report to Congress about potential privacy and civil liberty impacts and requires congressional approval for deployment of the program, according to a press release from the office of Senator Ron Wyden, D-Ore., who cosponsored the amendment with Sen. Russ Feingold, D-Wis.

Retired Admiral John Poindexter, infamous for his involvement in the

50 Years Ago...

Until we can achieve a deeper and more realistic understanding generally among the influential strata of this country, as to what is really involved in the process of international relations, I fear we will not succeed in reducing appreciably the number of bewildering and painful surprises our people derive from the unfolding of international events, or the instance of recrimination and bitterness on the domestic plane to which such surprises often give rise.

— George Kennan, in “Education for Statesmanship,” *FSJ*, June 1953.





Iran-Contra scandal, is responsible for TIA as Director of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency's Information Awareness Office (www.darpa.mil). The stated purpose of TIA is to look for patterns in public electronic databases that might help nab terrorists before they attack, but some observers are concerned the plans will infringe on the privacy of law-abiding citizens. The information gathered by TIA might include airline travel, spending habits and other transactions recorded on computer databases. TIA designers also hope that the system will be able to rapidly translate foreign language databases.

On its Web site, the *American Civil Liberties Union* (www.aclu.org) says TIA "may be the closest thing to a true 'Big Brother' program that has ever been seriously contem-

plated in the United States." The ACLU says that TIA would kill privacy in America, harbors a potential for abuse, veers from a tradition of limiting surveillance to those suspected of crimes and, finally, would not be effective in combating terrorism.

The TIA project home page counters the critics (www.darpa.mil/iao/TIASystems.htm). The FBI's widely reported failure to link isolated pieces of information that might have prevented 9/11 highlights the need for a system that automatically gathers and analyzes information, according to the "Frequently Asked Questions" section of the Web site. The site also says that the program would only gather publicly available information and is developing auditing systems to guard against misuse.

There is a wide variety of TIA discussion online, including a number of

shrill protest pages. One such site demonstrates the type of information that is publicly available by publishing Adm. Poindexter's home address and telephone number along with aerial photos of his house (<http://cryptotome.org/tia-eyeball.htm>).

More intellectually stimulating material is also available. A search for "total information awareness" on the Cato Institute's Web site returns a series of well-written articles by different authors, which discuss the proposed intelligence-gathering system (www.cato.org). A similar search on Wired.com also yields interesting pieces (www.wired.com).

The Electronic Privacy Information Center, an advocacy group, has a page on its site that is regularly updated with TIA news (www.epic.org). ■

— Stephen E. Mather

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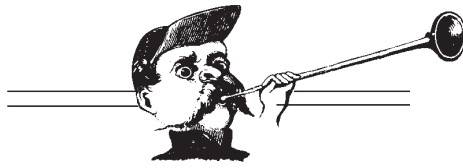
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SPEAKING OUT

Dissent Again

BY DAVID T. JONES

The Foreign Service is again mucking about in the dissent swamp. The most recent episode is the sequential resignation of three Foreign Service officers shortly before the Iraqi Freedom operation. Although each FSO proffered individual reasons for the decision, in essence each disagreed with our policy of direct military confrontation toward Iraq and left the State Department with public blasts for our objectives and dire predictions about the political consequences.

So be it; they are welcome to their opinions. And so far as resignations are concerned, we should and doubtless will have more of them. For one thing, State probably has more time-serving drones than it should. There are certainly individuals who care not what policy they implement so long as it brings them another day closer to retirement and permits them to retain jobs that cover mortgages, child support and college tuitions. So if there are those who, despite having taken the “King’s shilling” for years, even for decades, now have qualms over U.S. government action, we are better off without them — and they are better off to depart.

But the manner of dissent (with its ultimate expression of resignation) is almost as important as its substance. Nothing more becomes one than the manner of his or her departure. The classic, “gold standard” resignation was that of former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. During the extended crisis in 1979-80 following the Iranian

The manner of dissent (with its ultimate expression of resignation) is almost as important as its substance.



seizure of U.S. hostages at our embassy in Tehran, the military conceived and President Carter authorized a rescue effort. From his vantage point of total access and consummate experience, Secretary Vance opposed this effort; he was overruled. He determined that he would resign whatever the outcome of the rescue mission (it failed catastrophically), but he said nothing publicly until the mission was complete.

Against that standard, the nature of the departure for these new resignees becomes neither them nor their cause. They certainly do not get style points either for the logic of their arguments or their knowledge of particulars, regardless of the presumed purity of their hearts.

Retrospective Perspective

Traditionally, those who have opposed a particular policy at least

have had intimate experience with it. A generation ago, opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam was often stimulated by invidious experience on the ground there. A decade ago, a number of FSOs resigned over our Yugoslavia policy; without exception, they had extensive experience in the area. The annual AFSA dissent awards are presented to “boat rockers” who normally know the subject of their dissent in considerable detail. The point is obvious. To effectively rebut a position, knowledge is necessary; inchoate feelings are warm and fuzzy, but not particularly convincing.

In contrast, from what I have gathered by reading their letters of resignation, none of the three resignees had recent (if any) experience in the Middle East. Certainly none held a position associated with Middle East (let alone Iraq) policy formulation at the time of their resignation. In fact, they could hardly have been further from the circles of decision-making. Frankly, Greece, Mongolia and Georgetown University’s Institute for the Study of Diplomacy are all somewhat removed from the locus of executive authority.

It appears clear that the Bush administration came to power with no interest in acting as global policeman. Campaign rhetoric is always suspect, but it demonstrated that the White House wanted to avoid peacekeeping and nation-building in foreign affairs. It looked at some of the foreign policy conundrums (read the Middle East) and determined that they were sink-

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SPEAKING OUT



*There is no indication
that any of the three
FSOs used the Dissent
Channel.*

holes for senior-level time and energy. As a case in point, while senior-level Bush-appointed State and DOD officials surely had political/ideological differences with the Clinton administration team, they would not have suggested their predecessors lacked intelligence or energy. Thus their inability to conclude a Middle East peace despite enormous effort suggested that it belonged in the “too hard” box. Other complicated issues such as terrorism were to be “managed” — solving them was just too expensive fiscally and politically to justify the effort.

All of this changed with 9/11. Although the Clinton administration was well aware of Osama bin Laden/al-Qaida connections to the USS Cole attack and the assaults on our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, it calculated that the correct approach was to “manage” the terrorism problem. With proverbial 20/20 hindsight, who would not have done more? Yet who in 1998 would have supported a mission comparable to that undertaken in Afghanistan three years later?

As our calculation of risk has changed, so, too, has our willingness to pay the price. It was not that Saddam was a uniquely unpleasant individual or Iraq a uniquely unpleasant regime. It was the conjunction of

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Saddam with weapons of mass destruction that the administration regarded as uniquely threatening. Senior U.S. leadership, drawing on the full panoply of intelligence, concluded that the reports of Iraqi WMD were accurate and reached the judgment that they would be used against us (later if not sooner). They bet their careers on these determinations.

The Dissent Spectrum

Nobody in 21st-century U.S. society blindly follows orders. Waste, fraud and abuse “hot lines” and recourse to the State Department’s Inspector General are vital elements of the modern Foreign Service. We may not regard these mechanisms as “dissent,” but they are one facet of the dissent spectrum. Moreover, those who feel strongly about a substantive position can “take a footnote” in an embassy reporting or analytical telegram.

Nor is there any indication from the resignation letters or public commentary that the resignees exercised their right to use the Dissent Channel. A mechanism unique to the Department of State, the Dissent Channel is designed to raise policy concerns by subordinate officers to the most senior levels in the department with assured confidentiality. (This channel was born in 1971 as a reflection of Foreign Service disquiet over Vietnam; it has been used persistently, if not extensively, in intervening years.) While few officers using the channel have come away with the vindication of having reversed U.S. policy, it has given Foreign Service personnel an opportunity to participate in the process. But there is no indication that any of the three officers employed this option, either.

If the dissenters had uncovered intelligence that clearly demonstrated there were no chemical or biological

weapons in Iraq, or that they had all been comprehensively destroyed, they would have had a duty to bring this evidence forward. Likewise, if they had evidence that the “intelligence” had been fabricated and specific elements of Secretary Powell’s briefing to the U.N. Security Council were systematic lies, it would have been pure patriotism to reveal such duplicity. But these were not the dissenters’ claims.

Likewise, if the dissenters had strong evidence to refute the depiction of Saddam as a bloody-handed tyrant, such material would have been vital. If, for example, Iranians rather than Iraqis used nerve gas on the Kurds, or there were no torture chambers in Iraq and the reports were propaganda constructs by Saddam’s domestic opponents, that would have been vital information — but the dissenters did not so suggest.

Instead, they took their stance on the much softer ground that action against Iraq would damage our relations with various countries, some friendly and others not; that it is generating global anti-Americanism and “ill will,” would be an “unjustified” use of force, etc.

Obviously, they believed themselves more insightful and witting (despite their distance from the intelligence judgments and calculations) than those at senior levels who believed otherwise. Forgive me if, even at the cynical age of 60-plus, I remain more willing to accept the administration’s credibility than the dissenters’ demurrals.

I do not know how long the officers in Greece and Mongolia were assigned overseas; all appear to have spent the majority of their careers outside the United States. It may be that they lost touch with the degree to which we are no longer willing to accept the judgments of others



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SPEAKING OUT



Ultimately, there is a certain arrogance to dissent. It goes beyond the dissenters' mindset that senior officials can listen to, evaluate, and then reject their conclusions.



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regarding the threats directed at us. This distinct change in the U.S. national character, stimulated by 9/11, is one that foreigners, expatriate Americans or government officials long stationed overseas may appreciate intellectually but not viscerally.

Alternatively, they would not be the first FSOs to have succumbed to "localitis" and come to accept as verities the complaints of those who have their own, rather than our, interests in their minds and mouths. In passing, one also recalls the OAS denunciations when U.S. action removed Noriega from power in Panama; it has been a long time since any of these states has petitioned for his return.

Although we would have preferred it otherwise, significant numbers of states opposed our objective of eliminating Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Some opposed us because their preference was indeed for Saddam Hussein and his regime. Others simply opposed our objec-



tives because they were *our* objectives. Their laments, in the end, seemed less that we sought to eliminate Iraq's WMD than that we wouldn't do it in a way that satisfied their sensibilities. Their insistence that the United Nations was the only acceptable mechanism for addressing the problem was akin to insisting that a boulder must be moved with a toothpick — or not moved at all. Thus their major complaint appeared to be that we have the power to act in our own interests and the will to do so; we act to make history rather than wait to have history act upon us.

We tried very hard to avoid war; but we declined to accept lies as truth, and Iraq declined to alleviate our concerns. War is never an easy answer. Nor does it solve every question. But war has indeed solved some particularly nasty problems and — most recently — it solved the problem of the Taliban regime as a state sponsor of terrorism. And the United States has now resolved its Iraq problem — whatever new problems may emerge.

Ultimately, there is a certain arrogance to dissent. We are so adroit at symbol manipulation, verbal and written, that we come to believe that being listened to equates to being agreed with. Thus, if someone does not accept your position, it simply means that they have not listened to you. It goes beyond the dissenters' mindset that senior officials can listen to, evaluate, and then reject their conclusions.

But in the end, if U.S. government policy is an unacceptable course of action for an American diplomat, well, goodbye, and "Don't let the door hit you on the way out." ■

David Jones, a retired Senior Foreign Service officer, is a frequent contributor to the Journal.

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AFSA BECOMES A UNION: THE REFORMERS' VICTORY

Thirty years ago, Bill Harrop hung on the AFSA president's wall a triptych of letters from the Secretary of State, the USAID director and the USAID administrator, attesting that the American Foreign Service Association was the labor representative of the Foreign Service. The framed letters still hang proudly there today, symbolizing the commitment of the members of the Foreign Service to improve American diplomacy and their careers.

Establishing new systems to meet the challenges facing the Foreign Service has always been hard work, starting with the establishment of the federal Civil Service in the 1880s. It remained a complex task when President Woodrow Wilson promulgated an executive order regulating the Diplomatic Service and when the Foreign Service Act (commonly known as the Rogers Act) of 1924 was passed, unifying the Diplomatic and Consular Services. And it was still a struggle in 1971-72, when AFSA worked with State Department management to develop a unique labor management system for the Foreign Service.

AFSA did so against the backdrop of the Vietnam War, which elevated Foreign Service staffing levels, especially in the U.S. Agency for International Development, to record highs in order to staff pacification efforts in Vietnam. The war not only spawned widespread protests at home but fueled calls for major changes in the Foreign Service — many of them outlined in “Toward a Modern

Diplomacy,” a manifesto issued in 1968 by a group of AFSA “Young Turks,” led by Lannon Walker, Charlie Bray and Dean Brown.

The “Young Turks” sought to expand the connections between the Foreign Service and Americans involved in foreign affairs and to modernize the Service's personnel system. The “Participation Slate” Governing Board, led boldly by Bill Harrop, approached the modernization task, it became clear that the need to create a system of independent review of personnel system decisions was a critical factor in forcing change. The foreign affairs agencies, alone in the federal government, did not have an independent grievance system; all grievances filed under Section 3 of the Foreign Affairs Manual were decided by the good (or bad) judgment of the agencies' own senior personnel officers. In other words, those who issued the regulations were also the final judges of their application. Moreover, key issues, such as promotion, assignment and selection-out, were non-reviewable.

These injustices were personified by the tragic April 1971 suicide of FSO Charles Thomas whom many, including the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, felt had been the victim of a series of errors by the State Department's personnel evaluation and promotion system. Thomas was involuntarily retired for time in class and denied the right to review the contents of his own personnel file and correct errors and omissions. A key senior inspector's report recommending his immediate promotion was not seen by the boards as it had been misfiled.

AFSA'S “YOUNG TURKS” AND
“PARTICIPATION SLATES” RECOGNIZED
THAT PRESIDENT NIXON'S FEDERAL
LABOR-MANAGEMENT REFORMS OF
THE EARLY 1970S PROVIDED THE
MECHANISM TO EXPAND INTO A LABOR
UNION. HERE IS HOW THEY DID IT.

BY TEX HARRIS

Thomas' death became the focal point for congressional action, led by his home-state senator, Birch Bayh Jr., D-Ind., who introduced sweeping grievance legislation based on work done by AFSA's legal committee, led by Marion Nash. (Other committee members were Tex Harris, Bill Salisbury, Terry Leitzell, Erland Heginbotham, Sam Parleman, Dick Higgins, Rick Melton and Dick Williams.) State's managers were outraged by the Bayh Bill, which they saw as gutting their ability to run the Foreign Service, and moved quickly to block it by contending that the new grievance system should be negotiated between the foreign affairs agencies and the (as yet undesignated) labor union, rather than legislated.

Another factor driving support for AFSA's unionization was frustration with the inequities that characterized the treatment of Foreign Service personnel in the field. For example, in 12,000-foot-high La Paz, Bolivia, senior officers got oxygen bottles for their personal use, while junior officers and specialists just had to breathe hard. In addition, many diplomatic privileges and immunities, such as exemption from local sales tax and duty-free entry of vehicles and spirits, were denied to specialists outright.

Many Foreign Service employees, led by labor officer Hank Cohen and Staff Corps (specialist) representatives Barbara Good and John Ivie, saw that AFSA could work

F. Allen ("Tex") Harris is AFSA Governing Board secretary and has twice served as its president and twice as vice president. An FSO from 1964 until 1999, he served in Caracas, Buenos Aires, Durban, Melbourne and Washington, D.C. For his reporting (in and out of channels) on the Argentine "Dirty War" he received AFSA's Rickin Award for constructive dissent by a mid-level officer in 1984 and, some 15 years later, the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award (its highest award). The AFSA award for dissent by a Foreign Service specialist is named after him. Harris was the first person fired from the Reagan administration's Environmental Protection Agency for zealously promoting the idea internationally that chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) destroy upper atmospheric ozone. Since retiring from the Service, he has lectured and consulted.

The Vietnam War not only spawned widespread protests at home but fueled calls for major changes in the Foreign Service.

more effectively to end those disparities if it were a union. Indeed, a campaign spearheaded by AFSA's Members' Interests Committee, led by Ted Wilkinson, would eventually lead to establishment of the Office of Foreign Missions, which gave the State Department itself the needed leverage through reciprocity to get equal treatment for all U.S. employees stationed abroad.

AFSA also joined forces at this time with women's groups to pressure State to rescind its discriminatory policies against female FSOs, who had to resign their commissions if they married and routinely faced unfair treatment in assignments and promotions. And on an institutional level, AFSA was battling against the business-supported Magnuson Bill, intended to strip the overseas commercial function from State and send it to the Department of Commerce; resisting U.S. Information Agency Director Frank Shakespeare's insistence on personally making the final selection of threshold promotions to the Senior Foreign Service from a list of qualified candidates identified by selection boards; and working to modify the Peterson Report's recommendations for reorganizing USAID.

Executive Orders

As if all that was not enough on AFSA's plate, the Office of Management and Budget promulgated Executive Order 11491 in October 1969 to implement President Nixon's decision to establish a formal labor-management system for federal workers. So after 45 years as a professional and fraternal organization, AFSA suddenly had to decide whether to reconstitute itself as a labor union and contest elections against the American Federation of Government Employees, an AFL-CIO union, to represent Foreign Service employees in State, USAID and USIA.

The Charles Bray/Bill Harrop-led AFSA Governing Board voted overwhelmingly in 1970 for AFSA to seek exclusive representation of Foreign Service employees. One board member, Bill Bradford, resigned in protest, arguing that a labor union would both divide the Service and distance it from the White House. He was far from alone in that view. But the majority "Young Turks" on the board saw that meaningful reform of the Foreign Service

The Macomber Era, 1969-73

During this period of challenge and reform, the Department of State was managed with energy and vision by Amb. William Butts Macomber. Appointed as the under secretary for administration (later renamed management) in 1969, Macomber came to the job extremely well prepared. A fast-talking, overactive, passionate Yankee Republican, he had already put in long years of service in Foggy Bottom, having twice headed State's office of congressional affairs (1957-1961 and 1967-1969) and having served as the U.S. ambassador to Jordan in the early 1960s.

Macomber knew the department inside and out, cared about it, and wanted change. The demands for major reforms from AFSA's Young Turks, and later by the Harrop and Boyatt Participation Slates, made great sense to Macomber, who already wanted to break the State Department out of its "old boy" rut and had the wide-reaching personal connections on the Hill and in the White House needed to achieve change. Most importantly, he enjoyed the trust of Secretary of State William Rogers, who was dealing with Vietnam and myriad other major foreign policy issues and was only too happy to delegate management of the department. (It helped that Macomber's wife, Phylliss Bernau, was Rogers' longtime personal assistant.)

Deputy Secretary of State John "Jack" Irwin, a New York corporate lawyer who was carrying the portfolios of two ailing under secretaries in addition to his own duties, also deferred to Macomber. In a fine moment, Irwin, who was the "go-to" guy at State for President Nixon and his key staffers, stood up to the president's personal demand that a group of Foreign Service officers be disciplined for participating in protests against the Vietnam War.

Macomber had a vision not only for reforming the department, but also for changing the way American

diplomacy was conducted. An energetic, demanding doer who could charm or ream as needed to get things done, he quickly recognized the utility of the AFSA "Young Turk" and "Participation" reform agendas — and the need to involve everyone in the reform process. So he drafted hundreds of State Department Foreign and Civil Service employees to serve on a dozen task forces exam-

ining almost every aspect of how the department conducted its business. Each group produced scores of recommendations which, after careful vetting by Macomber and a ritual blessing by Rogers and Irwin and the Board of the Foreign Service, eventually formed part of an action blueprint set forth in a fat green book boldly titled *Diplomacy for the 70s*. The proposals introduced the cone system and open bidding for jobs, emancipated wives from ratings and unpaid work, mandated

gender equality, provided for due process in evaluations, allowed officers to see their "secret" performance appraisals and much more.

FSOs Sam Lewis and Chris Petrow were tasked by Macomber to shepherd the implementation of the proposals through a skeptical bureaucracy. Huge tracking charts papered Macomber's office walls reporting on each proposal's progress from idea to FAM regulation. Regular status reports were issued to every State employee from the Secretary on down. The bureaucracies in Personnel and Administration, who were lukewarm at best to these reforms, were challenged to implement scores and scores of new proposals. They watered a lot down, but many major new ideas were forced through. It was Bill Macomber's finest achievement, which he detailed after retirement in a small book titled *Angel's Game*.

Atop Macomber's desk were numerous other ticking bombs. One was President Nixon's 1969 Executive Order

Macomber had a vision not only to reform the Department, but also to change the way American diplomacy was conducted.

11491, mandating that labor-management relations be conducted on a Civil Service model throughout the federal government. Macomber recognized the need to create an alternative template to fit the unique Foreign Service personnel and administrative system, and worked with AFSA to achieve it. Another was an issue that Macomber (and his wife Phyliss) felt especially passionately about: reversing the entrenched policies of gender discrimination within the Foreign Service, which still required female FSOs to resign upon marriage.

Macomber's personal commitment to reform was enhanced by his detailed, hands-on knowledge of the department and embassy operations. Although he held many of the "gentleman's" views of his generation about the absolute primacy of service to the president and the Secretary of State, he also recognized the failings of the department's management systems. In the end, he was able to orchestrate and energize the resources of the department to outflank the frozen decision-making channels of the "old boy" system.

In all these battles, AFSA was Macomber's strategic ally, but sometimes his tactical enemy. For example, AFSA strongly supported the grievance legislation introduced by Sens. Birch Bayh, D-Ind., and John Sherman Cooper, R-Ky., in response to the tragic suicide of FSO Charles Thomas, while Macomber was an implacable foe. But while such bureaucratic conflicts were always fiercely fought, they were waged deep inside the new territory of reform.

I remember a one-on-one meeting I had with Macomber to discuss the need for an impartial grievance system. We ended up shouting at each other at the top of our lungs, and the veins stood out in his neck in anger. As I left his office, his staff aide rushed up and told me angrily, "You don't talk to the under secretary of management that way." But the next day Macomber approached me in the cafeteria, slapped me on the back, and commented on what a good discussion we'd had. He then exclaimed that we needed to meet again soon. We did.

Bill Macomber was a great piece of work. He cared. And the State Department and the Foreign Service are the better for it.

— *Tex Harris*

could only come about once AFSA became a union.

Although AFSA and State each had incentives to seek quick union elections, the path ahead was anything but smooth, as both sides grappled with the myriad difficulties in applying E.O. 11491 to the Foreign Service. For management, the hardest provision to swallow was that the Secretary of State would no longer be in complete charge of the Foreign Service, as provided for in the 1924 Rogers Act. Outside labor appeal and grievance boards, not just the tame, in-house Board of the Foreign Service, would be empowered to make decisions overturning the Secretary's decisions. This was heresy.

Parallel concerns surfaced for the many AFSA members who were uncomfortable with the idea of applying a Civil Service framework to the Foreign Service, and disliked the fact that the executive order placed the Foreign Service's union in an adversarial posture to the Secretary of State, whom they saw as someone well above the give-and-take of the labor-management bargaining table. The view that a better executive order tailored for the Foreign Service could be crafted was accepted by AFSA "Young Turk" leaders Bill Harrop, Ted Eliot and Charlie Bray, and eventually by Under Secretary for Management Bill Macomber. Supported by Secretary of State William Rogers, Macomber led the fight within the administration (taking on OMB, OPM, the White House and Congress) for a separate executive order to address the unique circumstances of the Foreign Service. (See sidebar.)

There were many serious technical problems with E.O. 11491. Precisely because it was intended for Civil Service employees, its effect on overseas Foreign Service personnel was undefined. The executive order also excluded all supervisors (defined as anyone who signed off on annual leave) from being represented by the union, as well as anyone in intelligence or audit work — which potentially meant that over half of the Service would be excluded from union representation.

Further, E.O. 11491 envisioned a grievance system in which the union represented each person in the bargaining unit on all cases unless it expressly waived that right. This was anathema to State's management. It also envisioned many smaller functional bargaining units around the world, which made little sense in the Foreign Service with its tradition of "rank in person," high mobility and centralized administration. Bargaining on small issues at every post in the world was not the model the Foreign Service wanted to adopt.

F O C U S

Moreover, the Civil Service's executive order focused on the negotiation of fixed contracts every year or two to define the working conditions for employees — such as shift duty, lunch hours and office arrangements. In sharp contrast, Bill Harrop and Tom Boyatt, the leaders of AFSA's "Participation Slate" Governing Boards, envisioned a rolling set of negotiations in which all major personnel policies — including promotions, specialization, training, transfers, aspects of assignments, etc. — would be subject to bargaining. AFSA wanted real participation for Foreign Service



Tex Harris and his wife Jeanie in the mid-1970s ... and in 2003.



members in the process of setting the rules that governed their careers and, most importantly, their profession.

Bill Harrop's vision, in particular, was crystal-clear and steadfast throughout. He wanted to guarantee the highest professional standards for the Foreign Service and insure the fairness of the personnel system through the participation of Service members in making the key decisions. His Ivy-League, eastern ease, which allowed him to make these radical ideas palatable to the State Department's senior leadership, was key to AFSA's successes. Even when he fought against the department, he was always seen as being principled and professional. The "Young Turks" started the revolution, but the two suc-



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cessive "Participation Slates" led by Bill Harrop and by the smart and hard-charging Tom Boyatt made it succeed.

AFSA's leadership met numerous times with Under Secretary Macomber to discuss these problems. The ground for procedural reform and employee participation

had already been tilled by an earlier major management effort led by Macomber that AFSA strongly supported. He had organized 13 reform task forces in which scores of State employees produced hundreds of recommendations to reorganize the State Department and improve its personnel and administrative systems. Some critics charged that these task forces were designed to put a "human face" on the implementation of key management decisions that had already been taken. But the initiative was more than that. It was, in fact, a sweeping effort to change and modernize how the Department of State did its work and how it treated its employees in Washington and overseas.

After vetting by Secretary Rogers, the Macomber Task Force proposals were issued in February 1972 as a blueprint for "Diplomacy for the 70s." This would eventually lead to the introduction of job bidding, new tenuring rules and, most importantly, the introduction of cones. (Previously, most FSOs were "generalists" who moved from job to job without a functional specialty. The "cone system" was established to curtail the surplus of "general-

A Final Salute

Negotiating a grievance system for the Foreign Service took over three years of effort by several AFSA Boards. A negotiated grievance system was finally signed in March 1976 by AFSA President Lars Hyde and Management Under Secretary Larry Eagleburger. At the eighth-floor signing ceremony, Eagleburger saw a small group of AFSA grievance negotiators in the back of the room. After signing the document, "the Eagle" looked up and subtly extended his middle finger across his tie as a final salute in a long battle.

— *Tex Harris*

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ist” political officers and more easily allow management to fill Service needs in some 17 recognized specialties, particularly in the consular and administrative functions.)

On Jan. 14, 1971, AFSA Chairman Bill Harrop, AFSA President (and State’s Executive Secretary) Ted Eliot and former AFSA Chairman (and then-press spokesman for the department) Charlie Bray met with Secretary of State Rogers to present him with AFSA’s plan for alternative arrangements for labor management relations for the Foreign Service.

Shortly thereafter, Macomber announced that the State Department had proposed to the White House that the Foreign Service be exempted from E.O. 11491, and unveiled a seven-point plan to allow greater participation in the Foreign Service bargaining unit. The cornerstone of this alternative approach was a provision that any deadlocked issues in labor management bargaining be appealed to the Board of the Foreign Service for resolu-

tion, subject to final approval by the Secretary of State, USIA director and USAID administrator.

The AFSA “Young Turk” Governing Board (now run by Bill Harrop as Charlie Bray had moved on to be the department’s press spokesman) agreed to this. AFSA’s titular president, Ted Eliot, chaired a Feb. 8 town hall meeting to explain its decision. Bill Harrop and I detailed the failure of E.O. 11491 to meet the Service’s needs and the benefits of management’s proposal. Bob Maxim then spoke for the Junior Foreign Service Officers Club in favor of the original executive order. After well over an hour of lively debate had passed, John Ray of the “Ad Hoc Committee for the Executive Order” offered a “sense of the meeting” resolution that the Governing Board should withdraw its agreement to the seven-point proposal. Instead, Eliot announced that a referendum would be conducted of all AFSA members, to be followed by another general meeting. He then gavelled the meeting to a

AFSA’s Early Lobbying for Members’ Interests

In 1972 AFSA was elected to represent the Foreign Service in State, USAID and USIA. AFSA President Tom Boyatt and I called on Rep. Wayne Hays, D-Ohio, to lobby him for passage of a number of members’ interests issues that had been blocked by State management or OMB.

Hays was one of the powers in the House of Representatives. As chairman of the House Administration Committee, he personally decided everything dealing with the running of the House, from granting office space to hiring the elevator operators who pushed the buttons. Rep. Hays also headed the House International Affairs subcommittee, with oversight of the operations of the State Department and USIA. AFSA had testified before his subcommittee the year before, seeking grievance legislation for the Foreign Service, which he had blocked.

Tom Boyatt and I arrived on time and were left to cool our heels for a long time in the chairman’s busy front office, which looked like the sweater competition for the Miss America pageant. Finally, we were shown into his office, which was a decorator’s showplace. Soft buttercup walls were hung with European masterpieces next to heirloom furniture; we entered the room stunned by its elegance. Hays did not rise from behind his elegant desk, but looked up at us with eyes squeezed into slits and rasped, “What do you sons of bitches

want today? If it is grievance legislation, you will have to wait until hell freezes over.”

Tom replied with great courtesy that we had not come to ask for grievance legislation, but for a kindergarten allowance for Foreign Service children that State’s managers had agreed to but was being blocked by the bean-counters at OMB. Hays looked up and said flatly, “I will give you that.” He then pushed his intercom and asked his special assistant to come in. “What else is on your list?” he asked us.

Tom went down the list of a dozen items. On about two-thirds of them, the chairman nodded agreement, not to us, but to his special assistant, and offered comments about the skinflints at OMB. On a few items, such as overtime for staff and junior officers, Hays ranted against the proposal and then turned his attention back to the list.

When we finished, Chairman Hays berated us again for seeking grievance legislation for the Foreign Service, but promised that the bread-and-butter items he had agreed to would be in the authorization legislation for the Foreign Service.

And they were. AFSA had discovered its legislative role, taking the Foreign Service’s needs directly to Congress outside of the agencies and OMB channels.

— *Tex Harris*

close, on the ground that the allotted time had been exceeded, to a chorus of boos and cries of “shame.”

Some 2,241 of AFSA's active members, from clerks to ambassadors, participated in a worldwide referendum that was completed on March 31, 1971. The results were clear-cut: 86 percent favored AFSA's seeking exclusive representation on behalf of all Foreign Service employees, and 59 percent of those voting supported the seven-point proposal. AFSA informed the Federal Labor Relations Council of the referendum results and urged the council to issue comprehensive regulations, pointing out that a grievance system was still missing.

Meanwhile, the AFSA Governing Board had established a “Committee of Forty,” which I chaired, to draft a new executive order for the Foreign Service. (The committee had only about a half-dozen active members besides Harris, notably Rick Melton and Jack Binns, but 40 people did attend its initial meeting.) A detailed draft E.O. was prepared, approved by the Governing Board, and presented to Under Secretary Macomber on May 25, 1971, and to a receptive AFSA open meeting three days later. AFSA and the Junior Foreign Service Officer Club then circulated a petition worldwide in support of the new E.O., which garnered 1,200 signatures, including those of seven ambassadors.

Several months of discussions followed between management and AFSA, assisted by labor expert Tom Byrne and Jim Michael from the Legal Adviser's office. By June, agreement was reached on the preamble, definitions, and who was in the union (almost everyone below the deputy assistant secretary level), but not on any of the core issues such as the scope of bargaining, who would decide appeals and a grievance system. Similar discussions were being conducted with AFGE. Clearly there was a long way to go.

Battling for the Bayh Bill

In June 1971, Sens. Birch Bayh, D-Ind., John Sherman Cooper, R-Ky., and 21 co-sponsors took the grievance bill that had been drafted by AFSA's Legal Committee and introduced it as legislation in the Senate (S. 2023). Rep. Lee Hamilton, D-Ind., introduced it in the House (HR 9188). This sent a shock wave through the State Department, as the “Bayh Bill” would have mandated the right to a hearing, access to all relevant records, grievance rights for limited appointees and probationers, open hearings and, most threatening to management, final decisions made by an impartial grievance board.

While Under Secretary Macomber (who had twice before headed State's Legislative Affairs office) used his connections on the Hill to stall the measure, State instituted an Interim Grievance Board in December 1971, which decided 286 cases before disbanding in March 1976. This in-house system provided limited grievance review under a management-appointed panel subject to reversal by the Secretary of State.

As a major stalling tactic, the department argued that the new permanent grievance system should not be legislated, but should be negotiated between the foreign affairs agencies and the employees' elected exclusive representative. AFSA responded that fundamental due process rights, such as the right to a hearing, an independent panel, access to relevant documents, the right to call witnesses, and the right of appeal, must all be statutorily protected. The Charles Thomas Legal Defense Fund, supported by AFGE, was also very active in lobbying on the Hill in favor of the bill.

The terms of the debate were set. But the department's argument was based on there being an elected employee representative in place with whom to negotiate a grievance system. Foot-dragging on union elections threatened the department with a congressionally-mandated grievance system, which in management's eyes was even worse than having to deal with a union.

Adding pressure, on May 3, 1972, the *Washington Post* editorialized that “the Foreign Service continues to be Washington's most troubled bureaucracy” and urged Congress to pass the Bayh Bill. A week later, at the urgings of Sens. Cooper and Bayh, the Senate added a mandated grievance system to the Department of State's FY 1972 authorization bill.

State promptly agreed to accept grievance legislation based on its limited Interim Grievance System, with all board members to be appointed by the Secretary of State with the concurrence of the union. On June 15, 1972, the State/USIA authorization bill was reported out of the conference committee without the grievance legislation, but with the promise that the House would hold hearings on the issues involved. The Senate then quickly repassed the Bayh-Cooper Grievance Bill as stand-alone legislation and sent it to the House for action.

On July 18, AFSA President Bill Harrop, Tex Harris and Bill Salisbury testified on the grievance legislation before the House State Department Organization Subcommittee, chaired by Rep. Wayne Hays, D-Ohio.

(See sidebar, p. 24.) That subcommittee held further hearings on grievance legislation in the fall with Under Secretary Macomber and federal labor management experts testifying, but the House eventually adjourned without ever considering the Senate's bill.

Though State and the other foreign affairs agencies won the battle against the Bayh Bill, they lost the war, for they had to allow the formation of unions.

The Revolution That Succeeded

By the late 1960s, the Foreign Service was seen even by its own members as a deeply flawed institution. To be sure, it continued to be staffed by “the best and brightest” and ably served the pressing national security needs of the nation during the Cold War. But it was an institution in which the sum of its parts was lessened, not enhanced, by its antiquated systems and practices — that succeeded only because of the brilliance and dedication of its members. It seemed that the Foreign Service had lost its way, turned inward and

become a static and repressive bureaucracy that had failed to keep up with the times.

Thankfully, that “old” Foreign Service was overturned in a truly revolutionary five-year period, beginning with the 1969 takeover of AFSA's Governing Board by the “Young Turks,” followed by the focused activism of the Participation Slates, led by Bill Harrop and Tom Boyatt. Their advocacy of empowering Foreign Service members to reform the Service became a reality through the hard work of many men and women over the succeeding years. Hundreds participated in the Macomber Task Forces and in the AFSA Participation Committees around the world. People in posts around the world gladly gave their time and their effort to support the reform work under way. For example, Sam Hart, AFSA's chapter head in Santiago, initiated an effort to negotiate a “fair duty” roster there — an unprecedented challenge to the status quo. Such activism in reforming Foreign Service practices was seen as the key to a stronger and fairer Service for all, and so it turned out to be.

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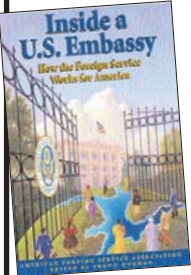
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Equally important, AFSA's "Young Turks" and "Participation" advocates recognized that President Nixon's federal labor-management reforms of this era provided the mechanism for AFSA to expand what had been a professional and social organization into a labor union — one dedicated both to preserving the unique merit-based principles of the Foreign Service and to establishing a formal system of bargaining in which employees could participate actively in the development of the rules and regulations that governed their profession and their careers. This dual approach was the key to the AFSA revolution.

Today, the labor management institutions that were built during that revolutionary period are the most broadly-based within the federal government. Unlike other federal unions, which are prohibited from representing most supervisors, the Foreign Service labor-management system encompasses large numbers of executives and managers, including many former ambassadors and other senior-level personnel.

Reflecting the wide range of its members' interests and

concerns, AFSA conducts bargaining on all the major issues affecting careers and benefits, and does so on a rolling basis each year. Contrast this with the Civil Service system, where the major national regulations are fixed unilaterally by the Office of Personnel Management and are not negotiable at the agency level. As a result, most Civil Service bargaining only takes place every year or two and focuses on local implementation of government-wide rules.

Similarly, grievances within the Foreign Service are pursued by employees themselves with the assistance of AFSA. In the Civil Service, almost all grievances are brought by the unions on behalf of the employees for the violation of some local contract provision. In other words, it is the unions who are the major grievants in the Civil Service System for breaches of the contract, not the employees.

The "Young Turks" and Participation Slate members are now grandfathers and grandmothers, but they have given birth to a lasting and vital legacy in the Foreign Service and molded their vision into a dynamic reality. ■

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AFSA BECOMES A UNION: FOUR BATTLES

I have read with appreciation and zest the wonderful recollections of Tex Harris and Hank Cohen elsewhere in this issue about that very creative period three decades ago when AFSA became a union. Those were indeed heady days, when our joint efforts, and those of many colleagues, permanently changed the Foreign Service for the better. As we look back on those events, however, each of us — like the aging samurai in “Roshamon” — remembers the reality slightly differently. Here is how I saw it.

The years 1971-73 witnessed four major battles for the future of the Foreign Service: the fight over the form that white-collar unionism would take in the Service; the AFSA Governing Board elections of 1971; the elections for exclusive employee representation in State, USAID and USIA in 1972-73; and the struggle to bring the managements of those agencies to the bargaining table in good faith thereafter.

The protagonists in all four battles came from the following four groups. On the far left (for lack of a better term) was the American Federation of Government Employees. AFGE, affiliated with the AFL-CIO, favored a union structure that excluded all “managers” (which meant almost all Foreign Service officers, according to their definition) from the bargaining unit, and focused strictly on typical shop-steward issues: allowances, working conditions, etc. This was the system embodied in E.O. 11491, which then governed Civil Service federal employees in

other government departments where AFGE was the exclusive employee representative. AFGE's position was also driven by the knowledge that it would lose any representation election in which FSOs could participate.

The next set of protagonists, moving toward the center, was a group of FSOs based on the Junior Foreign Service Officers Club led by Bob Maxim and Lars Hydle. Like AFGE, the JFSOC wanted the Foreign Service union structure to closely parallel the Civil Service structure, a la E.O. 11491. They also rejected as a “cop-out to paternalism” the discussions of the Charles Bray-led AFSA Governing Board with Under

Secretary for Management Bill Macomber in 1971 about a union structure controlled by the Secretary of State. This group formed the nucleus of the “Members’ Interests Slate” that ran in the AFSA elections of 1971-72.

Occupying the center was a new iteration of the “Young Turks.” Reform-minded FSOs such as Bill Harrop and Tex Harris, both members of the

incumbent Bray Board, were joined by a group more clearly identified with support for a union system independent of State management and based on a friendly but adversarial labor-management relationship; these included myself, Hank Cohen, Jim Holmes and others. This group became known as the “Participation Slate.”

Our members had the major influence on the details of the new union structure eventually published as E.O. 11636; contested and narrowly won the hard-fought 1971-72 AFSA elections; defeated AFGE

AFSA'S VICTORIES 30 YEARS AGO PAVED THE WAY FOR THE PROGRESS IT CONTINUES TO MAKE TODAY ON BEHALF OF ITS MEMBERS AND THE FOREIGN SERVICE.

BY TOM BOYATT

in representation elections in State, USAID and USIA in 1972-73; and managed the first two crucial years of negotiations with the managements of the three foreign affairs agencies in 1974-75.

On the right, of course, was management. State's managers were committed to the preservation of the status quo. After all, a system that had made them managers was clearly worth preserving. Moreover, these managers wanted to maintain the special status conferred upon the Secretary of State and the Foreign Service Director General by the Rogers Act of 1924.

Yet, interestingly, management itself was divided into two broad camps. Many senior officers — Bill Macomber, Nat Davis, and Larry Eagleburger come immediately to mind — were in varying degrees sympathetic to AFSA's "Young Turks" and their objectives. For these "generalists," love of the Foreign Service and its people trumped all other considerations. The second management group was composed of old-line administrative officers who had been largely sovereign in their areas of expertise. John Thomas

Ambassador Thomas Boyatt, currently AFSA Governing Board treasurer (for a second time), has also served as AFSA president, vice president and retiree representative. An FSO from 1959 until 1985, he served as ambassador to Colombia and Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) and chargé d'affaires in Chile, in addition to postings in Nicosia, Luxembourg and Antofagasta (Chile). In Washington, he served on the staff of the under secretary of the Treasury, as assistant to the assistant secretary for Near Eastern Affairs, and as director of the Office of Cypriot Affairs, among other positions.

Since retiring from the Foreign Service, he has been vice president of a large company, president of a small company, and a trustee of Princeton University. Besides working with AFSA, current activities include lecturing, consulting, a commercial directorship, service on several boards connected to the Foreign Service, and "tanning the back of my neck working on the back 40 in Great Falls, Va."

***AFGE's position was
driven by the knowledge
that it would lose any
representation election in
which FSOs could
participate.***

in administration and Joe Donelon in budget and fiscal (both individuals remembered with affection and respect) were exemplars of this contingent. The idea that a white-collar union system would allow middle-grade generalists (the AFSA leadership) to negotiate policies and procedures in their areas of control — and with any disagreements going to independent adjudicators — was

difficult for these folks to grasp. They were in denial for months, if not years, which caused real disruption in the early stages of negotiations after AFSA won exclusive representation.

Finally, on the far right (again for lack of a better term) was a group of "dead-enders" — those who could not contemplate and would not participate in an employee-management system that was adversarial. Bill Bradford's resignation from the AFSA Governing Board when it became clear AFSA would become a union was emblematic of this position. With full respect for those holding this view, it must be said that they were a shrinking minority — even in the early 1970s. A statistically overwhelming 2,241 AFSA members (a quarter of total membership) participated in the 1971 referendum on forming a union, with over 85 percent favoring the proposal.

First Battle: E.O. 11491 vs. E.O. 11636

Executive Order 11491, issued in October 1969, was originally intended to set up "white collar" unions in the entire federal government service. However, Secretary of State William Rogers badly wanted the State Department to be exempted from the requirements of this E.O. and tasked Management Under Secretary Bill Macomber to achieve this. Macomber met with AFSA President Charles Bray and others on the unionization issue in early 1971. A set of "four points" was agreed, as a basis for a separate E.O. for the Foreign Service, and Bray tabled them at an open meeting of AFSA members. Sentiment was strongly against the Four Points.

Further meetings with management produced a new paper, the "Seven Points," also designed to serve

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as a basis for our union structure and also presented at an open meeting. Sentiment was even more negative toward this proposal, and the meeting turned raucous as many present declared that management was still in control of the system.

AFSA then convened, under the leadership of Tex Harris, a "Committee of Forty" to discuss a separate executive order setting forth a Foreign Service union structure. Over a period of several months discussions were held with AFSA and AFGE on the details of what eventually was issued as E.O. 11636.

Throughout the process, AFSA and management were strategic allies as well as tactical rivals. While we disagreed on the mechanics, we both wanted a labor-

***Throughout the process,
AFSA and management
were strategic
allies as well as
tactical rivals.***

management system designed to recognize the unique conditions of employment in the Foreign Service, with "unique" being the key word here. AFGE wanted a carbon copy of E.O. 11491 without special provisions for the Foreign Service. AFSA, on the other hand, was prepared to accept a separate system if the terms and conditions were right.

In the end, AFSA achieved the best of both worlds. E.O. 11636 established a system that recognized a unique and independent Foreign Service. We also obtained management agreement to a worldwide bargaining unit excluding only top management, and a system of independent, third-party adjudication of disagreements (the Employee Management Relations Commission, to

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decide issues relating to the implementation of the E.O., and the Disputes Panel, to deal with negotiating impasses). For its part, State management achieved a separate employee-management system for the Foreign Service and a degree of oversight by the Board of the Foreign Service in reviewing the decisions of the EMRC and the Disputes Panel.

Second Battle: The 1971 AFSA Elections

E.O. 11636 was issued in late 1971, a timeframe which also witnessed one of the hardest-fought AFSA elections ever. Two slates competed along with three independent candidates. The Participation Slate was composed of holdovers from the Bray Board (Harrop, Harris and others) along with a more aggressive cadre of candidates (Hank Cohen, Barbara Good, myself and others) who had opposed the Seven Points but accepted the negotiated version of E.O. 11636 as a basis for unionism in the Foreign Service. Our slate encompassed a coalition of political and economic officers from the regional bureaus, as well as secretaries, communicators and representatives from USIA and USAID.

In strong opposition was the Members' Interests Slate, whose core group was the Junior Foreign Service Officer Club leadership. Although they, too, wanted AFSA to become a union, they were concerned that through E.O. 11636

In the end, AFSA achieved the best of both worlds. E.O. 11636 established a system that recognized a unique and independent Foreign Service.



Tom Boyatt in 1978...



... and 2001.

management would retain too much control over the negotiating process.

From the distance of 30-plus years, the two platforms do not appear so dissimilar. At the time, however, the debates were sharp, with both ideological and generational overtones. The Members' Interests Slate attacked from the left, strongly criticizing E.O. 11636 and the Participation Slate for accepting it in an alleged sell-

out. Reflecting its core constituency, the slate's other positions had a junior-officer cast, though it did attempt to diversify its candidates for the Governing Board.

For our part, the Participation Slate argued that AFSA could become an effective union while maintaining its status as a first-rate professional association. We supported E.O. 11636 because it emphasized the uniqueness and independence of the Foreign Service, but promised to use it effectively to negotiate with management on personnel and bread-and-butter issues. Our goal was to reach out from the center of the AFSA polity to the right and left. If anything, we had a middle-grade officer cast.

Both sides debated in open meetings, worked the halls at State and tried to reach friends and sympathizers at posts abroad. Name recognition also played a role. When the votes were counted, the Participation Slate had swept all Governing Board seats, with each of its 11 candidates winning between 1,163 and 1,400 votes. However, the voting was quite close: the top Members' Interests candidate received 1,103 votes, nearly catching our low scorer, while the other members of the slate obtained between 769 and 1,000 votes each. But it was the Participation Slate that would lead the Foreign Service into the new world of unionism.

**Third Battle:
AFSA vs. AFGE**

In its first post-victory statement, the new AFSA Governing Board editorialized in the February 1972 *Foreign Service Journal*: “The historical era of administration by benevolent — and sometimes arbitrary — paternalism is over.” We were overly optimistic. It would take a yearlong slugging match with AFGE before representation elections were held and won, and the paternalistic system came to an end.

After the Employee Management Relations Committee rejected our initial attempt to call for elections based on a “showing of interest” obtained under E.O. 11491, both we and AFGE began collecting cards again to trigger elections in State, USIA and USAID.

At its March 13, 1972, organizational meeting the new AFSA board elected Bill Harrop as chairman and myself as vice chairman along with the other officers and committee chairs. I was named “Participation Coordinator” with responsibility for obtaining a “showing of interest” — i.e., signed cards from 25 percent of the bargaining unit (over 2,000 persons) calling for elections under the new, E.O. 11636-mandated guidelines. I immediately recruited Rick Melton, Jack Binns and other stalwarts to begin organizing State’s bureaus, building on the work already done during our election campaign.

We went to work to gather signatures and by April 1972 had over 1,000 signed “showing of interest” cards from the State Department alone. Cards began to flow in from posts abroad and by May 15, we had gathered over 2,000 — a number that doubled by early June. We then petitioned for representation elections in State, USIA and USAID.

At this juncture AFGE’s “election” policy reared its ugly head. Their leadership knew they could not beat AFSA in open elections. Accordingly, they called in platoons of union lawyers to exploit every legal delay possible. AFGE began by challenging our showing of interest and asserting unfair labor practices, alleging that Bill Harrop was a management official because he was on the Policy Planning Council, and that Hank Cohen and I were likewise tainted because we had previously served

***The Participation Slate
argued that AFSA could
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association. And so we did.***

on selection boards. Fortunately, the EMRC dismissed all those challenges in August 1972, and called for electoral conferences between AFSA and AFGE, which had obtained 400 showing of interest cards — enough to get on the ballot.

At the electoral conferences AFGE continued its stalling tactics. At one point an AFGE official offered to bet me that there would be no

election in 1972. I took the wager and reminded him what Joe Lewis had said about the second Billy Conn fight: “He can run but he can’t hide.”

On Sept. 26, 1972, the EMRC directed that a worldwide State Department election be held during a 52-day period beginning Oct. 10, 1972. AFSA proposed a 14-point program calling for, among many other provisions, an independent Foreign Service and negotiations with management on employment conditions and personnel systems. Our final point is worth quoting: “Our Own Thing. Remember, AFSA belongs to us. AFSA has more active committee members working for you than AFGE has Foreign Service members. AFSA can take positions without checking with the AFL-CIO ... or with AFGE (to clear the impact on the Civil Service). LET’S DO OUR OWN THING.”

State ballots were counted on Dec. 4, 1972, and USIA’s on Dec. 15. At State AFSA won over 75 percent of votes cast for an exclusive representative (3,093 votes for AFSA and 1,050 for AFGE). We also won a clear victory in USIA, but AFGE held up the results by contesting several ballots before the challenge was eventually thrown out. At USAID it was management, not AFGE, which stalled the proceedings, primarily because they simply would not accept the EMRC’s decisions about who should be in the bargaining unit. Eventually, USAID management relented, representation elections were held and AFSA won over 80 percent of the votes. By the end of March 1973, AFSA Chairman Harrop had received certification letters from the heads of all three foreign affairs agencies. AFSA now had the power and responsibility to negotiate personnel policies and procedures and employment conditions in State, USAID and USIA.

The Final Battle: Bringing Agencies to the Bargaining Table

By late 1972 it was clear to the AFSA Governing Board that we would soon win the representation elections and therefore needed to be ready to negotiate. Accordingly, in November the board established a "State Negotiations Committee," which I was elected to chair. We organized ourselves into six subcommittees: Organization (chaired by Bob Pelletreau); Framework (Rick Melton); Grievance (Tex Harris); Personnel (Jack Miklos and Bruce Hirshorn); Staff Corps (Jim Holmes and Barbara Good); and Members' Interests (Hank Cohen). In retrospect I feel sorry for management. Our team resembled the 1927 Yankees in firepower. By the time talks began in March 1973, AFSA was able to table well over 50 proposals on subjects ranging from office space for the union to promotion precepts — our version of shock and awe.

Some senior administrative officials at State were in denial and simply ignored our proposals, hoping we would

go away. So AFSA brought Unfair Labor Practices charges against the department for its failure to negotiate in good faith. It then became apparent that State was neither organized nor staffed to meet our challenges. A period of paralysis ensued, but we were clearly defining the agenda.

At this point Foreign Service realities caught up with the AFSA board. From late spring through the early summer of 1973, AFSA Chairman Bill Harrop, Treasurer David Loving, USIA representative Bill Lenderking and Staff Corps co-chair Jim Holmes were transferred to Canberra, Bukavu, Bologna and Tel Aviv respectively. As reported in the July 1973 *Journal*, Tom Boyatt, Tex Harris, and Rick Melton were unanimously elected AFSA Governing Board chairman, vice chairman and chairman of the Negotiating Committee.

Furthermore, Tex Harris, who had been on leave without pay working as the full-time counselor to AFSA, in addition to all his other work in many areas, particularly grievances, rejoined the FSO corps and was replaced as counselor by Rick Williamson. Our season of change was

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capped in August when it was announced that Henry Kissinger would replace William Rogers as Secretary of State.

I requested a meeting with the Secretary-designate in late August and he promptly accepted, even before his confirmation. On Sept. 6, 1973, Tex Harris, Hank Cohen and I trooped into Kissinger's White House office. For 45 minutes we outlined our objectives and discussed matters of mutual interest. At one point, after I informed Dr. Kissinger that I would testify against an unqualified political ambassador, he responded (jokingly, I hoped), "I realize that you have the right to testify against the president's nomination, but you must remember that I have the right to send you to Chad." I no longer remem-

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How did it happen?

***I believe the basic answer
is volunteers.***

ber the details of our exchanges, but we all came away with the impression that Secretary Kissinger understood we were independent of the State Department hierarchy and, therefore, not subject to his diktat. He was prepared to accommodate many of our goals in return for "peace and quiet." In short, we sensed he would have State negotiate with us as required by law and regulation.

The news of the AFSA leadership's meeting with Dr. Kissinger spread through the department like a prairie fire. Most senior officers had not yet met with him. Within a short time the negotiating logjam began to break up. Progress was substantial over the next several months, and in late 1973 the incumbent Governing Board was overwhelmingly re-elected as the Achievement Slate. In 1974-75 the number of agreements with the managements of State (most notably), USAID and USIA multiplied dramatically. New initiatives such as the hiring of AFSA's first staff lawyer, Cathy Waeldon, and representations to Congress were put in place. By the end of 1975 a thriving employee-management system was well and truly launched and AFSA had started up the growth curve which has brought us all to today's eminence.

When AFSA won exclusive representation its annual budget was under \$200,000; today the budget is nearly \$3 million. Today our legal staff alone is larger than the total staff was then. When we started there was no employee-management system and we represented no one. Today the system is enshrined in the Foreign Service Act of 1980 and we represent the Foreign Service in all the foreign affairs agencies, including Commerce and Agriculture.

When I look back, I marvel at the dedication and energy of those who accomplished so much in such a short time. How did it happen? I believe the basic answer is volunteers. That is the one thing we had more of 30 years ago than today. Hundreds of Foreign Service people — a significant part of an entire Foreign Service generation — gave time, genius and inspiration to the reform movement. The testimony to their success is that virtually the same system is in place today — and continues to prosper. ■

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Please note that all submissions to the *Journal* must be approved by the Editorial Board and are subject to editing for style, length and format.

AFSA BECOMES A UNION: BREAD-AND-BUTTER ISSUES

Unlike some AFSA members in 1969, I found it quite normal that we should add employee representational responsibilities to our ongoing activities as a professional association. Indeed, as I explained to the Governing Board during the 1970 debate on whether AFSA should become a labor union, I learned during the labor course at FSI that employers are generally much more comfortable with labor unions than without them. Implementing collective bargaining agreements is a much more productive and efficient method of handling labor-management relations than dealing with employees on an individual basis day to day. The key is that the labor union shares responsibility for implementation of the agreement with management.

In fact, my pro-union sympathies actually go back to my childhood in New York City, where I grew up immersed in a labor union family. Because of this ambiance, I was very much the “anti-communist,” “anti-Soviet” intellectual during my student days at the City College of New York, where I encountered a substantial left-wing presence during the 1949 to 1953 period.

When I entered the Foreign Service in August 1955, I was struck by conversations I had with more senior officers who talked frequently about their “out-of-pocket” expenses. I found it strange that they apparently regarded those expenses as a normal part of Foreign Service life instead of seeking reimbursement or at least complaining about them.

From January 1962 to July 1969, I carried out labor reporting responsibilities at four African posts. At Consulate General Salisbury (now Harare), I had the full-time position of “regional labor attaché,” with reporting responsibilities covering Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Malawi and Zambia. Prior to these four postings in Africa, I completed the nine-month labor-training course at FSI. The training included internships at the Labor Department and the Steelworkers Union local in Providence, R.I.

The Members’ Interests Committee

I returned to Washington in July 1969 for an assignment as deputy director of the Central African Affairs office. Soon thereafter, Bill Harrop approached me to see if I would be willing to take over AFSA’s Members’ Interests Committee. (Bill and I had served together in Zaire from 1966 to 1969.) He explained that AFSA was receiving a growing number of letters from members requesting assistance on bread-and-butter issues, and the committee’s role was to respond and help find solutions if at all possible. I agreed to take over the

committee, and the AFSA executive office started forwarding members’ letters to me.

Most of the requests for assistance involved overseas allowances, especially shipment of effects, housing, R&R, health benefits and education. As a result of my administrative officer responsibilities in Kampala (1961-63), I knew how to navigate through the regulations. I therefore looked through the manuals in the Africa Bureau’s Executive Office in order to understand the background

AFSA HAS ALWAYS TRIED TO HELP INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS WITH THEIR PROBLEMS. A FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE MEMBERS’ INTERESTS COMMITTEE DESCRIBES HOW THAT ROLE HAS EVOLVED.

BY HERMAN J. COHEN

to each problem or complaint. I then called the appropriate office in the Administration Bureau to obtain further background. If I felt that the AFSA member was not being treated fairly under the regulations, I pleaded on his or her behalf. Sometimes, but not always, I did this in the form of a letter on AFSA letterhead.

As I gained more experience, I started to question some of the regulations themselves. I found that the civil servants working in the “A” Bureau were generally receptive and willing to talk about the issues. I was never rejected because I spoke on behalf of AFSA. This was true even though they were under no obligation to take care of me, or even return my calls. There was nothing structured. It was all a matter of developing personal relationships.

Here are some of the main issues that I handled during my time on the committee:

Kindergarten Allowances. A good example of my questioning of the regulations involved the overseas educational allowance for pre-school, essentially kinder-

Career Ambassador Herman J. “Hank” Cohen, who entered the Foreign Service in 1955, was a labor-reporting officer at four African posts. He also served as ambassador to Senegal and the Gambia, and assistant secretary for African affairs, among many other positions.

*Since retiring from the Foreign Service in 1993, he has worked as senior adviser to the Global Coalition for Africa and is the author of *Intervening in Africa: Superpower Peacekeeping in a Troubled Continent* (St. Martin’s Press, 2000). He currently teaches at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and does consulting work for U.S. business in Africa.*



Herman J. Cohen, 1977.



Cohen with the prime minister of Mozambique, 2000.

garten. In the early 1970s, I received mail from many AFSA members in Western Europe who were paying \$1,500 to \$2,000 out-of-pocket to send their children to private kindergartens in Paris, London, etc. That was a lot of money in those days.

The regulation covering overseas educational allowances stipulated that pre-school was not covered. I inquired as to the basis for this regulation. The educational allowance people explained to me that the legislation directed the department to provide American citizens serving abroad the same facilities they enjoyed at home in the U.S. Surveys conducted by what was then the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in all 50 states determined that only a minority of them provided free public school kindergarten. Therefore, the State Department was barred from covering kindergarten overseas under the educational allowance.

I asked to see the data from the surveys and discovered that the latest information was dated 1955, the year I entered the Foreign Service. I then checked the most recent HEW data and found that as of 1968, most states were providing free public school kindergarten. When I presented this to the allowance people, they acknowledged that a revision of the regulations would be appropriate. The bureaucracy had never bothered to do a new survey because nobody had complained. At some point after that, kindergarten started to be covered. This experience further convinced me that a union was needed to prod the bureaucracy to do its job.

Shipping Allowance Distortions. On the other hand, I encountered an injustice in the household effects shipping allowance that I was not able to correct on my own. From complaint letters, I found that most single employees in the Foreign Service Specialist category, with 20 or more years of service (and accumulated personal effects to match), had smaller overseas shipping allowances than junior, married FSOs with less than five years of service. When I argued for a change, I was told that nothing could be done, as

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weight allowance decisions were based on grade. Clearly, this was an issue that could only be negotiated by a union.

Insurance. There was also a major problem with government coverage for damage to effects in shipment. The regulations authorized claims up to \$5,000, but the procedures for claiming for breakage and theft were so stringent that most employees gave up before they started. In addition, coverage was only for depreciated value, not replacement value.

After seeing a number of complaint letters, I initiated inquiries about private insurance for overseas shipment of effects. This led to the establishment of AFSA's personal effects insurance policy that was distinguished by an honor system in reporting claims, and in reimbursement for replacement value. With the

In 1969, many of the requests for assistance involved issues like allowances, insurance and education.

addition of other insurance programs later, the AFSA Governing Board decided to establish a separate Insurance Committee, breaking that function away from the Members' Interests Committee.

In approximately 1972, the State Department established an Office of the Ombudsman, with responsibility for handling employee complaints.

(My feeling is that department managers did this because they saw a union coming down the pike and hoped to head it off with the establishment of an office that represented employees.) The first incumbent was FSO Robert Gordon. He had official authority to go to any State Department administrative office to inquire about problems raised by employees.

Whereas these same offices only tolerated me, as a representative of AFSA, they had to deal with the



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AFSA'S DUAL ROLE

One of our concerns from the outset was the prediction that AFSA, in becoming a union, would over time lose the professional dimension which was so important to us. The National Education Association was held up as an example of a respected professional body which added exclusive representation status and then gradually morphed into a union pretty exclusively. There seemed to be a kind of Gresham's Law under which union responsibilities swept away the professional mission. Nobody could name an association which had successfully fused — and retained — the two functions.

Well, AFSA has done it.

Why did we succeed? Getting the negotiating unit defined so broadly as to include most senior FSOs was important, and possibly unprecedented. But I submit that the real reason for this success is the nature of the Foreign Service of the United States: its pervasive spirit of public service, its pride in quality and professional standards and its unshakeable attachment to the national interest.

— *Bill Harrop*

A former AFSA president, Bill Harrop currently serves as a retiree representative on the AFSA Governing Board and is on the boards of five other diplomacy-related organizations. An FSO from 1954 to 1993, he was ambassador to Guinea, Kenya, the Seychelles, Zaire and Israel, as well as Inspector General of the State Department and Foreign Service.

ombudsman. However, he did not have any enforcement power, and could not make decisions: All he could do was make inquiries and recommend corrective action. But he did have official status within the bureaucracy, and was an effective gadfly.

The existence of an ombudsman greatly facilitated my work on the Members' Interests Committee. After I had researched a problem, I could take it to him with an analysis and recommendation. He would then carry the ball to the administrative bureaucracy. We were effectively joined at the hip, with AFSA supplying the complaints that he needed to justify his work. I was lucky that Gordon considered his work to be "problem-solving," so he was always helpful.

Working with Management

After AFSA became the official collective bargaining representative for State and USIA Foreign Service employees in 1973, the Governing Board moved quickly to flex its muscles. One of the provisions in the collective bargaining agreement gave AFSA the right to submit proposals regarding employee bread-and-butter issues, and required management to negotiate with AFSA about such proposals. Those negotiations could eventually be taken to arbitration, so such exercises were not just for show. For this reason, and to demonstrate that its union activities were meaningful, the AFSA board wanted to engage management early on with proposals generated from its own ranks.

Drawing on my several years of experience fielding employee complaints, I had developed a whole list of ideas about reforms in regulations, as well as expansions of certain benefits that were inadequate. Against this background, Tom Boyatt asked me to develop a set of formal AFSA proposals that could be presented to management with a request for formal negotiations. Because of the richness of my file of complaints, I was able to write a set of about 20 individual proposals for improvements, expansion, creation or revision of employee benefits.

When Tom and I presented this set of proposals to senior management in the Bureau of Administration, they were flabbergasted. They never expected such an immediate manifestation of AFSA's newly-won bargaining rights. In addition, the proposals were prepared on the basis of very solid evidence that had come out of the complaint file.

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Happily, this AFSA initiative stimulated management to start organizing themselves to become negotiating partners. This was a sea change in management culture at State, and it took a while, but eventually they understood the value to both sides of professionally conducted negotiations.

I left Washington for six years of overseas duty in the summer of 1974. When I returned in 1980, there was a full-fledged grievance system in place, and the arbitration system was functioning (under the aegis of the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board). I even had the pleasure of serving as AFSA's representative on that for a couple of years. In 1984, I became State's deputy assistant secretary for personnel, and had the responsibility for formulat-

***The establishment of a
State Department ombudsman
greatly facilitated my work
on the Members' Interests
Committee.***

ing the department's final offers during the informal grievance process. If the employee did not accept my final offer, he or she could then resort to the formal grievance process.

I had no cultural problem in moving from labor union militant to senior management official dealing with personnel issues. In the final analysis, both sides are trying to solve problems in order to make the system work more fairly and more efficiently. But my AFSA experience gave me one advantage over other management officials who did not go via that same route: I never embarked on a change of policy or procedure with respect to negotiable issues without first initiating consultations with AFSA. ■

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AFSA AND THE COURTS: THE BRADLEY CASE

Vance v. Bradley (1979) may be the only case dealing with a Foreign Service personnel matter that has ever gone before the U.S. Supreme Court. The case is significant for several reasons, but chiefly for the fact that

AFSA — not long after being designated the exclusive bargaining agent for the Foreign Service — chose to argue against a group of employees, rather than on their behalf. In its amicus curiae brief, AFSA agreed with management that the needs of the Foreign Service were distinct from those of other federal government employees, and that Foreign Service members could not claim the same entitlements as employees governed by the Civil Service Act.

As in many cases before the Supreme Court, the factual issue in the Bradley case was narrower than the legal principle involved. A group of Foreign Service employees had sought to have their mandatory retirements from the Service at the age of 60 set aside as discriminatory, on the grounds that Civil Service employees at that time were not subject to mandatory retirement until the age of 70. (By the time the Supreme Court decided the case, mandatory retirement for U.S. civil servants on the basis of age had already been totally abolished at the initiative of octogenarian Rep. Claude Pepper, D-Fla.)

In an 8-1 decision written by Justice Byron

"Whizzer" White, the Court decided that Congress could constitutionally set stricter standards for the Foreign Service than for the Civil Service. In doing so, it reversed a district court decision in favor of the plaintiffs that had been supported by amicus briefs by the American Association of Retired Persons, American Federation of Government Employees, Rep. Pepper et al., and the National Council of Senior Citizens.

The argument of the plaintiffs centered on the following elements: many Civil Service employees were serving abroad in Foreign Service positions (the court used an estimate of 5 percent of the total U.S. Civil Service at any given time, as opposed to 60 percent of

the Foreign Service); overseas service had no impact on their mandatory retirement age; service abroad was not necessarily more demanding than domestic assignments; and mandatory Foreign Service retirement at 60 violated the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment. In his dissenting opinion, Judge Thurgood Marshall espoused these arguments.

But the majority opinion accepted and reiterated the principal points made by

AFSA. In the AFSA amicus brief, General Counsel (at the time) Cathy Waelder argued that the 60-year retirement age was needed to maintain the regular flow-through on which the Foreign Service career system was based, and that Foreign Service personnel had to be prepared for civil wars, areas plagued by unrest, disaster relief, evacuations, and terrorist attacks. As a result, "it was not irrational for the Congress to select age 60 as

A 1979 SUPREME COURT
DECISION KEPT INTACT THE
LEGAL FINDING THAT THE
FOREIGN SERVICE HAS NEEDS
AND CHALLENGES DISTINCT
FROM THOSE OF OTHER
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
EMPLOYEES.

BY TED WILKINSON

the age beyond which fewer employees could withstand the rigors of constant transfers and the stresses which accompany life in another culture, sometimes in a hostile and rapidly changing environment.”

In the opinion itself, Justice White found it entirely appropriate that Congress had chosen to “attach special need to high performance in the conduct of our foreign relations,” and recalled that Rep. Rogers himself (author of the 1924 Foreign Service Act, commonly known as the Rogers Act) had envisaged a lower Foreign Service retirement age because of the “difficult and unsettling changes” of Foreign Service life. In fact, the Rogers Act included a provision for retirement at the age of 65, which was not changed until the 1946 revision of the act, when it was lowered to 60. White also noted that a relatively early retirement age was not

Ted Wilkinson, a former AFSA president, is now a retiree member of the AFSA Governing Board and also serves on the Journal Editorial Board.

discriminatory in favor of youth “qua youth,” but in order to allow regular advancement in the lower and middle ranks of the Service. In this respect the Foreign Service career models were based on the U.S. Navy’s, which the Court had already recognized as valid in earlier cases.

Ironically, only two years after the Bradley decision Congress reversed course once again and raised the mandatory Foreign Service retirement age to 65, as it had been from 1924 to 1946, in the Foreign Service Act of 1980 (which took effect in 1981). The change was too late for some if not all of the Bradley plaintiffs, but it presumably took some of the sting out of the adverse Supreme Court ruling for them. Most importantly for the Foreign Service, however, the change in law kept intact the legal finding that the Service has distinct challenges, and that Congress has the right to demand more of it or — in certain cases — to compensate for those demands in ways that do not necessarily parallel Civil Service rules. ■

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AFSA AND THE FOREIGN SERVICE ACT OF 1980

The constituents of Rep. Dante Fascell, D-Fla., in southern Miami/Dade County were a lot more concerned about astronomical interest rates and gasoline shortages in the late 1970s than they were about how the Foreign Service was organized.

So there was little to cause the future chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee to devote countless hours to this issue apart from his own abiding passion for strengthening this critical but neglected institution of government.

The hostage crisis in Iran would soon bring the Foreign Service of the United States into sharp public focus. However, when deliberations on the Foreign Service Act began, the tendency was toward the fragmentation of the Service, symbolized by the creation of a separate Foreign Commercial Service in the Department of Commerce.

For many of us in the middle ranks of the Foreign Service during this period, the choice was: “reform it or leave it.” For their own reasons, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and his management team also saw the need for substantial change, and began drafting a new Foreign Service Act to replace the Rogers Act of 1924 and the Foreign Service Act of 1946. On a parallel track, and following in the footsteps of the earlier reform effort led by a group known as the “Young Turks,” a group of FSOs, including myself, ran as a slate in the 1979 AFSA Governing Board elections, calling ourselves the “Professional Renewal Organization (FS PROs).”

Following a hotly contested campaign, we received a strong mandate for our declared intention of shaping and supporting a new Foreign Service Act, though many had misgivings about the process. In the existing climate, there was genuine concern that the exercise was designed to merge the Foreign Service into the Civil Service System or to curtail its special benefits.

Thus, an unlikely coalition with quite distinct objectives formed among congressional leaders, foreign affairs management and the members of the Service. The AFSA team consulted by telegram with our constituents around the globe and created an agenda of

over 200 individual issues that needed to be addressed. Our goal was the creation of a single Foreign Service able to represent effectively the broad range of U.S. international interests and to provide a fulfilling career for its members. Over the next year, hundreds of AFSA volunteers — staff members, FS employees of all levels, spouses and retirees — formed committees to define

these issues, negotiate with management and make our case publicly and on the Hill. Late into the night and on weekends, on top of our day jobs, we engaged in negotiations that frequently were every bit as intense as those the Foreign Service conducts with other nations.

The issues we confronted were as much internal to our own constituencies as they were external. We sought, above all, to develop ongoing mechanisms for the Service itself to deal with these points since most of them are inherent to our profession. Key issues included the following:

FOLLOWING IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE “YOUNG TURKS,” THE AFSA GOVERNING BOARD PLAYED A KEY ROLE LEADING UP TO THE FOREIGN SERVICE ACT OF 1980.

BY KEN BLEAKLEY

Creating a single Foreign Service system embracing different government agencies.

This basic reaffirmation of the principles of the Rogers Act brought both State management and AFSA into conflict with a formidable group of opponents. Other foreign affairs agencies were jealous of their own prerogatives. Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., who later became a strong proponent of consolidation of foreign affairs functions, ardently fought the concept of a single Foreign Service that he viewed as “elitist.” The AFL-CIO saw the seeds of the demise of its “Foreign Service” bargaining unit in USIA and fielded, by our count, eight of its lobbyists to block it. Large numbers of individuals who had slipped into the Foreign Service personnel system over the years without being available for worldwide service felt threatened, though their Foreign Service privileges were grandfathered.

Had it not been for the intense public focus on the common plight of those being held hostage in our embassy in Tehran, it is doubtful that the basic premise of the U.S. Foreign Service would have survived into the 1980s. Those heroic women and men made an enduring contribution to U.S. foreign affairs. From Tehran, Charge d’Affaires Bruce Laingen, who was permitted some communication from his confinement in the Iranian Foreign Ministry, was in consultation with us as we put forth our positions on the act. So too was Ambassador Diego Asencio, separately being held hostage in Bogotá.

Ken Bleakley joined the Foreign Service in 1963, serving in the Dominican Republic, Spain, Panama, Bolivia and El Salvador. He was AFSA president from 1979 to 1981, when he left to become DCM in El Salvador, and later served as senior deputy U.S. coordinator for international communications and information policy.

After retiring from the Foreign Service in 1992, Bleakley founded First Personal Communications Inc., subsequently acquired by FONEMED, LLC. He is now the president and CEO of FONEMED (www.fonemed.com), which builds and operates medical call centers worldwide.

For many of us in the middle ranks of the Foreign Service during this period, the choice was:

“reform it or leave it.”

service, and retention of specialized skills. By the late 1970s, promotions in the Foreign Service had come to a virtual standstill as extensions of time in a single class or in multiple-classes, as well as reluctance to use selection-out for low ranking, became commonplace in the senior ranks. Compounding the situation was a perception that the Foreign Service was out of step with the Civil Service after the creation of the Senior Executive Service with a threshold that did not then exist in the Foreign Service. This was an especially divisive issue pitting senior officers threatened by change against others who demanded it. The senior officers who were most vocal in their opposition, however, never organized themselves into a cohesive interest group, unlike other groups with special concerns such as the staff corps, USIA and Foreign Commercial Service officers, spouses, and minority groups. Each of these groups had formal organizations and presented the AFSA Governing Board with strong positions on the issues of special interest to them.

A Team Effort

Foreign Service members stationed around the world worked with the AFSA team in debating and influencing every provision of the chapter of the act dealing with promotion and retention. We insisted on transition provisions to ease the impact on those most affected by the new provisions. At one point, debate with management over critical details of these provisions became so intense that the AFSA delegation walked out of the talks and threatened to scuttle the act. In the end, we believed we had achieved a fair balance between protection of individual officers and the need for fluidity within the system. We never doubted, however, that the subject would require constant monitoring by our successors to preserve this precarious balance.

The outcome was a final version of the Foreign Service Act that begins with a finding that: “A career Foreign Service, characterized by excellence and professionalism, is essential in the national interest.”

Reconciling the conflicting needs for a reliable promotion system, up-or-out procedures, rewards for years of faithful ser-

F O C U S

Recognizing and rewarding the professional nature of support functions in the Service and enhancing the status of spouses accompanying personnel overseas. During the 1970s, more names of those killed in overseas service were added to the AFSA memorial plaques in the State Department lobby than in the entire previous history of the U.S. The world of diplomacy was changing, and increased danger was an important aspect of it. Members of all agencies and all specialties — communicators, secretaries, security personnel, couriers and many others — shared the essential demands of worldwide availability, as did their spouses. It was time to eliminate the distinction between “officers” and other members of the Service labeled simply as “employees,” as well as to deal with the special issues affecting spouses.

Thea De Rouville, a career Foreign Service staff officer and the only non-member of the PRO slate, was elected vice president of AFSA in 1979. She mobilized

the “staff corps” worldwide and turned dissidence into an effective and articulate vehicle of reform. Her contributions to the formation and implementation of the Foreign Service Act profoundly changed the structure of the institution. The Association of American Foreign Service Women, now the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide, ensured that spousal concerns, particularly employment opportunities, survivor benefits and protection for former spouses, all received appropriate attention.

The legislation that emerged in 1980 seeks to avoid the distinctions that previously existed that implied preferential status to one category or another. It consistently refers to all Foreign Service personnel as “members of the Service” and establishes a single Foreign Service pay schedule. And it provides for training for spouses and protection for former spouses.

Balancing the role of the professional organization representing all members, including senior



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officials and management, with that of labor union. Pat Schroeder, D-Colo., Chairman of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, sought to assure consistency between the Foreign Service Act and the Civil Service Act wherever possible. However, this required a framework that could reconcile Civil Service "rank in job" provisions with the Foreign Service "rank in person" system, under which members periodically move into and out of management positions. To deal with this conflict required creation of a personnel system unique to the Foreign Service in which positions, not rank, determine who is "management" (and therefore is excluded from the bargaining unit while in that position).

*The AFSA team engaged
in negotiations that
frequently were every bit
as intense as those the
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with other nations.*

This conflict also affected the crucial issue of representation in grievance proceedings. AFSA sought to have discretion as to whom it represented in such proceedings. We did not want to be compelled to support cases that would undermine service discipline, but we did wish to represent all members in issues where the principles of the profession were at stake.

In the end, we were reasonably successful in broadening the base of the bargaining unit. However, we were unsuccessful in narrowing the scope of our grievance representation responsibilities; AFSA is not permitted to deny grievance representation based on its view of the merits of the case.

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and promotion system that is representative of all Americans, and defining the use of non-career personnel. It was our perception that the growing use of Foreign Service Reserve officers and Civil Service employees to fill overseas positions, and the existence of “Foreign Service” personnel with no commitment to overseas service, had seriously undermined the principles of the Rogers Act.

This tendency was also evident in the trend toward appointing non-career personnel as ambassadors, frequently without regard to their qualifications.

In addition, we recognized the need for the Foreign Service to rectify all too many years of under-representation of minorities and women, particularly in the upper ranks, but to do so without sacrificing the objective, competitive criteria for recruitment, promotion and retention on which the Foreign Service is based.

All of these issues were sensitive and charged with emotion. It was necessary for leaders of the AFSA team to meet privately with Under Secretary for Management Ben Read, as well as with Secretary Cyrus Vance, Deputy Secretary Warren Christopher and Under Secretary for Political Affairs David Newsom, to reconcile divergent views on the subject. Out of these informal sessions we developed the compromises that we were able to present jointly to the Hill and to our own constituency.

The Outcome

The general provisions of the Foreign Service Act captured the essence of these compromises in laying out the need for a professional service, the qualities required of its members, the merit principles to be followed in recruitment, advancement and separation, and the measures, including affirmative action, for achieving a more representative Service. The act was equally forceful in prescribing narrow criteria for use of non-career people to fill Foreign Service positions, especially ambassadorial appointments.

In the end, we got most of what we went after. We also achieved pay raises for many Foreign Service

Two FSOs, Bruce Laingen and Diego Asencio, contributed to AFSA’s efforts even while being held hostage in Tehran and Bogotá, respectively.

employees. The compensation provisions were incidental to the act, but proved a major incentive to Foreign Service recruitment and retention. By resetting pay equivalencies at specific levels, it was possible to raise junior and middle-grade Foreign Service pay to the levels that their Civil Service counterparts of similar experience and education were earning. Similarly, introduc-

ing performance pay (despite the opposition of several senior FSOs who considered it demeaning) benefited senior members of the Foreign Service by providing tangible rewards for exceptional service. Finally, the reaffirmation and expansion of pension provisions, hardship and danger differentials and the introduction of special differentials for those required to perform additional work on a regular basis spread these benefits widely throughout the Service.

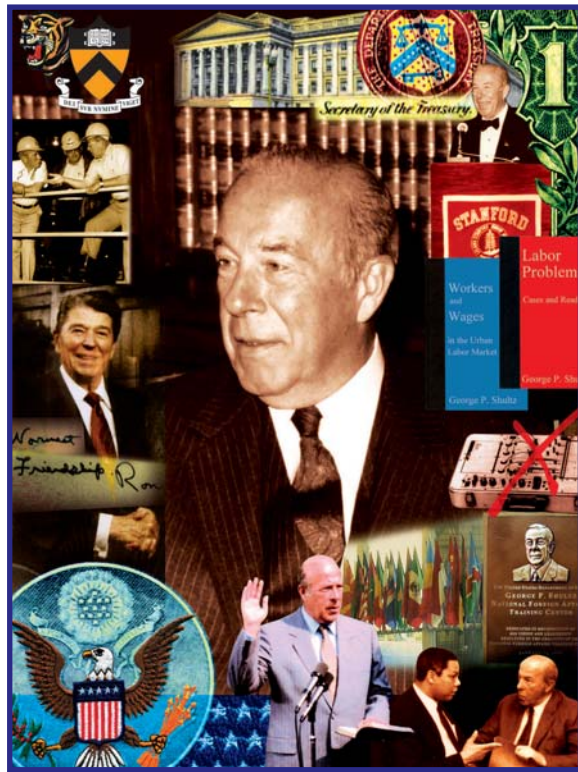
In promoting these and other core concerns of the Service, the advice and support of former FSO Rep. Jim Leach, R-Iowa, were invaluable. So, too, was the contribution of AFSA Retiree Representative Amb. Charlie Whitehouse in winning the active support of the Senate Foreign Relations Chairman, Claiborne Pell, D-R.I. But most crucially, whenever we needed to mobilize our “troops” to overcome the objections of Sen. Helms or the AFL-CIO to specific provisions, or the general apathy of most of the Congress toward this arcane bill, AFSA members and their families visited the Hill, made phone calls, wrote letters, and sent telegrams from around the world.

The many professional issues we sought to address did not and will not go away. However, I believe those of us who participated in the process of overhauling the Foreign Service created better mechanisms for dealing with them — and not just in the 1980 Act itself. The devil is in the details, but the carefully crafted conference report accompanying the legislation has frequently given our successors ammunition to bolster AFSA’s interpretation of the act. ■

A LIFE OF PUBLIC SERVICE: GEORGE P. SHULTZ

GEORGE P. SHULTZ SERVED AS SECRETARY OF STATE FROM 1982 TO 1989, HIS FOURTH JOB OF CABINET RANK. THIS MONTH AFSA IS HONORING HIM FOR HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN DIPLOMACY AND A LIFETIME OF PUBLIC SERVICE.

BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY



Ben Fishman

Introducing George Shultz at the May 2002 ceremony renaming the National Foreign Affairs Training Center as the George P. Shultz National Foreign Affairs Training Center, Secretary of State Colin Powell observed that, “His is a name that the American people connect with selfless public service and solid integrity, a name that is synonymous with American statesmanship, a name that people all over the world recognize and which they associate with principled international engagement.”

Steven Alan Honley is the editor of the Journal.

world recognize and which they associate with principled international engagement.”

Powell went on to note that, “George Shultz is a student of history, and he has made quite a bit of it himself. We have always known George to be a man keenly focused on the future, especially on preparing the rising generation for service to the country. . . . It is not we who honor George Shultz by naming this center after him; rather, it is George Shultz who honors us and all who will pass through these halls by

lending his name to this facility.”

It is for the same reasons that on June 26, George P. Shultz will receive the American Foreign Service Association’s award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy. (Previous recipients are U. Alexis Johnson, Frank Carlucci, George H.W. Bush, Lawrence Eagleburger, Cyrus Vance, David Newsom, Lee Hamilton and Thomas Pickering.)

George Pratt Shultz was born in New York City on Dec. 13, 1920. He graduated from Princeton University in 1942 with a B.A. in economics, and then joined the U.S. Marine Corps, serving through 1945. After the war, Shultz earned a Ph.D. in industrial economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1949.

Shultz spent most of the next two decades in academia. He taught at MIT from 1948 to 1957, though he did take a year’s leave of absence in 1955 to serve as senior staff economist on President Dwight Eisenhower’s Council of Economic Advisers. In 1957,

***“The war on terrorism
brings out — if it needed
to be brought out —
the central importance
of vital, skillful
diplomacy.”***

he was appointed professor of industrial relations in the University of Chicago’s Graduate School of Business, and became dean of the school in 1962.

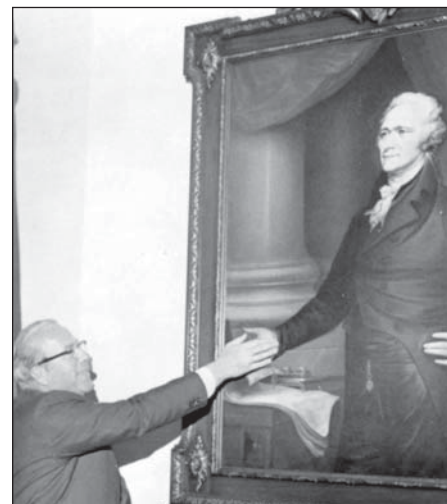
From 1968 to 1969, he was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University, the beginning of a long association with that institution.

Shultz served in the administration of President Richard Nixon as Secretary of Labor from January 1969 to June 1970, at which time he was appointed director of the Office of Management and Budget. He



Receiving the Medal of Freedom from President Ronald Reagan in 1989.

Above left, Secretary of State Shultz conferring with Colin Powell. Right, speaking at Stanford University in 1992. Below, Treasury Secretary Shultz shaking hands with a predecessor, Alexander Hamilton, in 1978.



became Secretary of the Treasury in May 1972, serving until May 1974. During that period he also served as chairman of the Council on Economic Policy and chairman of the East-West Trade Policy Committee. In that capacity, Shultz traveled to Moscow in 1973 and negotiated a series of trade protocols with the Soviet Union. He also represented the United States at the Tokyo meeting of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

In 1974, he again left government service to become president and director of Bechtel Group, where he remained until 1982. While at Bechtel, he maintained his close ties with the academic world by joining the faculty of Stanford University on a part-time basis.

From January 1981 until June 1982, when he was nominated to succeed Alexander Haig as Secretary of State, Shultz was chairman of President Ronald Reagan's Economic Policy Advisory Board. He was sworn in on July 16, 1982, as the sixtieth U.S. Secretary of State and served until Jan. 20, 1989.

Returning to private life, he rejoined Stanford University as the Jack Steele Parker Professor of International Economics at the Graduate School of Business. He is also the Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow at the Hoover Institution.

Secretary Shultz was awarded the Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor, on Jan. 19, 1989. He has also received the Seoul Peace Prize (1992), the Eisenhower Medal for Leadership and Service (2001), and the Reagan Distinguished American Award (2002), to name but a few of his many honors.

He is a member of the board of directors of Bechtel Group, Fremont Group, Gilead Sciences, Unext.com, and Charles Schwab & Co. He is also chairman of the International Council of J. P. Morgan Chase and serves on

“As Treasury Secretary, I noticed, ‘Hey, [FSOs] write good cables. And they’re interesting — apparently they see what’s going on. I can learn from them.’”

the advisory committee of Infrastructureworld.

Sec. Shultz's many publications include: *Labor Problems: Cases and Readings* (1953); *Management, Organization and the Computer* (1960); *Guidelines, Informal Controls, and the Market Place* (1966); *Workers and Wages in the Urban Labor Market* (1970); *Economic Policy Beyond the Headlines* (1978); the monograph “Economics in Action: Ideas, Institutions, Policies” (Hoover Essays in Public Policy, 1995); and another book, *Economic Policy Beyond the Headlines* (2d edition), cowritten with Kenneth Dam (University of Chicago Press, 1998). In addition, he published a best-selling memoir of his time in Foggy Bottom: *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years As Secretary of State* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993).

Secretary Shultz holds honorary degrees from the universities of Columbia, Notre Dame, Loyola, Pennsylvania, Rochester, Princeton, Carnegie-Mellon, City University of New York, Yeshiva, Northwestern, Technion, Tel Aviv, Weizmann Institute of Science, Baruch College of New York, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Tbilisi State University in the Republic of Georgia, and Keio University in Tokyo.

Foreign Service Journal Editor Steven Alan Honley interviewed Sec. Shultz by phone on April 22.

FSJ: *Your award from AFSA for lifetime contributions to American diplomacy places you in the same company as former President George H. W. Bush, former Secretaries of State Cyrus Vance and Larry Eagleburger, and Rep. Lee Hamilton, among others. What is it about foreign policy that has held your interest for so long, both as a practitioner and an academic?*

Shultz: I suppose it's the sheer importance of what takes place to the well-being of our country, and as a citizen of our country, to myself. And then, of course, it's inherently interesting.

I am a person who was trained as a professional economist, but in the tradition of economics as part of a broad discipline that used to be called, way back when, “political economy.” I've always thought of it that way. And so when you have a problem in foreign policy, it doesn't come to you as an economic problem — it's just a problem, of certain dimensions. I thought that was fascinating, going back to my days in college when I was in what is now called the Woodrow Wilson School [at Princeton] and we had problems to tackle. And so this interest in foreign policy and diplomacy is longstanding with me.

FSJ: *What would you say were some of your accomplishments as Secretary of State that you're most proud of today?*

Shultz: The things that you feel are the greatest are happenings to human beings, at least for me. In the broad perspective of things, I would cite the developments that led to the end of the Cold War — I was a part of that; the really very positive situation we had throughout the Asia-Pacific region; and the

emergence of politically open, democratic governments, in many parts of the world that took place while I was in office.

But then you come back to something that involves a human being. I remember working so hard on the problems of Soviet Jewry and the repression that they experienced, and working on individual cases. I worked on many of them. One of them was a woman called Ida Nudel. I can recall to this day sitting in my office at the State Department and the phone rings and on the other end a voice says, "This is Ida Nudel. I'm in Jerusalem. I'm home." Something like that makes you feel that whatever part you may have had in that, you did something that helped an individual human being that you can identify.

FSJ: *What do you see as the value of professional diplomats?*

Shultz: My time as Secretary of State was my fourth job of Cabinet rank. I started as Secretary of Labor in a Republican administration. I was told that I had an impossible job because the career people were all the appointees of organized labor and they wouldn't do anything for a Republican. I didn't believe that, and I managed to recruit a very top-notch bunch of people to come and work with me at the Department [of Labor]. They provided what I would call professional support; the career people responded and knocked themselves out to work with us. We listened to them; we worked with them; and it was a great experience. And it was the same when I was Director of the [Office of Management and] Budget and Secretary of the Treasury.

I came to the State Department having had some experience with the Foreign Service when I was Secretary of the Treasury, because when I'd go on trips, generally some FSO was assigned to go along and I

"It's important for a diplomat to provide not simply intelligence but interpretation of intelligence to Washington, and then to stand firmly for whatever the U.S. position is."

noticed, "Hey, these guys write good cables. And they're interesting — apparently they see what's going on. I can learn from them." So I came to my job at the State Department in a somewhat different frame of mind than many people do. I was very favorably disposed to these people who devote their lives to public service. So I found the Foreign Service very responsive and I think I worked them pretty hard, lots of them. And they liked that; in a sense, that's what they came for: to be involved, to be consulted, to be given assignments. And they carried them out well.

FSJ: *Who are some diplomats you worked with during your time in Foggy Bottom that particularly stand out in your memory now?*

Shultz: I had a whole lot of special ones: Larry Eagleburger was under secretary for political affairs when I came, and Jerry Bremer was in the Secretariat or the Operations Center, I forget which; and later Mike Armacost came and succeeded Larry Eagleburger. And then I got to work with the incomparable Phil Habib. And I had Roz Ridgeway, who did a marvelous job with all the negotiations with the Soviets, and

Charlie Hill and Ray Seitz, who worked directly with me; and Tom Pickering — I could go on and on and on. The Foreign Service officers were really special, and I think they responded to the fact that the political appointees were also a first-class bunch of people. Kenneth Dam first, and then John Whitehead, for most of the time, who served as my deputy [secretary of State]; Paul Nitze, Allen Wallis, and Max Kampelman. You had a really special bunch of people to work with. I'm just sitting here recalling names off the top of my head — Dick Solomon, Chet Crocker, Paul Wolfowitz, Gaston Sigur, Dick Murphy. I could go on and on.

FSJ: *Speaking at the renaming of the National Foreign Affairs Training Center to the George P. Shultz National Foreign Affairs Training Center last year, you commented that when you became Secretary of State, you knew you "would be dealing with many crises on a day-to-day basis, and that for American foreign policy to succeed over time I would have to pay attention to long-term issues." What do you see as the impact of the war against terrorism on diplomacy as a profession, in terms of taking a long-range view of things?*

Shultz: The war on terrorism brings out — if it needed to be brought out — the central importance of vital, skillful diplomacy, because you're dealing all the time with people throughout the world and you are relying on them to provide intelligence; you are working with them if the use of force becomes necessary; you are constantly working the message of the Great Seal [of the United States]. The Great Seal has the eagle with the olive branch in one talon and the arrows in the other. So the essence of diplomacy is you work these two things together. So much of the time

people say, "Well, there is a military alternative and there is a diplomatic alternative." I say, nonsense! These are two things that go together. They're not separate things; they're things that benefit from each other. That's the way you have to look at it.

FSJ: *Long before you became Secretary of State, you were already renowned as an economist. Do you believe economic and trade issues, particularly the promotion and advocacy of U.S. business interests, have received enough attention in U.S. diplomacy?*

Shultz: I believe the first message that I sent out to all posts after being sworn in as Secretary of State called to everyone's attention the importance of supporting American business abroad. It's one of our reasons for being there, after all. Obviously, you don't support one U.S. company over another but you support U.S. business interests strongly. I think it's important that our embassies do that, and my observation is that they now do.

From all I can see, the trade issues are being worked very skillfully. Largely, it is the U.S. Trade Representative who carries the ball on that, but he gets support from all around, so that's something that needs to be done. The economic issues involving exchange rates and things like that are mainly issues the Treasury Department deals with, but from my standpoint, I feel they have been working to improve the quality of work of the IMF and World Bank, and the sense of direction in international economic policy. Again, I'm not that close to it, but I know the State Department's Economic Bureau plays its part in all that, too.

FSJ: *Perhaps more than any other Secretary of State, many FS personnel remember you fondly for your consistent support of the Foreign Service, citing your stand*

against random lie detector tests as just one example. What do you see as the particular value of the Foreign Service as an institution, beyond the many individuals you've worked with?

Shultz: Well, the Foreign Service sits there as a body of talent that has taken pains to look about the world, the process of diplomacy, and has studied the history and politics of it. People by and large have language capability — they not only have languages but they've learned how to learn languages rapidly. And when you're abroad, and you're serving somewhere, it's a great advantage, obviously, to be able to speak the language in a reasonably fluent way.

The Foreign Service is also a kind of repository of the history of our diplomacy and a pool from which you draw people with great skills. And so from that standpoint, the importance of recruiting able people, of giving them a variety of experience and managing that experience so they get exposed to the things that matter, and having a training facility that develops their skills and which in itself carries the message that we care about your career and what happens to you — all those things, I think, are very important.

FSJ: *Amb. Thomas Pickering, last year's recipient of this award, observed in an interview with Foreign Policy magazine a couple of years ago that senior career diplomats sometimes get in hot water for taking too high a profile in presenting U.S. government policy too forcibly in public. Yet FSOs are also often criticized for being overly cautious. Do you think either criticism is fair, and if so, what can professional diplomats do to counter such complaints?*

Shultz: Well, they have to be themselves, and probably those criticisms are fair under certain circum-

stances. But I think it's important for a diplomat to be a professional, to be able to understand what's taking place wherever they're stationed, and provide not simply intelligence but interpretation of intelligence back to Washington, and then to stand firmly for whatever the U.S. position is. Sometimes that annoys people, but that's what a diplomat is paid for.

FSJ: *In addition to your work at Stanford University and as a distinguished fellow at the Hoover Institution, you have published several books, including a memoir of your time at State, since returning to the private sector. Any other projects in the works?*

Shultz: I teach and give talks around and work on those. I keep nourishing the idea of writing a relatively short book around the subject of accountability and its importance in economic and in security matters. So I keep gathering material and thinking about it, and maybe one of these days I'll get energetic enough to write this short book. I hope so.

FSJ: *We hope so, too. Any final thoughts?*

Shultz: I would go back to my image of the Great Seal, to recognize how important it is that we have a strong diplomatic corps able to conduct a global diplomacy, and that we have military capability, economic capability and willpower in our country, so that the diplomacy and the strength work together. If you go somewhere as a diplomat and you have no strength, you are in many ways wasting your breath. At the same time, if all we have is strength, and we don't build on that and use it, it tends to become debilitated. So the image of the eagle with the olive branch and the arrows should be a central feature of our thinking about this matter.

FSJ: *Thank you, Secretary Shultz.* ■

RESOLVING THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION

IT HAS BEEN MORE THAN 25 YEARS SINCE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT ANWAR SADAT MADE HIS HISTORIC TRIP TO JERUSALEM. WHY HASN'T PEACE COME TO THE MIDDLE EAST YET?

By CLAUDE SALHANI

When Egyptian President Anwar Sadat made his historic trip to Jerusalem on Nov. 19, 1977, to address the Knesset, I remember thinking that peace in the Middle East was about to suddenly break out. After covering Sadat's departure from Egypt, where I was based at the time, I shared a taxi ride into town with Jonathan Randall of the *Washington Post*. Randall, much like myself, had spent a good portion of his adult life covering Middle East conflicts. During the trip, we discovered that we both truly believed we would soon be out of a job, or, at least, that we would have to recycle ourselves in other parts of the world if we wanted to continue covering front-page news stories.

While Sadat did manage to move a notch forward down the tortuous road to peace, achieving a state of non-belligerency (though not complete normalcy) between Egypt and Israel, he failed to bring about a lasting resolution to the Middle East crisis. So, more than a quarter-century later, peace has yet to break out, and even before the war with Iraq began, the Middle East has remained a constant presence on the front pages of the world's newspapers and on our TV screens.

What went wrong?

I would submit that the main reason the peace process has not advanced further is that the Palestinians themselves were not directly involved in the initial negotia-

tions. They could have participated, but at the time chose not to, and as a result, the conflict continues to this day. It was a failure of judgment on their part. To paraphrase Abba Eban, the father of Israeli diplomacy, the Palestinians have never missed an opportunity to miss an opportunity.

That squandered opportunity to advance the cause of peace was not only a tragedy for the Palestinian people. The Israeli-Palestinian problem remains, to this day, the central rallying cry for religious extremists and political fanatics throughout the region. The Hamas fundamentalists, the Osama bin Ladens and the Saddam Husseins of this world have all jumped on the Palestine bandwagon at one time or another — albeit to advance their own agendas.

Similarly, in the name of the "Palestinian cause," many Arab countries have suspended fundamental human rights, imposed martial law, extended the duration of military service for years beyond the norm, and basically run their nations as police states in a state of perpetual war with Israel.

The Need for Reform

A 2002 Arab Human Development Report, written by leading Arab scholars and issued by the United Nations, identified a fundamental choice — between "inertia ... [and] an Arab renaissance that will build a prosperous future for all Arabs." It stressed the fact that Arabs dramatically lag behind the rest of the world in democracy, knowledge and women's rights.

As Edward Said pointed out in an article published in *CounterPunch* on Jan. 25, 2003, "Everyone says (with some justification, of course) that Islam needs reform and

Claude Salhani, a senior editor at United Press International, has covered the Middle East for the last 30 years.

that the Arab educational system is a disaster — in effect, a school for religious fanatics and suicide bombers funded not just by crazy imams and their wealthy followers (such as Osama bin Laden) but also by governments who are the supposed allies of the U.S.”

Despite massive oil reserves, the Arab world is also falling behind economically. Already, 14 million Arab adults lack the jobs they need to provide food and take proper care of their families, and 50 million more Arab youths will enter the already crowded job market over the next eight years. The average GDP of the 260 million Arabs is already less than that of 40 million Spaniards, and falls further behind with each passing year.

Other than in the energy sector, the countries of the Middle East are also largely absent from world markets. They generate barely 1 percent of the world's non-oil exports. Only 10 Middle Eastern countries belong to the World Trade Organization.

As the Cairo daily *Al-Ahram* reported in its Nov. 29-Dec. 5, 2002, issue, Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak warned his cabinet ministers during a 90-minute meeting in December 2001 that, “Giving a boost to exports is a matter of life or death.”

For all these reasons, Arab leaders must awaken to the fact that they cannot continue to muzzle their own peoples, denying them basic freedoms: freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of religion, and of electing their own leaders. Now, in the post-Saddam period, would be an opportune moment to begin pushing the Arab world toward change.

Every war brings with it fresh winds of change, and the war on Iraq should be no different. The ground is ripe for new initiatives. If the U.S. can harvest that energy in a positive manner by moving the “Middle East Road Map” forward, it should be able to reap positive benefits from the war. The Arab street, however, remains very suspicious of America's real intentions in the Middle East. The onus is now on the Bush administration to prove it is serious about settling the Palestinian issue, and not, as many Arabs believe, going after Iraqi oil.

There are indications that an awakening for change is beginning to seep through the region's entrenched cultural barriers that for years have blocked progress. The signs are faint and need to grow greatly in strength, but they are there.

In an unprecedented acknowledgement echoed in the Arab press (the Feb. 1 edition of *ArabicNews.com*, among others) that not all is rosy in the Arab world in the aftermath of the Sept. 11 attacks, no less prominent a figure than Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Abdullah declared in February 2003, that “the Arabs need to reform.”

While this point might seem blindingly obvious to many in the West, it is virtually unprecedented for such a key Middle Eastern figure to concur publicly.

The U.S. Role

But the U.S. needs to get serious about helping change come about in the Middle East by going beyond cheap rhetoric and half-hearted measures.

During a speech at the Heritage Foundation on Dec. 12, 2002, Secretary of State Colin Powell announced plans for a U.S.-Middle East Partnership Initiative, which he said “will provide a framework and funding for the U.S. to work together with governments and people in the Arab world to expand economic, political and educational opportunities for all. It will commit

the U.S. to \$29 million in initial funding for pilot projects in support of reform in each area listed above.”

Powell correctly observed that, “Today, too many people there lack the very political and economic freedom, empowerment of women, and modern education they need to prosper in the 21st century. Barely one person out of a hundred in the Arab world has access to a computer. Of those, only half can reach the wider world.”

Well-intentioned as the initiative is, many in the Arab world found the amount of \$29 million proposed by Powell to be almost insulting. “That amounts to just about the price of 6 M1A1 Abrams tanks and some spare parts,” says one Arab business executive in Washington, who is engaged in fostering closer Arab-American relations. “It amounts to roughly \$8.90 per inhabitant, less than the price of a movie ticket. Powell would have been better off not putting forward a figure,” he comments.

At the same time, U.S. bias in dealing with the Arab-Israeli issue needs to be re-evaluated and corrected, a move that will win the American government many badly needed friends in the Arab and Islamic world. The U.S. cannot hope to win the war on terrorism while continuing to infuriate millions of people in one of the most volatile parts of the world.

All parties to the conflict must make some hard choices.

Fortunately, President Bush recently reiterated that the U.S. wants to see an independent Palestinian state by 2005, which should give new impetus to the process.

Equally important, this facilitative role must apply across the board, not only where and when it is advantageous to Washington. That means prodding and pushing, not only the Palestinians, but also our allies in Saudi Arabia and other oil-rich nations, as well as Israel.

Finally, it is essential that these changes — if they are to come — be encouraged by the United States (and the European Community as well as the United Nations). Though the U.S. remains the only superpower, the E.U. and the U.N. should be encouraged to participate in bringing peace and stability to the Levant. These institutions bring important assets to the negotiating

The main reason the peace process has not advanced further is that the Palestinians themselves were not directly involved in the initial negotiations.

table. The E.U., for example, can assist in economic reconstruction and help the Palestinian Authority in their building of a democratic society. Lastly, the Arabs tend to

trust the E.U. far more than they do the U.S.

The Palestinian Question

Important as region-wide reform is, the Israeli-Palestinian question remains the epicenter of the Middle East conflict. Until that issue is properly resolved, the anger and frustration aimed at the United States will remain largely unchecked.

Of course, after a half-century of hostility, trust between the antagonists will not develop quickly or easily. I was asked a few years ago in a radio interview if I still believed there would ever be peace between the Israelis and the Palestinians. An eternal optimist, I replied, "Yes, eventually, but only after each side develops greater love for their children than the hatred and distrust they harbor for their enemies."

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dence-building measures at first, then building on them, the two sides can eventually achieve a genuine resolution to the conflict.

Naturally, Israel's security and well-being must be safeguarded for the peace process to advance. But in the long term, a lasting settlement with the Palestinians and the rest of Israel's neighbors will foster prosperity far more effectively than establishing and expanding settlements and building security fences, however entrenched and fortified.

To quell the violence, Israel needs to decide if it wants to be accepted in the Mideast, or to continue living as an armed camp in a perpetual state of war. Its current tactics are simply sowing the seeds of future hatred and resentment. For example, dynamiting the homes of alleged terrorists' family members and expelling them only

***The failure to advance
the peace process was
not only a tragedy for
the Palestinian people.***

ensures that another generation will grow up in hate, seeking revenge as suicide bombers and perpetuating the cycle of violence.

Similarly, one could well question the logic of bivouacking thousands of heavily armed troops to safeguard 400 settlers in the heart of an Arab city, amid tens of thousands of Arab inhabitants, as is the case in Hebron. In that regard, Prime

Minister Ariel Sharon's recent comment that Israel will probably have to give up some settlements to achieve peace is encouraging. However, many Middle East analysts remain skeptical. They would like to see concrete peace offers from Sharon before accepting that the hawkish warrior-turned-politician is changing his traditional hard-line stance regarding the Palestinians.

In return, the Palestinians need to demonstrate that they can manage a state that will not represent a threat to the very existence of Israel. They will have to show that they can control their fringe elements and prevent Hamas, Islamic Jihad and others from carrying out suicide bombings and other attacks.

That means convincing the rest of the Arab world that it, too, needs to jump onto the peace train. Syria,



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in particular, needs to realize that it has much more to gain from peace than from backing Hezbollah, the militant Shiite Lebanese militia, and thereby consigning the entire Middle East to a perpetual state of conflict.

Recent U.S. claims that Syria offered assistance to Saddam Hussein, as well as Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld's accusation that Damascus possesses chemical weapons, will only make this harder to achieve, however. The charges directed at Syria as the war in Iraq was winding down only served to irritate the Arab world.

A Comprehensive Settlement

Once enough trust has been established among the parties to resume a meaningful peace process, the negotiators will have to address three paramount issues:

1. The refugees and the right of return of Palestinians living in the diaspora;
2. The status of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and the capital of a future Palestinian state; and
3. The final borders of that Palestinian state.

Let's take these in reverse order.

The final borders. In July 2000, when President Bill Clinton tried to negotiate a comprehensive Middle East peace deal during his final months in office, he said: "The challenge for [then-]Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat will be to draw the contours of peace."

Unfortunately, they failed. Instead, the second intifada erupted, and the region has been spiraling downhill into greater violence ever since. But eventually, the peace caravan will set off again.

When it does, Israel must concede that the lands currently known as the "Palestinian Authority" — which will eventually mature into

***In the post-Saddam
Hussein era,
Arab leaders must stop
muzzling their own
peoples and
denying them
basic freedoms.***

the state of Palestine — must ultimately consist of a contiguous zone, not the Swiss cheese-like Bantustan that exists now. The Palestinians must be given economically viable territory that they can live on in dignity.

Toward that end, Israel will have to make some hard choices, including enforcing a freeze on settlements and dismantling some of them, as is consistent with the Mitchell Commission Report.

In return, the Palestinian leadership must prove that it is prepared to bring about an end to terror and violence and set up new institutions. However, any Palestinian leader — be it Arafat or someone else — who cracks down on the extremists without gaining some sort of concession from the Israelis first, such as the freezing of settlements, would be seen by his own people as having sold out to the enemy, and would not last very long.

The status of Jerusalem. If, as is likely, no accord can be reached on this perennially thorny issue in the short term, it should be left to be decided at a later date, after a greater level of trust has been established. The issue of Jerusalem can

easily wait another five or 10 years, or even longer.

Palestinian refugees. The most contentious issue, and the one that will ultimately make or break the peace process, is the fate of approximately six million Palestinian refugees living in the diaspora. According to figures released by the U.S. Committee for Refugees, in its 2000 World Refugee Survey report, about a quarter of them live in Jordan (1,512,700), with the rest in Syria (374,000), Lebanon (370,000), Saudi Arabia (123,000), Iraq (90,000), Kuwait (35,000), the Gaza Strip (798,000) and the West Bank (569,700). Many of the refugees live in squalid camps, their lives, and those of their children and grandchildren, in limbo for decades.

To address this reality will require a two-step approach involving the Arab states where the refugees are currently encamped and the cooperation of the developed world. As a first step, the Palestinian Authority would issue to all Palestinian refugees, wherever they are located, a "B-type" passport. That will solve the immediate problem in the sense that the refugees would become citizens of the new Palestinian state. However, they would not be granted the right to settle in Israel/Palestine, in recognition of the grim reality that Israel will almost certainly never allow those refugees living outside the Gaza Strip and the West Bank to "return" to live in Palestine.

Instead, they would receive financial compensation and assistance in immigrating to countries such as Australia, Canada, the U.S. and some European nations. (There is a precedent for such a move, when Great Britain offered similar conditions to Asians who had been expelled from Uganda by Idi Amin Dada.) At some point in the future, visitation rights could be granted on an individual

The U.S. cannot hope to win the war on terrorism while continuing to infuriate millions of people in one of the most volatile parts of the world.

basis to refugees who still have family ties there — but only for brief stays, not permanent residence.

In return, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, etc. would have to accept the

refugees as full citizens of their countries (which automatically means those nations must be included in the final peace agreement). This is far easier said than done, to be sure. In Lebanon, where the confessional balance is dangerously precarious, it could cause serious problems. Saudi Arabia, for example, has long been reluctant to grant citizenship to foreigners, even those who have resided there for generations.

Yet while this and numerous other obstacles remain on the road to peace, they are not completely insurmountable. And the alternative is literally unthinkable: left unresolved, the Palestinian question is analogous to a dangerously exposed fuse that can be ignited by a spark at any given moment, starting a devastating fire that not only engulfs its immediate surroundings but spreads far and wide. ■

Year-End Roundup of FOREIGN SERVICE AUTHORS

As we have done each year since 2000, the November 2003 *Foreign Service Journal* will include a list of recently published books by Foreign Service-affiliated authors in a special section: "In Their Own Write." FS authors who have had a book published either by a commercial or academic publisher last year or this year (2002-2003) that has not previously been featured in the roundup are invited to send a copy of the book, along with a press release or backgrounder with information on the author, to:

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APPRECIATION

FROM BOSWELL TO JOHNSON

VERNON A. WALTERS
1917-2002

BY FLETCHER M. BURTON

A moment of truth came for Vernon Walters during a White House meeting in 1970. Then serving as the U.S. defense attaché in Paris, he had just received his promotion to major general (conferring the second of his three stars, all of which, at his request, were on his shoulders at his Arlington Cemetery burial in March 2002). Chief of Staff Haldeman wanted to know if Walters would serve as the Oval Office notetaker. President Nixon had endorsed the idea in light of Walters' unmatched experience as an interpreter and aide. Haldeman later described Walters' reaction: "He drew himself up to his full height and said, 'A general commands troops. He is not a secretary.'"

Walters, who died Feb. 10, 2002, at age 85, started his career as a James Boswell and ended it as a Samuel Johnson. During a half-century in the nation's service, he transformed himself from a secretary to a general, from a derivative figure to a primary force.

Boswell, whose *Life of Johnson* may be the best biography in the English language, related to Johnson in a way once described as the ivy to the oak. So, too, Walters attached himself to towering figures, and then set about to evolve from the vine to the tree.

He began as a private in the Army, without a college education.

During a half-century in the nation's service, Vernon Walters transformed himself from a secretary to a general, from a derivative figure to a primary force.

He rose steadily through the ranks, but not because of his ability to command troops. He rose because of his gift for languages, flair for interpreting, dedication to preserving a written record of the spoken word, and his knack for winning the confidence of high-ranking officials.

Walters became a global presence in the course of his many sensitive presidential missions. Toward the end of his career, he served as permanent representative to the U.N., with cabinet rank, and ambassador to Germany.

He died a celebrated raconteur. Like Johnson, Walters may be remembered more for his table talk than for his writings. Secretary Powell got it right in hailing Walters' life and work as "storied." (See sidebar, p. 60.)

Walters would have enjoyed the tributes from those who gathered in Arlington's Old Post Chapel on March 5, 2002, to bid farewell. But he would have been annoyed at those who, in describing the extraordinary arc of his career, failed to appreciate his transformation from Boswell to Johnson. *The New York Times'* obituary, for example, stated he "may not have made history in his career, but he saw it firsthand." That is a half-truth.

Walters knew that some dismissed him as "a burly, jovial messenger boy who had no part in drafting the messages he was carrying," as he once summed up the uncharitable view of his role. He resented the put-down that he "spoke eight languages and thought in none." Several obituaries dredged up this quip, and even attributed it to him. Walters never said it of himself. It would have mocked his aspirations.

When, at age 74, he heard that Nixon in his memoirs had portrayed him as a "top-drawer strategic thinker," Walters took notice. That was how he wanted to be remembered.

Career Continuities

In May 1991, George F. Ward, the DCM in Bonn, hosted a celebration to mark the 50th anniversary of Walters' entry into U.S. service. Walters was then concluding his

momentous tenure as ambassador during Germany's unification. He delighted at the time in calculating that his service amounted to almost a quarter of U.S. history. The Germans lauded his role during unification. Chancellor Kohl stated that Walters was prescient in foreseeing, "as few others," the fall of the Berlin Wall and the coming of Germany unity.

Reviewing those five decades of service, one is struck by the abiding elements, the dimensions taking shape early on:

High-level service: Starting in World War II with General Mark Clark (who left a profound imprint on him), Walters became an aide and interpreter to numerous U.S. military officers, senior diplomats and presidents. Truman, Eisenhower, Nixon, Harriman, Marshall, Kissinger — Walters worked for them all. Thanks to the access afforded by such mentors, Walters developed his "uncanny ability to be present at large events," as the *Washington Post* obituary summed it up, such as the launching of the Marshall Plan and NATO.

Foreign contacts: As a spin-off of his work as an interpreter, Walters made numerous friends during the war, including the future presidents of France (de Gaulle) and Brazil (Branco), as well as the future king of Morocco (Hassan). Few could match his global network.

European languages: A gifted polyglot, Walters lived in Europe during his formative years from age 6 to 16, when he learned French, Spanish, German and Italian. He later acquired Portuguese, Dutch and Russian. He was, as a German official once observed, "the most European American."

Interest in history: As a boy, Walters succeeded in soliciting the autograph of the exiled German Kaiser, an early endeavor in his lifelong fascination with history. He believed that leaders needed to

know history and draw on it. He once said his motivation throughout his life was to "walk with history."

Amid these continuities, there lies the watershed, the great change that bisected his career. It took place not when he moved from general to ambassador. (In fact, he had played a diplomatic role early in his career.) Rather, it was his leap from aide to principal: in 1960, at the age of 43, he was named a military attaché in Rome. Looking back, he savored the moment when he became "my own boss at last."

Paradigm Shift

Walters appears only once in Dean Acheson's memoirs, *Present at the Creation*. The index lists him as "Walters, Col. (interpreter)." And so Walters was known during the first half of his career, the Boswell years. Here is Eisenhower's description in 1955: Walters "was one of the most brilliant interpreters I have ever known ... completely at home in six or seven other languages, and when he was using any one of them he seemed unconsciously to adopt the mannerisms of the people of that particular country." Nixon referred to him as "one of the world's most skilled interpreters." De Gaulle, whom Walters knew for nearly three decades, praised his French language facility as "eloquent."

Walters would later relate that working as an aide could be rough sledding. It involved meeting incessant demands (e.g., from Gen. Mark Clark during wartime) and tackling unusual challenges (e.g., smuggling Henry Kissinger in and out of Paris during secret talks with the North Vietnamese). His work as interpreter required setting down a record of the conversation, done later from memory and sometimes entailing all-night drafting — the very skill that caught the attention of Haldeman.

What if Walters had been killed in 1958 in the mob violence in Caracas during his tour with then-

Vice President Nixon? (The latter termed the brush with death one of his "Six Crises" and recalled the resulting "bond of friendship" on Walters' 50th anniversary of service.) How would Walters have gone down in history? As diplomacy's Boswell, perhaps — as a Zelig present at various creations, the scribe at the elbow of the great, recording their thoughts and chronicling their habits.

He, of course, survived the Venezuelan rock-throwing, and went on to elevate himself above interpreter and notetaker. Throughout the 1960s, Walters served as a military attaché at American embassies in Italy, Brazil and France. Promotions up the Army ladder followed, thanks in large part to his intelligence expertise. At the end of the decade, fortified by his second star, he felt confident to rebuff Haldeman and reject the role of Oval Office amanuensis (thereby prompting the fateful step to install the next best option, a taping system).

Walters felt further vindicated by Nixon's choice of him in 1972 as the CIA deputy director, the start of his 1972-76 stint that included five months as acting director. Walters had made it. He was now a Johnson, a figure quoted by others, a touchstone in policy debates. And he made a historic contribution in fending off the entreaties of John Dean for the CIA to get involved in the Watergate cover-up. He had finally stepped into history for what he did and said.

A Sense of History

Why have some failed to appreciate the paradigm shift in Walters' career? In part because, with his linguistic flair and remarkable memory, he was a brilliant Boswell. For some, he will forever remain as Acheson catalogued him: "Walters, Col. (interpreter)." In part, as well, because Washington policy-makers found his

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY'S SAMUEL JOHNSON

Commentary from Vernon Walters, drawn from his table talk, as recorded by the author:

ON HIMSELF:

■ (After terrorists fired at the American Embassy in Bonn): I have only contempt for this attack. I wanted to feel like de Gaulle who, after he was once shot at, dismissed it as “just an incident along the road.” But then, not everyone is de Gaulle. (February 1991)

■ I'm enjoying the World Cup. Action in soccer is continuous, unlike our football, where every few minutes people stop play to mill about and confer. (July 1994)

ON THE EUROPEANS:

■ Americans and Germans show a hypochondriacal compulsion to take each other's temperature. Bismarck once said, “We fear God and no one else.” Now Germans are saying, “We don't fear God but everyone else.” (June 1991)

■ (After attending Wagner's Lohengrin in Beyreuth): Wagnerian opera is only a German speech set to music. It goes on and on. The first act lasted an hour and a half. The second act lasted two hours. The third act I spared myself. (July 1991)

■ Eastern Germany is like deep, dark Africa during the days of Stanley and Livingston. Everyone is eager to explore it, as long as good hotels are available. (May 1991)

■ Frederick the Great emphasized human rights. . . . I was reminded of this last night as I read myself to sleep with the Prussian-American Friendship Treaty. (August 1991)

■ France most enjoys it when it stands alone, knowing that the world is out of step with France. (March 1991)

■ Germans think the French brought back Germany into polite society. But the French were real hard-liners at first. We had to use can-openers on them. (June 1991)

■ The Marshall Plan was like building on a cleared site because World War II had devastated Europe. Even three years after the war's end, only every other street light was burning in Paris. Food rationing was still in effect, except in Belgium, where we would dart over for cream puffs. (June 1995)

■ I once encountered Alexander Dubcek (who led the “Prague Spring” uprising in 1968) and told him, “You were a lantern blazing in the darkness of the night.” But I was thinking at the time, “He was dreaming the impossible dream: socialism with a human face.” (April 1991)

WARNINGS:

■ The danger is that the twentieth century will end how it began: with a war in the Balkans. (May 1991)

■ We made a mistake in dealing with the Iraqi generals after the Gulf War. We should have told them, along the lines of what we told Hindenburg and Ludendorff after World War I: “We will not deal with anyone representing Kaiser Wilhelm.” (August 1994)

policy input more anecdotal than analytical. Such criticism was most pronounced during the drive to German unification.

Walters may not have helped his cause with his own books. *Silent Missions*, published in 1978 when he was sitting out the Carter years, was his bid to be seen as a Johnson. Yet the book's Boswellian passages are most memorable. Where his exploits as an aide and interpreter with a front-row seat at history are set down, the book brims with vitality. But it is maddeningly discreet when discussing his trouble-shooting diplomacy. According to one White House colleague, this “reticence” in his writings made Walters an unlikely suspect as Watergate's “Deep Throat.”

Germans developed a fuller appreciation of Walters' transformation. The tributes of Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher are a case in point. Germans, as some of their memoirs now show, were struck by Walters' prediction in the spring of 1989 that the Berlin Wall would collapse and Germany would unite.

Over the years Walters had honed his instincts about Germany. In 1989, he wanted to sound the tocsin. He once framed a newspaper report of his views — “Walters: German Unity Soon.” The article had appeared in the *International Herald Tribune* on Sept. 4, 1989 — two months before the fall of the wall and 13 months before unification. In an act of pride and defiance, he hung the piece in his Bonn office.

Brent Scowcroft recalled later that Washington in 1989 did not want to initiate a discussion of German unity. Rather, in his words, it was inclined “to let sleeping dogs lie.” Walters drew the State Department's ire with his unauthorized pronouncements on the matter because their side effect was to com-

APPRECIATION

plicate U.S. relations with other capitals, particularly Moscow.

Walters' record on German developments was not spotless. He lost his bet, for instance, that Kohl would win re-election in 1998. Yet, as was said of Johnson, his talk "may not show the minute-hand, but strikes the hour very correctly." All in all, Walters exhibited a sense of history matched by few other American officials.

Both Observer and Shaper

And what if Walters had been wrong about German unity? Historians now contend that Germany slipped through a narrow window in 1989-90: Unification would not have been possible earlier or later, given the historical circumstances. Had his vision on unity been clouded, Walters might have

gone down as an over-the-hill eccentric — exactly how some Germans regarded him when he arrived as ambassador in April 1989.

But the sleeping dogs awoke. Walters was indeed clairvoyant. Not only did he sense the tide that would sweep away the Berlin Wall, he also made the conceptual connection — by no means conventional wisdom at the time — that German unity would be the natural outcome of political developments.

Walters thus capped his career with the end of the Cold War, a conflict that had lasted his entire adult life. By his own account, the most exciting moment came with the fall of the wall — fittingly, at the very end of his career.

Vernon Walters was unique. His career, with its unusual continuities

and dramatic bisection, was one of a kind. In his eulogy at Arlington Cemetery, former Secretary of State Alexander Haig called him "both an observer and a shaper of history." Precisely; he was both. ■

Fletcher M. Burton is consul general for the states of Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia at Consulate General Leipzig. He joined the Foreign Service in 1988, and has served in Bonn, Berlin, Pristina, Sarajevo, Riyadh and Washington. Mr. Burton first met Vernon Walters in 1990. He served as staff aide to Ambassador Walters at Embassy Bonn during 1991, the last year of Walters' tenure, and thereafter maintained contact with Walters for the rest of his life.

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CHRISTMAS IN JULY: HOLIDAYS AS A FOREIGN SERVICE CHILD

A CHILD RAISED IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE CAN RETAIN A SENSE OF TRADITION AND ALSO APPRECIATE NEW AND DIVERSE CULTURES, INCLUDING THEIR HOLIDAYS.

BY MIKKELA THOMPSON

For a Foreign Service child, the old adage “the only constant is change” truly applies. One bastion of stability in an FS child’s life, and sometimes the only one, is his or her family and their traditions. Foreign service families celebrate a plethora of holidays — American and foreign — and many assimilate traditions as they move around the world. But despite this, it is the celebration itself, a time spent with one’s family, home from school, that can provide an emotional oasis in a childhood lived overseas.

For FS children, holidays and celebrations are not particularly wedded to specific dates and seasons. And even the idea of what constitutes a holiday is flexible. The most common holidays are New Year’s and Christmas. Others include Valentine’s Day, St. Patrick’s Day, Easter, Mother’s Day, Father’s Day, the Fourth of July, Halloween, Thanksgiving and birthdays. Of these, the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving are the two most traditionally American holidays. FS kids are perhaps more lenient in their expectations of these occasions, given that the opportunities to celebrate them in a foreign country are necessarily limited. So for FS children, such holidays are mainly occasions involving informal gatherings with their families for big meals. Indeed for some, what makes holidays distinctly

“American” are the customs and recipes that are passed down from one generation to another.

Alexandra, the child of an FSO and an Austrian mother, who has lived in Bonn, Tangier, Casablanca, Arlington, Beirut, Munich and Brussels, remembers celebrating holidays overseas and in the U.S. as a cultural smorgasbord. From her American grandmother, she inherited a book of traditional Lutheran recipes and her aluminum Swedish meatball pan. From her Salzburger Omi (grandmother), she has a coveted collection of Austrian recipes from marillen knoedel (apricot dumplings) to buchtel (a prune-filled pastry).

Her most vivid memory is of Christmas, a holiday that is celebrated in Austria from the beginning of the Advent season, usually the first Sunday in December. “My mother made a big fuss over decorating for Christmas. First, she glued cotton balls to simulate snow on our bedroom windows in Casablanca. These windows looked out onto palm, lemon and mimosa trees which were, of course, never covered with snow!

On Dec. 1, we received a calendar to count down the days until Christmas, 24 days exactly.”

“On Dec. 6, we celebrated St. Nikolaus Day at home. Once, my parents asked a friend from the Austrian consulate, Mr. Auer, to dress up as St. Nikolaus and knock on our door. The sight of St. Nick was awesome! We were amazed that he really appeared at our house and left shoes filled with Moroccan tangerines and walnuts.”





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For FS children, holidays and celebrations are not particularly wedded to specific dates and seasons. And even the idea of what constitutes a holiday is flexible.


Mikkela Thompson is the Journal’s business manager.

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“I think this event turned us into true believers in Santa Claus! My sister and I visited a Moroccan department store and had our picture taken with a Moroccan Santa, and we left milk and vanilla Kipferl (vanilla-nut crescent-shaped cookies) for Santa’s hungry reindeer. Our Christmas holiday and dinner were always held on Dec. 24, for my mother the most holy of days in the Austrian liturgical calendar.

“In Lebanon, my mother, who probably missed a snowy Christmas season and her days on skis, shopped with my father on Hamra Street to buy us skis and boots. We learned to ski in Faraya, a ski resort an hour from Beirut.”

Like Alexandra, my own strongest memories are of Christmas. Even today, in my family, with an FSO father and a Danish mother, we have an almost ritualistic evening. We celebrate a Danish “yule” on Christmas Eve. I remain stubborn in my traditions, so although the schools, friends, houses and countries change, the same Danish cardboard Christmas elves decorate the bookshelves and we feast on the same menu each year. Roast duck, pork roast with crackling, red cabbage, potatoes, boiled and caramelized, brown gravy and rice pudding are still all I want to eat on Christmas Eve. After dinner, we dance around the Christmas tree singing carols and then, one by one, we open our presents while everyone else watches and adds their oohs and aaahs.

Understandably, Thanksgiving and the Fourth of July are of less interest outside the U.S., so many FS children do not celebrate these holidays when overseas. The exception is when events are arranged at the embassy — such as a Halloween parade with other embassy kids. Still, I recall spending one Thanksgiving at an American school in London. And we had a great time. Some of the British students even joined us for pumpkin pie! But really it was just an excuse to party on a school night. And as the world becomes more global, many holidays have been exported. For example, although it seems mostly market-driven, the Swedes appear to be taking Halloween to heart.

Many FS children participate in local cultural celebrations. In Paraguay, one child volunteered at the festival of “Our Lady of the Cacupe” or “Virgin of Cacupe,” a cel-

I remain stubborn in my traditions, so although the schools, friends, houses and countries change, the same cardboard Christmas elves decorate the bookshelves and we feast on the same menu each year.

ebation on Dec. 8 in honor of the Catholic saint of the town of Cacupe. Although it’s a Catholic holiday, even non-Catholic children join in by giving medicine to the homeless Guarani Indians. The FS child also recalled teaching the Guarani children to play with Legos. In Japan, another FS child attended Obon, held Aug. 13-15, which is the Japanese festival for showing respect to the dead. When we lived in Finland, the St. Lucia celebration was fun, and we followed the St. Lucia contestants’ pictures in the paper every day. St. Lucia was a Christian saint

who is symbolized wearing a white gown and a wreath of candles in her hair. In the dark cold month of December, the St. Lucia parade was a fairyland spectacle of light. Conversely, Midsummer is a huge celebration in the Nordic countries, and we enjoyed many a bonfire and skinny dip there in June.

Summer holidays can mean a change in schools and countries for FS kids. But summer vacation can be a source of normalcy and tradition, too. FS kids may return to the same house, their grandparent’s house, or summer camp. I attended the same summer camp in New Hampshire for seven years and despite my having roamed far-away continents in the intervening years, my cabin mates were always more interested in what life was like in the “south” (i.e., northern Virginia)!

Once back in the U.S., FS children quickly readjust to the local American traditions. They now integrate Halloween and trick-or-treating as well as the traditional Thanksgiving turkey dinner into their celebrations. Still, holidays spent in the U.S. can seem at first, to an FS child, just as foreign as a holiday on Pluto. I vividly recall my horror when, as a 10-year-old in Virginia, I went over to my friend’s house on the morning of Dec. 25 and watched her ravage her way through her Christmas presents — while her parents slept upstairs. It was so different from the Christmas I knew. “Occasionally, we have had Christmas dinner at a Vietnamese restaurant in Arlington,” Alexandra says. “Our whole family likes this twist on the traditional feast at home.”

But for some FS kids, coming back to the U.S. is no holiday at all. One FS child, returning from Zimbabwe, recalls his culture shock as he was bombarded with what

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Continued from page 64


For some Foreign Service kids, holidays spent in the U.S. can seem at first just as foreign as a holiday on Pluto — and for some it's no holiday at all.

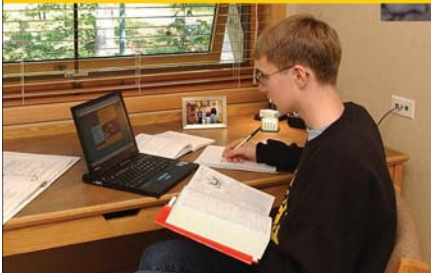
he calls questions about “Africa: the land of the lost” such as: Do you speak Ethiopian? Do you have one big president telling everyone what to do? Do you speak African? Do you have cars? Do you have swimming pools in Africa? How do you know English if you’ve been living in Africa? Over time, he has come up with glib answers to this barrage. For instance, on the issue of cars in Africa, he retorts: “Well, there are only two cars in the whole country. One is the president’s. The other one is ours. So it all works out.” And to the question of swimming pools, he answers: “Why do we need swimming pools? We have the watering hole!”


A child raised in the Foreign Service can retain a sense of tradition while also appreciating new and diverse cultures, including their holidays. But while most FS children would agree that they enjoy holidays, it is the people with whom they spend these holidays that make all the difference. Schools come and go but one’s family and friends are the true source of stability. Family and celebrations, whether wearing candles on your head or eating marillen knoedel, can provide the rarest of gifts in a nomadic childhood — a tradition of continuity. ■

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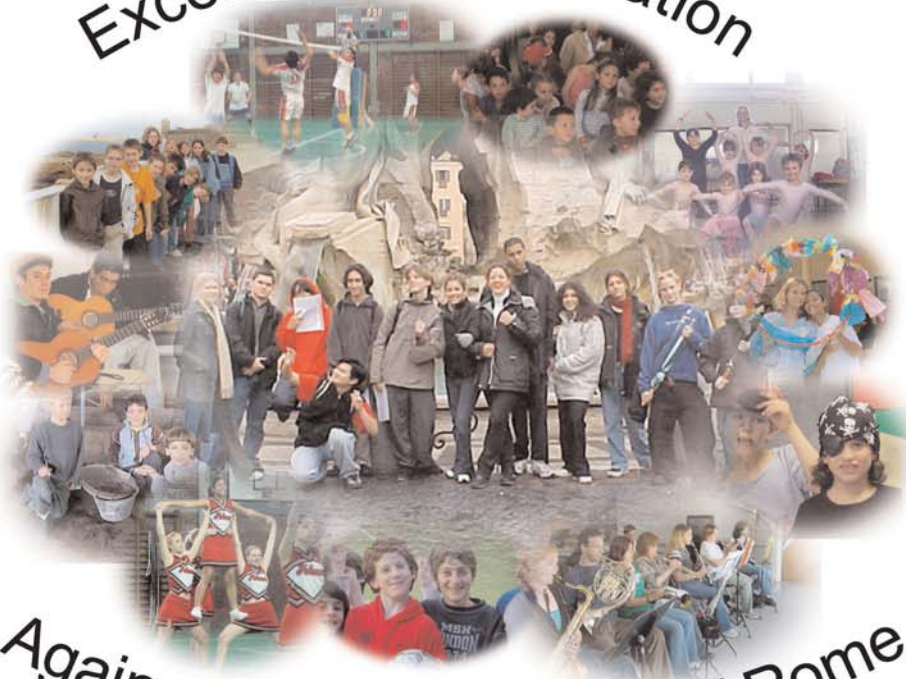
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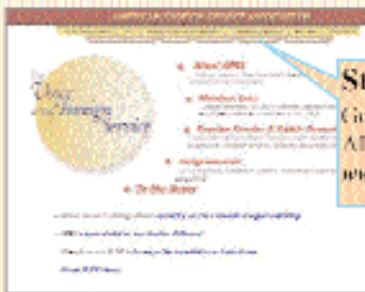
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<http://nces.ed.gov/globallocator/> — National Center for Educational Statistics

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St Andrews Sewanee	63	251	55/45	50	10	9-12	Y	N	60	Y	Y	Y	26,760
St Catherines School	74	285	All girls	26	15	9-12	Y	N	10	N	Y	N	24,500
Tilton School	69	210	60/40	70	17	9-12, PG	Y	Y	90	Y	Y	Y	31,850
Westover School	80	195	All girls	70	20	9-12	Y	Limited	55	Y	Y	N	25,800

DISTANCE LEARNING/HOMESCHOOLING

Calvert Education Services	70	Homeschooling program. K-8 For more info. go to: www.calvertschool.org											
University of Missouri at Columbia	22	21,000	Independent study: 3-12, PG, accredited HS diploma. cdis.missouri.edu/go/fsj3.asp										

MILITARY SCHOOLS

Admiral Farragut Academy	68	345	75/25	50	10	6-12	N	N	20	Y	N	Y	18,000
Oak Ridge Military Academy	80	240	85-15	85	30	7-12, PG	N	Y	7	Y	N	Y	19,600

SPECIAL NEEDS SCHOOLS


Gow School	79	143	All boys	100	20	7-12, PG	N	All LD	20	Y	Y	N	37,250
Vanguard School	76	143	60/40	95	30	5-12, PG	N	Y	50	Y	Y	N	31,400


OVERSEAS SCHOOLS

American Overseas School of Rome	67	600	50/50	7	70	PK-PG	N	Y	30	Y	Y	N	21,000-25,000
Brentwood College School	70	425	58/42	78	22	8-12	N	N	42	Y	Y	N	16,500
Jakarta International School	63	Go To www.jisedu.org											
John F. Kennedy International School Switzerland	69	65	50/50	50	70	K-8	N	Limited	90	Y	Y/N	No	31,300
Leysin American School in Switzerland	72	330	58/42	100	65	9-12, PG	Y	Limited	75	Y	Y	N	31,000
Trinity College School	74	590	57/43	61	31	9-12	Y	-	60		Y	N	18,000

OTHER

Foreign Service Youth Foundation	68	Go to www.fsyf.org											
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 Hockaday School, Thewww.hockaday.org
 Sandy Spring Friends School.....www.ssfs.org
 Shattuck - St. Mary's Schoolwww.s-sm.org
 Washington International
 School.....www.wis.edu
 West Nottingham Academywww.wna.org

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

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 Foxcroft Schoolwww.foxcroft.org
 Gunnery, Thewww.gunnery.org
 Kiski School.....www.kiski.org
 La Lumiere Schoolwww.lalumiere.org
 Madeira Schoolwww.madeira.org
 Milton Academywww.milton.edu
 Miss Hall's Schoolwww.misshalls.org
 Salem Academy.....www.salemacademy.com
 St. Andrew's Sewanee.....www.sasweb.org
 St. Catherine's School.....www.st.catherines.org
 Tilton Schoolwww.tiltonschool.org
 Westover Schoolwww.westoverschool.org

MILITARY SCHOOLS

Admiral Farragut Academywww.farragut.org
 Oak Ridge Military Academywww.oakridgemilitary.com

DISTANCE LEARNING

Calvert Education Serviceswww.calvertschool.org
 University of Missouri
 (at Columbia).....www.cdis.missouri.edu

SPECIAL NEEDS SCHOOLS

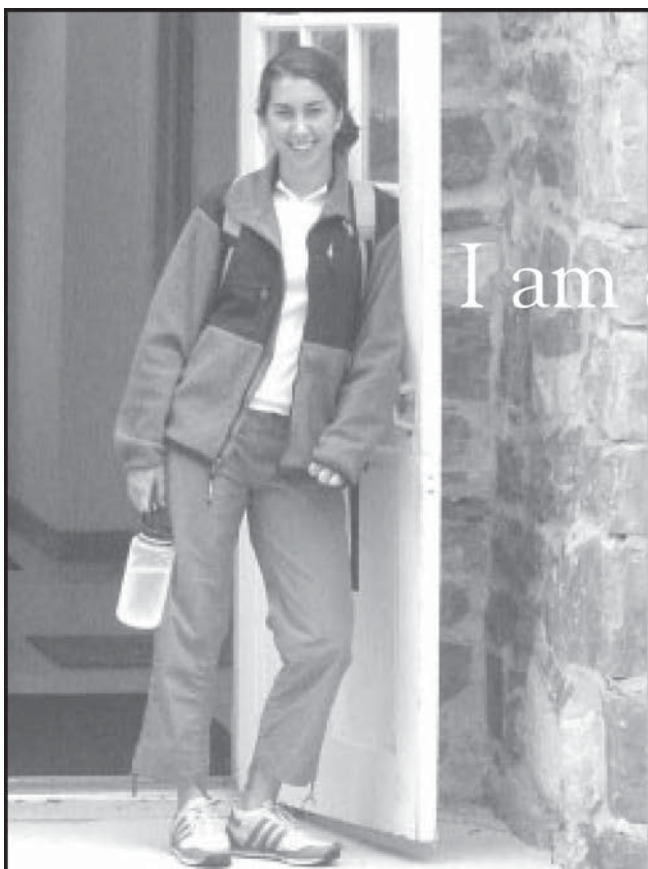
Gow Schoolwww.gow.org
 Vanguard Schoolwww.vanguardschool.org

OVERSEAS SCHOOLS

American Overseas
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 Brentwood College Schoolwww.brentwood.bc.ca
 Jakarta International School.....www.jisedu.org
 John F. Kennedy International
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OTHER

Foreign Service Youth
 Foundation.....www.fsyf.org



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What do girls themselves have to say? Younger girls, before they reach adolescence, typically have a lot to say. They know what they want. Their voices are clear. But as girls enter their teens, we hear them less clearly. Often their voices grow smaller as they try to make sense of the world and discover the true girl inside. Sometimes their voices change—and we no longer recognize them.

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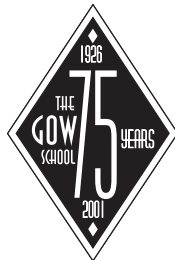
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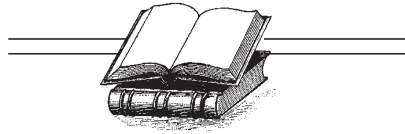
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BOOKS

Good Intentions

A Strategic Vision for Africa: The Kampala Movement

Francis M. Deng and I. William Zartman, Brookings Institution Press, 2002, \$19.95, paperback, 198 pages.

REVIEWED BY DAVID W. BOYLE

A Strategic Vision for Africa: The Kampala Movement describes an initiative by African scholars and political leaders to develop a systematic approach toward fostering the political and economic development of their continent in the post-Cold War era. This campaign is known as the Kampala Movement, after the Ugandan capital where a conference was held in 1991 to formulate a set of guiding principles for the movement.

The authors of this account, Francis Deng and I. William Zartman, are both academics: Deng is a fellow at the Brookings Institution and Zartman is a professor at Johns Hopkins University.

As they note in their opening section, the movement was launched in 1988 by Olusegun Obasanjo (who has just been re-elected president of Nigeria). Obasanjo recognized that after three decades of economic decline, Africa needed a comprehensive plan to end chronic crises — particularly since the end of the Cold War threatened to extinguish what little interest the West had shown in Africa.

In his view, Africa's problems were not rooted in the past but in the failure of Africans to establish multi-party democracy, which he saw as the prerequisite for economic development.

*The “Kampala Document”
envisioned an Africa
resembling Western
Europe.*



Arguing that only genuine democracy could create stability and attract the foreign capital Africa so desperately needed, he called for open markets, regional cooperation, and democratically elected governments with established constitutions.

At the May 1991 conference, some 500 signatories endorsed that set of principles. In essence, the “Kampala Document” envisions an Africa resembling Western Europe, with a framework — modeled loosely on the European Union — for governing political relations among (and within) all African states.

Yet as Deng and Zartman explain, the problems began when Obasanjo and his colleagues tried to put these ideals into practice.

For example, the Kampala conference recommended restructuring the Organization of African Unity (now called the African Union) to make it more effective and representative. But when that proposal was submitted to the OAU in June 1991 and again in July 2001, it was soundly defeated both times. In fact, no country has ever endorsed the Kampala Document.

Opposition came from a variety of sources. Some African leaders insisted that democracy could function in a one-party state; others rejected the whole idea of multi-party democracy as a Western concept that was destabilizing in multi-ethnic societies and emphasized, instead, the need for strong, centralized governments to ensure stability. Still others, like Zambia's former President Kenneth Kaunda, blamed Africa's ills not on a lack of democracy but on external factors — colonialism, slavery and imperialism. Finally, many leaders preferred the OAU's emphasis on noninterference and territorial integrity.

All the same, Deng and Zartman remain optimistic about the influence and future of the movement, hailing the Kampala Document as “one of the most important works of statesmanship of the postwar era.” Yet their own analysis shows that it was considerably less than that — as well-intentioned and progressive as the document was, it has proved impossible to implement.

The idea of a multi-party democracy may be inherently attractive to Americans, but in a continent wracked by failed states, ethnic conflict, collapsed economies, and endemic corruption, it is sobering to realize that African leaders are not only unable to work together to build good government, but are also apparently unable to even agree on what the concept means. ■

FSO David Boyle has served in Lagos and Malabo. He is currently a watch officer in the Nuclear Risk Reduction Center.



IN MEMORY

Paul H. Boeker, 64, retired Foreign Service officer and former ambassador to Bolivia and Jordan, died March 29 of a brain tumor at his home in San Diego, Calif.

Born in St. Louis, Mr. Boeker graduated Phi Beta Kappa and magna cum laude from Dartmouth College. He received a master's degree in economics from the University of Michigan and pursued further economic studies at Princeton University.

Mr. Boeker joined the Foreign Service in 1961. His career included postings in Germany and Colombia and service on the State Department Policy Planning Staff in Washington, D.C. In 1975, he received the Arthur S. Fleming Award, given annually to 10 outstanding young men and women in the federal government.

Mr. Boeker served as ambassador to Bolivia from 1977 to 1980, and received the State Department's Superior Honor Award for protecting American lives during a military coup d'état there in 1979. From 1980 to 1983 he was director of the Foreign Service Institute. From 1984 to 1987, Mr. Boeker was ambassador to Jordan, where he brokered secret meetings between Jordanian and Israeli officials on a range of issues, including telecommunications, counter-terrorism and water sharing.

At the time of his retirement in 1988, Mr. Boeker was a member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations. After leaving the Foreign Service, he became president and chief executive of the Institute of the Americas at the University of

California at San Diego, a nonprofit business networking organization serving the U.S., Canada and Latin America. Formerly a resident of Chevy Chase, Md., he moved to California at this time.

Mr. Boeker was a member of the American Academy of Diplomacy. At the funeral service in California on April 3, Alex Watson read a resolution expressing the Academy's admiration for the example set by Mr. Boeker during his 27-year career in the Foreign Service and subsequent 15 years of public service at the Institute of the Americas.

Survivors include his wife, Margaret Macon Campbell Boeker of San Diego; and three children, Michelle Horn of Atlanta, Kent Boeker of San Diego and Madison Boeker of Washington, D.C.



David Garrison Briggs, 83, retired FSO, died on March 29 in Laconia, N. H. Mr. Briggs was born Jan. 19, 1920, in Ashaway, R.I., the son of Ralph Maxon and Frances Heard (Babcock). He earned a bachelor's degree in journalism at the University of Wisconsin in 1942. He served as a volunteer with the American Field Service, British 8th Army, from 1942 through 1944, and with the French 1st Army in 1944 and 1945.

Following World War II, in 1945 and 1946, Mr. Briggs was a reporter for the *New York and Paris Post*, based in Paris. From 1946 through 1949, he was a foreign correspondent

for Reuters in Paris, London and Washington. From 1949 to 1952, he served as a correspondent for United Press in Washington.

Mr. Briggs joined the Foreign Service in 1952, and was posted as press attaché to Embassy Belgrade from 1952 through 1954. Thereafter, he was assigned as a USIA information officer to Paris (1954-57), Calcutta (1957-59), Ankara (1959-63), and Saigon (1964-66). He attended the National War College in Washington, D.C. in 1963 and 1964.

From 1966 to 1971 Mr. Briggs was posted to New Delhi as counselor and deputy public affairs officer. He served in Washington as chief of the National Security Advisory Staff of USIA from 1971 to 1974. He was counselor and public affairs officer in Colombo (1974-76) and Islamabad (1976-78). He retired from the Foreign Service in 1978 and settled in Meredith, N.H.

Mr. Briggs published poetry, and is the author of *Action Amid Ruins* (1945).

He is survived by his wife of 56 years, Yvonne Armande Hare, and three children: Jean Ellen, Anne Babcock and David Garrison Jr.



John M. (Jack) Cornelius, 78, a retired Foreign Service officer, died March 27 in Oklahoma City, Okla. As a career employee with USAID, he served in Thailand, Tanzania, Liberia, and Washington, D.C.

Prior to his employment with the State Department, Mr. Cornelius was

IN MEMORY



a commissioner of agriculture for the state of Oklahoma and a rural development specialist with the Department of Agriculture. He was also a World War II veteran, serving in the U.S. Army from 1943 to 1946.

After retiring from the Foreign Service, Mr. Cornelius established a career as a U.S. bankruptcy trustee for the Federal Bankruptcy Court in Oklahoma City, Okla. He retired from this position in 2001.

Mr. Cornelius is survived by his wife Charlene, daughter Johnna, and three grandchildren.



Sandor Johnson, 59, retired Foreign Service officer, died in Encinitas, Calif., on Dec. 3, 2002.

Mr. Johnson was born in Georgia. He received his bachelor's degree from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1963. After a stint as a Peace Corps Volunteer in India, he joined the State Department in 1969. He was posted to Ankara in that year, then to Belize as administrative officer in 1971. His next posting took him to Karachi in 1974, where he served as general services officer. He was transferred to Bangui as administrative officer a few years later.

In 1978 Mr. Johnson returned to State, where he worked in personnel and communications for seven years. In 1985 he was sent to Buenos Aires as an administrative officer. He served in Mexico City as personnel officer from 1989 to 1994, and in the same capacity at the "tri-mission" in Brussels from 1994 to 1997.

After retiring to California in 1997, Mr. Johnson earned a certificate in teaching English as a second language, which he did in private

schools and at San Diego Community College. He also found time to pursue his interest in Judaism. He was chairman of the Foreign Service Retirees Association of Southern California and an active member of the Foreign Affairs Association of South and Central California.

Mr. Johnson leaves his wife, the former Carole Polen, and two sons. The family requests that contributions in his memory be made to the AFSA scholarship fund.



George Wesley Ogg, 70, a retired FSO and loving father and grandfather who is remembered for his marvelous sense of humor and dedication to family, community and country, died of idiopathic pulmonary fibrosis on Jan. 29 at Casey House hospice in Rockville, Md.

A native of Washington, D.C., Mr. Ogg attended Alice Deal Junior High and Woodrow Wilson High School, before going to Paris, France, for his senior year at the American School. Mr. Ogg majored in foreign relations at Colgate University, and received a master's degree in economics from The George Washington University. He also received a master's degree in systems analysis from the University of Maryland, which he attended as a presidential fellow. He lacked only the dissertation for a doctorate in economics.

Mr. Ogg served in the Air Force as a pilot and photo intelligence officer, and was assigned to Japan in the 1950s. He retired from the Air Force as a captain. In 1954 Mr. Ogg married Frances Zabilsky in the Navy Chapel on Nebraska Avenue in Washington, D.C.

He joined the Foreign Service in

1957, and was posted to Togo, Tangier, British Guyana (now Guyana), Venezuela, Costa Rica and Washington, D.C. In Washington, Mr. Ogg was detailed to the Commerce Department, served as an economic and management analyst at State and as executive secretary of a State Department task force on the country director system. He also served on a White House task force on reorganization of the technical assistance functions of the Agency for International Development, and was chief of the commodities and developing countries division in State's Office of Economic Analysis.

In 1977 Mr. Ogg attended the Canadian Defence College in Kingston, Ontario. He was deputy director of the State Department's Office of Canadian Affairs in the early 1980s, and a member of the U.S.-Canada permanent joint board on defense. His overseas assignments ended with four years as consul general in Vancouver.

From 1986 to 1988 he taught foreign relations at the National Defense University. Mr. Ogg retired from the Foreign Service in 1988, and continued to teach for several years at NDU. He received the Department of State Superior Honor Award in 1974 and a Meritorious Honor Award in 1980.

Mr. Ogg enjoyed his retirement to the fullest, and was known to comment: "How did I ever find time to go to work?" He was an avid tennis player and gardener. Fishing, traveling and reading were favorite pastimes. He also enjoyed working on genealogy.

Mr. Ogg is survived by his wife of 48 years, Frances, of Potomac, Md.; their two children, David (and his wife Cindy) of Warren, N.J., and

IN MEMORY



Carolyn Tripp of Newark, Del.; a sister, Janet Dollacker of California; and four grandchildren (Kevin, Kristin, Sarah and John). His family will be comforted by many wonderful memories of his love and their times with him.

Mr. Ogg was interred with full military honors in Arlington National Cemetery. Memorial contributions may be made in his name to either Montgomery Hospice Society, 1450 Research Blvd., #310, Rockville MD 20850, or to the American Lung Association, 14435 Cherry Lane Ct., #310, Laurel MD 20707.



Idar Rimestad, 86, retired FSO and former ambassador, died of complications due to Alzheimer's disease at his home in San Diego, Calif., on Feb. 13.

Mr. Rimestad was born in Alsen, N.D. He received a bachelor's degree in philosophy from the University of North Dakota in 1940. In 1967, the University bestowed upon him its "Sioux Award" in recognition of outstanding alumni achievement.

In a long and distinguished diplomatic career that took him far afield from his native North Dakota, Mr. Rimestad often had the title of secretary, and this prompted some concern at home. Mrs. Rimestad recalls: "During one of his visits to his family in North Dakota, a well-meaning relative advised him that if he would just work a little harder, perhaps he might get a promotion from secretarial work." It was an incident she and her husband laughed about for years.

Mr. Rimestad began professional work in 1941 with the National Youth Administration, and then held several

positions as a wage analyst at the War Department, culminating as director of European command position classification from 1947 to 1949. During this period he also worked briefly at the Atomic Energy Commission.

In 1949 Mr. Rimestad entered the Department of State as a staff officer assigned to Frankfurt, and subsequently served as personnel officer in Bonn (1951-1953) and Washington, D.C. (1954-1957). He received his Foreign Service officer commission in 1955.

From 1957 to 1960, at the height of the Cold War, Mr. Rimestad was posted as an administrative officer to Moscow. In a memoir that is part of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training's Diplomatic Oral History Collection, Mr. Rimestad recalled being at then-Vice President Nixon's side in July 1959 when Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev told Western journalists that his country would soon surpass the United States in technology. The exchange that followed, in front of a kitchen exhibit of a model American house, came to be known as the "kitchen debate." Beginning in May 1960, Mr. Rimestad found himself involved in the tense aftermath of the famous "U-2 Incident," the capture of American Captain Gary Powers whose plane was shot down over Russia by the Soviets.

Mr. Rimestad returned to Washington in 1962, and was appointed executive director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. In 1964 he was assigned to Paris as administrative counselor. While in Paris, Mr. Rimestad was detailed to New Zealand to help with the advance work for President Lyndon B. Johnson's trip to that nation. Joining the presidential party

for the trip, Mr. Rimestad worked as a liaison between White House staff and the State Department's supply and procurement personnel. This was his first contact with the White House, he reports in his oral history.

Upon returning to Paris, Mr. Rimestad received a call from the White House requesting that he meet with Johnson. As Jack Williams recounts the story in his obituary in the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, when the president asked his political affiliation, Mr. Rimestad replied that he was "apolitical." Apparently satisfied with that response and impressed by his qualifications, President Johnson appointed Mr. Rimestad deputy under secretary of State for administration, a position he held from 1967 to 1969.

In 1969, President Richard Nixon appointed Mr. Rimestad as the U.S. representative to United Nations Organizations in Geneva, Switzerland, with the rank of ambassador.

Mr. Rimestad's broad experience in the Foreign Service made him a popular mentor for newcomers to diplomacy. In 1970, when Richard Funkhouser, a young officer who had never supervised more than 12 employees, was assigned to oversee a staff of 3,300 Americans and Vietnamese in Bien Hoa, Vietnam, as the deputy director of Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support, he wrote for advice to Amb. Idar Rimestad, with whom he had served in Paris. Years later, the letter Mr. Funkhouser received from the ambassador was published in the *Foreign Service Journal* under the title, "Management Advice From a Master" (*FSJ*, August 1996). It is a gem of management wisdom — pithy, true and eminently practical — with such advice as: "Your time at your

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

As we have done each year since 2000, the November 2003 *Foreign Service Journal* will include a list of recently published books by Foreign Service-affiliated authors in a special section: "In Their Own Write."

FS authors who have had a book published either by a commercial or academic publisher last year or this year (2002-2003) that has not previously been featured in the roundup are invited to send a copy of the book, along with a press release or backgrounder with information on the author, to:

Susan Maitra
Associate Editor
Foreign Service Journal
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20037-2990

**Deadline for
submissions
is Sept. 1.**

IN MEMORY



desk should be the rare occasion. Your time away from it should be the norm."

Mr. Rimestad retired in 1973, and moved to Fountain Hills, Ariz., where he served on the Maricopa County Planning and Zoning Commission for eight years. In 1997, he moved to San Diego, Calif., where he had vacationed for many years. There he especially enjoyed downtown walks. He was interested in antiques, travel and animals, Patricia Rimestad says. A lover of poetry, he was an avid reader until his vision was impaired by macular degeneration.

Mr. Rimestad was married in 1940 to Ann Prestbo, by whom he had two daughters: Sanna Lee Solem of Bethesda, Md., and Karen Ann Chappelle of Kensington, Md. Ms. Prestbo died in 1979. He is survived by his second wife, Patricia Whitmore Jenkins, whom he married in 1981. Other survivors include two stepsons, Michael E. Jenkins of Seattle, Wash., and Mark W. Jenkins of Pleasanton, Calif.; a brother Sigurd Rimestad of Taylors Falls, Minn.; a sister Judit Jaynes of Apple Valley, Minn.; five grandchildren and one great-grandchild; and many cousins, nieces and nephews.



William Burton Sowash, 85, retired FSO, died of pancreatic cancer Dec. 3, 2002, at his home in Bethesda, Md. Mr. Sowash worked for the State Department for 30 years, retiring in 1976 as deputy chief of mission in Tegucigalpa.

Mr. Sowash began his diplomatic career in 1946 as a foreign affairs analyst and served as Panama desk officer from 1949 to 1956. He served as a political officer in Spain and El

Salvador before assignment to Guatemala as an associate regional director of the Agency for International Development in the mid-1960s. From 1970 to 1974, Mr. Sowash was counselor for political affairs at Embassy Buenos Aires.

An Ohio native, Mr. Sowash was a 1939 Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Chicago, where he also belonged to Phi Delta Kappa and received a master's degree in history.

During World War II, he served with the Navy in the Pacific as a cryptographer. He studied Russian at the Navy School of Oriental Languages and attended the Inter-American Defense College. He later retired from the Naval Reserve as a lieutenant commander.

Mr. Sowash was a recipient of the State Department's meritorious and superior honor awards. His hobbies included travel and gardening.

He is survived by his wife, Ruth M. Sowash of Bethesda, Md., whom he married in 1945; a daughter, Carolyn S. Mitchell of Portland, Maine; a sister; and two grandchildren. ■

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REFLECTIONS

Two Worlds

BY DAVID RABADAN

In Jeddah, our family's first post, guest workers from all over the Muslim world came to Saudi Arabia to work and send money to their families. One day in March 1983, a Pakistani couple appeared for a visa interview. Their 3-month-old son was in obvious distress. Cradled by his mother, he weighed about seven pounds and his fingers, toes and lips were blue, obvious signs of a serious heart defect that required immediate attention. His mother knew the medical treatment her son needed was only available in the U.S. So she called the embassy, and the nurse practitioner identified several American hospitals specializing in heart surgery.

Next, the baby's family applied for their visas to travel to the U.S. A heart specialist in Washington had agreed to treat the baby, pending a review of his medical history. With no medical background, I could only surmise the seriousness of the baby's illness. A local doctor agreed to see the child that afternoon. As soon as the doctor saw the infant, he had him admitted to a hospital.

At 5:30 the following morning, the phone rang at our house on the embassy compound. The woman whom I had met just the day before said to me: "My son, Mohamed, has

David Rabadan retired from the Foreign Service in 2002. He and his family were in Jeddah from 1982 until 1984. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

*In a flashback,
I saw that
Pakistani family
sitting in my office
in Jeddah, hoping
that a miracle was
within their grasp.*



just died. It is God's will." She would return to Pakistan to her other children. In the 20 years since these events, I have replayed them in my mind many times.

In March 2001, our family welcomed the arrival of our second grandchild, Gabriel. Our daughter Rebecca, who was only 5 when I met Mohamed's family in Jeddah, had delivered her son in Roanoke. The baby seemed healthy, but had a slight heart murmur. After a couple of days at home, Gabriel was in distress and a cardiologist diagnosed a serious heart defect, Truncus Ateriosus — an incompletely formed heart — that would require almost immediate open-heart surgery.

In a flashback, I saw that Pakistani family sitting in my tiny office in Jeddah, hoping that a miracle was within their grasp as they sought the visas to the United States. How different were the prospects for

Gabriel simply because of his place of birth!

At Duke University Hospital, he was treated by one of the top heart surgeons on the East Coast. The medical team needed five hours to repair his plum-sized heart, while his parents and grandparents nervously awaited the results.

When we first saw him later, Gabriel was plugged into eight monitors, was receiving several intravenous fluids and oxygen, and had three tubes draining his lower abdomen. Three other small children, all similarly fed, tubed and monitored, kept him company. It was humbling to contemplate the depth of the expertise and dedication of doctors and staff, and the sophistication of the equipment monitoring his recovery. Again, I thought of Mohamed and his parents, and about how far in time and place we had moved.

Today, Gabriel Chester looks like a "Campbell's kid," a redhead with a happy disposition that belies the challenges he faced so early in life. Yet for me, his life will be linked forever with Mohamed's, that dark-haired Pakistani infant who had no chance to live.

But there is one important similarity between the two families. Mohamed's parents taught me about the power of faith and hope. Our daughter and son-in-law have reinforced that lesson, through their own courage and determination in the face of adversity. ■

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • June 2003

AWARDEES TO BE HONORED AT JUNE 26 CEREMONY

2003 AFSA AWARD WINNERS

The American Foreign Service Association is proud to announce the winners of the 2003 AFSA Awards. AFSA places great emphasis on these awards, which serve to recognize intellectual courage and outstanding achievement among Foreign Service personnel. AFSA will confer its annual awards on Thursday, June 26, at 4 p.m. in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room of the Department of State. Each award winner will receive a certificate of recognition and a monetary prize of \$2,500. Everyone is welcome. To RSVP for the awards event, call (202) 338-4045, ext. 515. For more information, call Awards Coordinator Barbara Berger at (202) 338-4045, ext. 521.

LIFETIME CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN DIPLOMACY:

Former Secretary of State George Shultz

AFSA's annual award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy will be conferred on former Secretary of State George P. Shultz. Secretary of State Colin Powell is planning to present this award to Secretary Shultz. Last year's recipient was Ambassador Thomas Pickering. Previous recipients were U. Alexis Johnson, Frank Carlucci, George H.W. Bush, Lawrence Eagleburger, Cyrus Vance, David Newsom, and Lee Hamilton. (Read the interview with Secretary Shultz on page 47 of this issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*.)

CONSTRUCTIVE DISSENT AWARDS

This year's AFSA awards for intellectual courage, initiative and integrity in the context of constructive dissent will be presented to the following Foreign Service employees who demonstrated the courage to speak out and challenge the system on a subject related to their work:

The **Christian A. Herter Award**, for a senior Foreign Service officer, will be shared by four members of the Embassy Moscow Consular Section: James B. Warlick,

Continued on page 3

LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

AFSA Initiatives Gaining Ground

AFSA has been especially active on the Hill in recent months as we get closer than ever before to passage of the capital gains tax exclusion for sale of a primary residence.

Director of Legislative Affairs Ken Nakamura and AFSA officers have been making frequent trips to Capitol Hill to push AFSA's legislative agenda. Here are updates on some of those issues:

TAX BILL: We are optimistic that we are

Continued on page 9

AFSA MARKS 30 YEARS AS A UNION

REPRESENTING THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Here is the Jan. 26, 1973, letter from Secretary of State William Rogers to AFSA Chairman of the Board William C. Harrop, making official AFSA's role as the exclusive representative of State Department Foreign Service employees. The Agency for International Development recognized AFSA as the exclusive representative on April 5, 1973, and USIA did so on April 18, 1973.

Having received notice from the Executive Secretary of the Employee-Management Relations Commission of the certification that the American Foreign Service Association received a majority of the valid votes cast in the representation election among the eligible Foreign Service employees of the Department, I hereby accord recognition to your organization as exclusive representative pursuant to E.O. 11636, Section 7 (c) and Title 22 CFR, Section 14.6 (c).

I am confident that the constructive and cooperative relationship between management officials and the organization representing Foreign Service employees envisioned by Executive Order 11636 will be our mutual goal under the exclusive recognition granted by this letter.

Sincerely yours,
William P. Rogers



SECRETARY POWELL AT 2-YEAR MARK

AFSA Contributes to Major Report

The Foreign Affairs Council — an umbrella group of 11 organizations — recently released an assessment of Secretary Colin Powell's State Department at the two-year mark. AFSA President John Naland was the principal drafter of the report, but the final version reflected the input of a drafting committee consisting of distinguished former ambassadors.

The FAC assessment is the first in-depth and comprehensive evaluation of Secretary Powell's State Department. It provides a much-needed update to the numerous blue-ribbon panel reports done just before Secretary Powell took office — reports that found the State Department to be suffering from long-term mismanagement and underfunding. The assessment documents Secretary Powell's substantial, even historic, accomplishments in strengthening the diplomatic component of U.S. national security. Importantly, however, the report also details the work that remains to be done to revitalize the machinery of diplomacy.

For more details about the report, see Cybernotes in this issue of the *Journal*. To read the assessment, go to www.diplomatsonline.org.

Life in the Foreign Service

■ BY BRIAN AGGELER, FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER & CARTOONIST



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Briefs • Continued on page 3

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Runner-up: William David McKinney, USAID Country Coordinator, Embassy Baku.

The **William R. Rivkin Award**, for a mid-career officer, will not be presented this year.

The **W. Averell Harriman Award**, for a junior Foreign Service officer: Dean M. Kaplan, who was Political/Military Affairs Officer at Embassy Abuja at the time of his nomination.

The **Tex Harris Award**, for a Foreign Service specialist: Charles O'Malley, FP-3, who was assigned to Embassy New Delhi at the time of his nomination.

Runner-up: John L. Whitney, OBO Project Director in Abu Dhabi.

EXEMPLARY SERVICE AWARDS

These awards recognize exemplary performance and extraordinary contributions to professionalism, morale and effectiveness.

The **Avis Bohlen Award**, for a Foreign Service family member whose relations with the American and host-country communities at a Foreign Service post have done the most to advance American interests: Bonnie Miller, Embassy Athens.

Runner-up: Kristine Luoma-Overstreet, Consulate Merida.

The **Delavan Award**, for extraordinary contributions to effec-

tiveness, professionalism and morale by an Office Management Specialist: Laura Baer, Embassy Islamabad.

Runner-up: Nancy Alain, currently at Embassy Tallinn, but nominated for her work at Embassy Bujumbura.

The **M. Juanita Guess Award**, for outstanding service as a Community Liaison officer assisting American families serving at an overseas post: Joy Bacik, CLO, Embassy Jakarta.

Runner-up: Julie Konichek, CLO, Embassy Cairo.

AFSA ACHIEVEMENT AWARDS

The AFSA Achievement Awards honor two AFSA members (one active and one retired) for their significant contributions to AFSA and its members during the past year.

AFSA Achievement Award, for an active member: Cecile Shea, Embassy Tel Aviv.

AFSA Achievement Award, for a retiree member: Dick Thompson.

AFSA Special One-Time Award for Lifetime Contributions to Foreign Service Family Members: Mette Beecroft.

AFSA greatly appreciates the efforts of all those who sent in nominations or served on a panel this year. A warm thank you also goes to Director General Ruth A. Davis for co-sponsoring our annual awards ceremony, which is open to any employee wishing to attend. Articles about each of this year's award winners will appear in the July/August issue of *AFSA News*. □

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

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Inside a U.S. Embassy: Getting the Word Out

The 2003 edition of AFSA's book, *Inside a U.S. Embassy*, is being well received both inside and outside the Foreign Service community. Among those who have expressed enthusiasm for the book are Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Marc Grossman and Director General Ruth A. Davis, both of whom spoke at the March 27 book launch. As part of our public outreach and education efforts, we sent the book to every member of Congress, and we have received kind words from a number of Senators and Representatives.

The State Department's Diplomatic Readiness Task Force ordered 10,000 copies of the book for State's recruiting efforts, and since the book became available in late February, another 2,500 have been sold through the fulfillment house's Web-based ordering system.

We would like to see this unique resource in every career counseling office and foreign relations department in every university and college in America. It is time for Americans to understand what the Foreign Service is and what goes on inside embassies, and this book is one of AFSA's contributions toward that aim.



If you (or anyone you know) are giving a talk on the Foreign Service, consider using this book as a resource. We have promotional postcards available. Just send a request to embassybook@afsa.org and we'll send you cards.

Go to www.afsa.org/inside for ordering and other information about the book. Orders can also be placed by phone: (847) 364-1222. (The number is not toll-free.)

AFSA Wins Laundry Ruling

AFSA wrote to the department to protest the recent ruling that laundry and dry cleaning expenses would not be reimbursed for FSI students, pointing out that the Federal Travel Regulations state that these expenses will be reimbursed. The department responded positively to our request that the ruling be altered, and stated that it would modify the FAM to reflect the new ruling allowing laundry and dry cleaning expense reimbursement. FSI students on TDY orders whose claims were rejected may now resubmit the claims.



JOS

Continued on page 6

The Cost of Job Satisfaction

I speak to all State Department new hires at the luncheons AFSA hosts for them. AFSA President John Naland and I urge them to join AFSA and provide examples of how we help individual members of the Foreign Service as well as the Foreign Service as a whole.

I always preface my remarks by explaining that I have been in the Foreign Service for 38 years and have never once doubted that my job was worthwhile and my work a positive contribution to my country. In short, the Foreign Service has provided me with a great deal of job satisfaction over the years. But I also tell them that compared with when I started out, Foreign Service life overseas has changed: The world is far more dangerous than it was when I took the oath.



For all those who think Foreign Service life is glamorous, for those critics who assume we all live in London, Paris or Rome, the truth is that FS life is difficult and dangerous.

The statistics on assignment terms and evacuations bear this conclusion out. We have posts where the assignments are for only one year (Beirut, Kabul, Peshawar, et al.), where no family members are allowed (Kabul, Khartoum, Monrovia, et al.) and where only adult family members are allowed (Yemen, Abidjan, et al.). It is clear that many Foreign Service children won't be seeing a parent at the breakfast table for a year or longer. Shortly after dependents departed Abidjan, I received an e-mail from a mother with two toddlers who reported

that when she talked to her daughters about "Daddy," they smiled and ran to point at the computer. "Daddy" was an e-mail abstraction to them.

Dependents and non-emergency personnel have been authorized to leave China, Vietnam, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore because of SARS. This move was dictated by uncertainty over how the disease is spread and the lack of proper medical care. As of this writing, there is no medevac service that will transport a SARS patient out of China, so our people at those posts have to simply hope not to be infected.

Civil unrest prompted ordered departure of non-emergency personnel and dependents from Caracas and Abidjan in late 2002, while the threat of terrorist attacks sent non-emergency personnel and all dependents home from Indonesia.

Before some posts went on departure status, they first moved to danger pay status. Tel Aviv and Jerusalem received an extra R&R trip, because suicide bombings prevented families from coming to visit them. Then the threat of Scud attacks from Iraq provoked the departure of all dependents and non-emergency staff. This pattern was repeated elsewhere. These evacuations have a very unsettling effect on staff and families, especially children who prefer their lives to be routine and predictable.

Who knows what threats lurk out there in the future? After all, until March 15, no one had ever heard of SARS. Yet in only one month, it has killed hundreds and sickened thousands, disrupted trade and tourism, thrown hundreds of thousands out of work, seriously damaged economies and separated Foreign Service families.

For all those Foreign Service relatives who think Foreign Service life is glamorous, for those critics who assume we all live in London, Paris or Rome, the truth is that FS life is difficult and dangerous. Our families pay a greater price today than mine did 38 years ago for our job satisfaction. □

AFSA Stands Up for the Foreign Service

BY SHAWN DORMAN

AFSA could not remain silent as former House Speaker Newt Gingrich attacked the State Department and the Foreign Service. In an April 22 speech to the American Enterprise Institute, Gingrich said, among other things: "One world view is process, politeness and accommodation. The other world view is a world view of facts, values and out-

AFSA's response to the Gingrich speech was quoted in the press, including the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times*, Reuters and AFP.

comes. The State Department as an institution and the Foreign Service as a culture clearly represent the former." He called for a reorganization of the State Department and for abolition of the U.S. Agency for International Development.

AFSA issued press releases to all major media nationwide containing a letter from AFSA President John Naland to Gingrich, as well as a letter from the American Academy of Diplomacy. AFSA delivered copies of both letters to the State Department press corps and to Spokesman Richard Boucher, who quoted Amb. Tom Boyatt's comments in the AAD letter at a noon briefing.

In his letter, Naland stated: "You (Mr. Gingrich) have essentially accused (Foreign Service) employees of treason; of betraying the trust their government has placed in them; of betraying the oath they took. In your speech to the American Enterprise Institute on April 22, 2003, you enumerated supposed instances of these employees' betrayal, saying they threaten to undermine the president's

policies and have led to the collapse of the Department of State as an effective instrument Sir, these are serious charges indeed. If you have proof you should run, not walk, to the offices of the nearest U.S. attorney. However, you do not have proof. Your charges are spurious. As such, they will be consigned to the dustbin of history where they belong, along with that paper Senator Joseph R. McCarthy held up in a speech in Wheeling, W.Va., on Feb. 9, 1950, claiming to 'have in my hand a list' of traitors in the State Department."

AFSA's response to the Gingrich speech was quoted in the press, including the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times*, Reuters and AFP. There was substantial coverage of rebuttals from State Department officials, including Secretary Powell, Deputy Secretary Richard Armitage, Assistant Secretary Elizabeth Jones, and Spokesman Richard Boucher. At a Senate Appropriations subcommittee hearing on May 1, Secretary Powell said that State is "always willing to receive helpful, constructive comment as to how to improve our operation." Secretaries of State, he said, have all "been criticized at one time or another for being like diplomats, for trying to find peaceful solutions . . . creating alliances. That's what we do. We do it damn well, and I am not going to apologize to anybody." □

Vietnam Reunion

AFSA member Lillian (Lillums) Alger writes to inform us that there will be a reunion of U.S. government employees (all agencies) who served in Vietnam up to the fall of Saigon in 1975. The reunion will be held in New Orleans Sept. 10 – 13. For more information or to request a flyer, contact Mary M. Collias by e-mail: mjcollias@aol.com or by mail: 5119 Bellemeade Ln., Alexandria, VA 22314.

V.P. VOICE: FCS ■ BY PETER FREDERICK

Almost Getting It Right

Having served for three years as the deputy assistant secretary for international operations and four years as the AFSA vice president for FCS, I have a unique perspective on the US&FCS, which should be called the Agency That Almost Got It Right (ATAGIT). Over the years, FCS has come close to doing the right thing many times, but cannot claim complete success. For example, separating from State in 1980 was right for FCS mission goals but not for logistics coordination. FCS has yet to feel it has received good value for its International Cooperative Administrative Support Services (ICASS) payments. Officers report to Commerce management, but at post, the ambassador — not the director general — is in charge.



FCS is considered one of the best-performing government organizations within and outside the Beltway.

FCS moved into Commerce, which was almost the right place at the time. But Commerce, a massive domestic department, had little idea how to manage a small foreign affairs agency. Commerce lawyers knew trade law but not the Foreign Service Act. Human Resources professionals knew regulations covering the Civil Service but not the Foreign Service. Forming a seamless international

market promotion organization by merging FCS with Commerce's domestic offices was almost a good idea. Both organizations share the mission of helping American invested companies profit from international business. However, each has different personnel policies, promotion and reward procedures, challenges and benefits.

There has never been a question about the ability of FCS officers to accomplish their mission. FCS is considered one of the best-performing government organizations within and outside the Beltway. But there have always been questions about the ability of FCS to manage its operations: many in the foreign affairs community use FCS as an example of how not to manage resources. Last year, for example, 22 members of the Senior Foreign Service were selected to receive awards or promotions in recognition of outstanding accomplishments. It took 19 weeks to get the necessary clearances.

The files are full of examples of how we almost got it right. That's probably why the last four years have been so challenging. The day I started as VP, I was asked to accept a change to the commissioning and tenure policy. Three years later, after several false starts, we signed an agreement and the C&T board has had two meetings. Right, finally. But it has taken over three months to get the secretary to accept the board's recommendations. Not quite right. We agreed on a new assignments policy and signed all the appropriate documents. Right! But two months later management reopened the negotiations demanding the right to assign whomever they want to whichever post regardless of incumbents, bidders or the Foreign Service Act. Not right. In early 2000, AFSA and FCS agreed to a completely new evaluation procedure and precepts for the selection boards. Right! But after three years of "technical review," we have begun the negotiations again. Not right.

FCS should not be part of Commerce, but we are. FCS management should do a better job supporting its officers. Not every team can experience an undefeated season: sometimes you win, sometimes you lose. However, if you can win more than your share of the close ones, you've had a good year. These have been four good years. Thank you for giving me the opportunity to serve. □

SMG: A Call for Transparency

Several members have asked why the new mission director and deputy mission director positions in Iraq were not advertised. Why, instead of tapping an active-duty officer, was a retired officer recalled? While recognizing the stellar qualifications of the officers chosen, it is important to challenge the agency for the lack of transparency in managing the Senior Management Group.

“No foreign affairs agency except USAID has a formally structured dual assignments system for senior officers that systematically divides an ‘out-group’ from a priestly caste ‘in-group.’” That’s how the select grouping of overseas and Washington leadership positions was characterized in the July-August 2001 *AFSA News*. Why does USAID choose to select and manage its senior career executives through a caste system? How does this process affect career planning for the rest of us? Shouldn’t the system be transparent?

It is time for more transparency about the criteria used to select people for SMG positions.

USAID’s direct-hire cadre is around 2,100, and only half of those are Foreign Service. Of those who are Foreign Service members, about 120 are in SMG positions. We have a separate-but-not-equal assignment system composed of select SMG members for just a small fraction of our cadre. We question why authority for evaluating and selecting people to fill the most senior positions is vested in a group that meets part time and is composed of people who are executives, not human resources professionals. Members of such a group tend to substitute personal factors for professional human resources factors in decision-making, studies of similar practices have shown. Shouldn’t the precious limited time of these executives be put toward mentoring and training?

With the steady attrition in the Human Resources Office over the past several years, how can the agency afford to support two assignment systems? Finally, what happens to those who presently fall out of the SMG after an initial go? Do they become pariahs? Why should it be so? Would it not be possible to factor SMG-type assignments into career paths such that, for example, promotion to FS-1 or SFS requires service in an SMG position?

Promotion into the Senior Foreign Service has become virtually impossible for anyone not serving in an SMG position. This perverse inversion has effectively taken the power of promotion out of the hands of the panels and put it into the hands of the secretive SMG. This situation has significantly disadvantaged those who have the more technical backstop experience. The panels view a well-written evaluation on a mission director or deputy mission director a winner every time over a well-written evaluation of a “techie.” Is this fair? Is this in the best interest of the agency in its search for top talent? Or does it merely favor the best schmoozers among us while destroying the enthusiasm and motivation of the rest?

It is time for more transparency about the criteria used to select people for SMG positions. At a minimum, the USAID direct-hire cadre (especially those in the Foreign Service) as well as HR need such information for career planning and succession planning. As of this writing, AFSA USAID has requested a briefing on Iraq staffing. □



AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Continued from page 2

Notes from the Foreign Service Youth Foundation

The Foreign Service Youth Foundation sponsors the Around the World in a Lifetime (AWAL, for 13- to 19-year olds) and Globe Trotters (for 9- to 12-year olds) youth development programs for Foreign Service kids who share the experience of living overseas. In April, the FSYP launched a new newsletter for FS parents called *FS Youth on the Move*. FSYP has also revamped its other newsletters, *Here-There-Everywhere* and *Wings of AWAL*, and will now be mailing quarterly issues to members.

Mark your calendars for these teen summer activities:

- June 14 — Baseball Game (Prince William County Potomac Cannons);
- July 4 — FSYP/AAFSW Independence Day Potluck/Picnic
- July 19 — Manassas Splashdown Waterpark
- August 20 — Six Flags America Adventure Theme Park
- Sept. 21 — Welcome Back Family Picnic, Lubber Run Park

Newcomers are always welcome at events. For more information about the Foreign Service Youth Foundation, AWAL and Globe Trotters, contact FSYP at (301) 404-6655 or e-mail fsyf@fsyf.org. Web site: www.fsyf.org. Financial support is always welcome: designate CFC Participant #8488.

AAFES Online Shopping

Foreign Service members stationed abroad can sign up for online ordering from the Army and Air Force Exchange Service catalog (AAFES) by faxing a written request (e.g., “I am an overseas Foreign Service member applying for online ordering authorization”). Include a photocopy of your embassy or consulate ID badge (front and back) and a copy of your assignment orders plus, if the information is not already listed on those documents, the name of your post, your date of birth, and Social Security number. Fax the docs to (800) 446-0163 (toll-free) or (214) 583-5135, or mail them to Exchange Catalog Sales, Attn: Internet, P.O. Box 660211, Dallas TX 75266-0211.

Foreign Service shoppers must renew their registration every 12 months by faxing a copy of their embassy or consulate ID badge and giving the month and year that their overseas tour is scheduled to end. Orders from AAFES, like shipments from other vendors, cannot be delivered if they exceed size or other limitations imposed on your post’s mail service by APO or State regulations. There is still a question about whether AAFES can ship to the 20189 (pouch) ZIP code, but AFSA is working with AAFES HQ to set this up. □

Q&A

Retiree Issues

Turning the Tables: Questions for Ward Thompson

Q: You are leaving AFSA after more than a decade as retiree liaison. Any last thoughts about the job?

A: It has been a lot like another Foreign Service assignment, involving me primarily with Foreign Service members and State Department offices, but fuller and richer in many ways. Working with retirees has given me contact with colleagues whose careers spanned several generations, and I have gotten to know hundreds of them in person and by telephone or e-mail. My “in-country” travel has enabled me to visit individuals and retiree associations throughout the U.S. I have had the satisfaction of tracking retirement issues as they evolve in Congress and the bureaucracy. Most importantly, I have been able to assist fellow members of our Foreign Service community in resolving

many of the benefits problems that sometimes arise in retirement.

Q: What were some specific accomplishments?

A: I like to think that I contributed to better service institutionally to Foreign Service retirees; for example, by urging both AFSA and the Retirement Office to offer toll-free telephone service. We recently got the Resource Management Bureau to offer a broader range of annuity deductions to retirees. I am particularly pleased that the Job Search Program’s graduation reception, which I was involved in initiating, continues to provide an occasion for AFSA and State to thank colleagues as they retire. None of these achievements would have been possible, of course, without the help of many others who are dedicated to improving the transition to retirement and the two-way exchange of information with the retiree constituency.

At the individual level, it has been gratifying to intervene successfully on behalf of retirees and surviving spouses who turn to AFSA for help on benefits issues. In many cases, the need has been merely to get information and paperwork flowing. Often there has also been financial hardship involving denial of a medical insurance claim or a government demand for repayment of a miscalculated annuity, for

example. Sometimes we can save members considerable money by appealing these decisions on their behalf.

Q: Any failures?

A: Well, yes. Despite our efforts with the now-defunct Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps and its successor AFSA skills database, we have not been able to convince the State Department to adopt a systematic agency-wide approach to rehiring annuitants, which we believe would offer greater management efficiency. And we are still looking for ways to get more Foreign Service retirees to join AFSA and strengthen our voice in working on their behalf.

Q: Any other observations about AFSA?

A: Only the obvious: Although AFSA represents several career categories, most of its members can also be regarded as future retirees. That is why we must devote resources not just to meeting the needs of current retirees but also to ensure that the interests of future retirees will be protected. In turn, it is never too early for Foreign Service employees to give a thought to future retirement benefits. I have enjoyed working with the thoroughly professional AFSA staff and dedicated board members who have seen to it that adequate information and attention to these benefits are essential parts of the AFSA agenda. □

ADVICE FROM FS MEMBERS

Where to Retire?

Editor’s Note: Thanks to those retirees who have already responded to our call for insights into how to choose a retirement location. Clearly this is a topic of interest to AFSA members. Beginning with this issue, we will periodically publish excerpts from the responses. Please send your comments to afsaneeds@afsa.org.

I noted with interest in the April *AFSA News* a letter from a reader about where to retire. I am nearing retirement and have found that there is a wealth of information available on the Internet.

One excellent resource is the *CNN/Money* Web site at <http://money.cnn.com/retirement/>. The site includes useful ideas and leads you to other resources such as tools for financial assessment of your personal situation. The site periodically features articles on where the best place to live or retire might be depending on individual situations.

Another useful resource is the *Find Your Spot* Web site at <http://www.findyourspot.com/> where you can fill in a quick (or much more detailed) questionnaire and receive a summarized listing of cities that meet your particular “perfect place.” The listings for over 25 cities feature links to more detailed information about each city, including such niceties as local cultural activities, economic situation, area attractions, and the real estate situation. If you don’t like the cities presented based on your search, you can go back and change a few of the variables to get a completely new listing.

The *Kiplinger* Web site offers some nice retirement tools at <http://www.kiplinger.com/managing/retirement/> and contains useful links to other information.

The bottom line is that there’s lots of information available on the Internet just waiting for you to get out your miner’s hat and do a bit of mining!

Carl G. Britt, Jr.
Deputy Manager
IBB Tangier, Morocco □

A Job Well Done

BY SHAWN DORMAN

Ward Thompson will leave AFSA in June to move to California with his wife Diana. Ward has been an institution at AFSA and an invaluable resource for Foreign Service retirees, both AFSA members and non-members. Executive Director Susan Reardon tells us that for the last 11 years, he has been “like an anchor” for AFSA. “Ward’s easygoing manner and sage advice will be sorely missed,” she says. While we wish him all the best, this move will be a tremendous loss for AFSA.

“Ward has been a strong advocate for the interests of retirees and has played a key role in making sure that the department communicates with its retirees,” says AFSA President John Naland. “We are grateful for Ward’s countless contributions.”

Retiree Liaison

Ward has been AFSA’s liaison with Foreign Service retirees, a position which has an ombudsman function and an informational function. He has engaged the appropriate offices to help retirees solve problems, and has disseminated information retirees need through a newsletter that he wrote single-handedly every two months for the last 11 years. “AFSA’s retiree newsletter is a gold mine of practical information for our annuitants,” says AFSA Retiree Vice President Bill Farrand.

In his role as liaison, no inquiry was ever too trivial for him, and he assisted hundreds of retirees when they felt they had nowhere to turn. “Any question coming in from our retired brothers and sisters — even from those who were not AFSA members — received Ward’s thoughtful and timely attention,” says Farrand. “He paid close attention to the bread-and-butter issues that can baffle people living far from Washington.” Bill Farrand adds that he



relied heavily on Ward for advice and counsel as he tried to best serve retirees.

“Ward responded to retiree inquiries with competence, courtesy and dispatch. He maintained close working relations with retirement officials in the State Department and other foreign affairs agencies, whose cooperation was crucial in eliciting actions or information requested by the retirees,” says former AFSA Retiree VP Bill De Pree. “He is unflappable, always patient and willing to help another colleague,” adds Professional Issues Coordinator Barbara Berger. Ward also oversaw AFSA’s cooperation with Foreign Service retiree groups around the country, in some cases facilitating the establishment of the group.

Susan Reardon explains that the entire Foreign Service retiree community is indebted to Ward for his efforts on their behalf: the solutions to individual problems for retirees often have broader ramifications that benefit the entire community. Ward tells us he has enjoyed being able to engage with the State Department on retiree issues, “as part of the family but without the constraints of an employee.”

Public Outreach

Ward has also made a significant contribution to AFSA’s public outreach efforts, engaging retirees in the process of educating the American public about foreign affairs and the Foreign Service. “He has been the AFSA ‘voice’ and ‘face’ of retiree concerns, but he also acted to keep our alumni members engaged in support of the

FS and generally of American engagement in world affairs. This is an important contribution,” says Harry Blaney III, president of the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad.

Ward has been instrumental in the creation and management of AFSA’s Foreign Service Elderhostel program. He played a key advisory role in the development of the highly successful program, which has educated thousands of Americans on the crucial role of the Foreign Service in defending national interests, says AFSA Communications Director Tom Switzer. “The success of AFSA’s Elderhostel Program,” says Bill DePree, “owes much to Ward’s day-to-day oversight of the programs and to the many substantive suggestions he made over the past seven years to make these programs more appealing and timely.”

Ward retired from the Foreign Service in 1991 following a 25-year career as a political and labor officer with a strong focus on

the Nordic countries. He remains active as a Nordic specialist, lecturing at local universities and at FSI. He served in Helsinki, Copenhagen, Gothenburg, Seoul and in Washington. He has degrees from Brown University and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and is a Marine Corps Vietnam veteran.

Ward appreciated his job at AFSA because it gave him an opportunity to work with the Foreign



Ward with Congressman Tom Davis, R-Va., Chair of the House Government Reform Committee at the 2001 Hill launching of the health care premium conversion bills.

Service community. “Retirement is a time when instead of forgetting the FS you can reconnect with colleagues. In this job, I have connected with hundreds of colleagues I never knew before, and it has been a pleasure. The job is fun because you never know what’s going to be on the other end of the line when you pick up the phone.” Luckily for all those retirees who have called AFSA over the past 11 years, it was Ward who picked up the phone. □

nearing the end of our four-year effort to amend the tax code concerning the current two-in-five-years occupancy requirement to exclude the tax on capital gains on the sale of a primary residence. The Senate has now passed a bill fixing this problem for both the Foreign Service and the uniformed military. The House passed a different version, also covering both Foreign Service and the military. We are now talking with key players in both chambers urging them to resolve the differences and adopt a final version to send to the president for enactment.

AUTHORIZATION BILL: AFSA has recently met with majority and minority staffers from both the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House International Relations Committee, pushing for provisions to:

1) authorize the payment of Overseas Comparability Pay;

2) give the Secretary of State more discretion to waive dual compensation limitations on Foreign Service retirees who return to work for the department (AFSA is supporting the department's proposal);

3) raise the cap on post differential payments from 25 to 35 percent of base pay (a proposal from the department's recent hardship staffing working group that was not part of the administration's request);

4) place a deadline for the Office of Personnel Management to implement last year's law allowing certain PITs to buy back retirement credit;

5) allow Foreign Service members to get advances on salary when they transfer from overseas back to the U.S.;

6) allow Foreign Service members serving at hardship posts to be reimbursed for out-of-pocket expenses for property management services when they rent out their primary residence; and

7) amend the 5-percent low-ranking rule to give selection boards the discretion to low-rank a smaller percentage of employees.

OVERSEAS COMPARABILITY PAY: Despite our efforts, there is no realistic hope of convincing Congress to implement Overseas Comparability Pay without the full support of the administration. Secretary Powell sought such support from the OMB last fall, but his request was rejected. Thus, AFSA's

current task is to begin to educate the Hill on the merits of this issue in an effort to soften up the ground for a hoped-for administration push for Overseas Comparability Pay. That push, if it ever comes, will not be before late this year when the FY 2005 budget request is finalized.

CONTACT WITH SENATOR LUGAR: AFSA President John Naland and two retired ambassadors (representing the Foreign Affairs Council) met with Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard Lugar, R-Ind., and his chief of staff in April. The group made a strong pitch for congressional support for Secretary Powell's efforts to secure a sustained infusion of resources for personnel, information technology, security and facilities. A longtime friend of the Foreign Service, Senator Lugar expressed his strong support and detailed his efforts to increase the resources devoted to international relations. The meeting was very upbeat and positive.

MILLENNIUM CHALLENGE ACCOUNT: AFSA submitted testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee expressing its views on the administration's requested MCA legislation. We urged the committee to include the administrator of USAID on the Millennium Challenge Corporation Board, and fully utilize and integrate the expertise of the Foreign Service at the agency. We also urged that consideration be given to the increased demands on the personnel at USAID.

APPROPRIATIONS: AFSA has submitted testimony to the House and Senate Appropriations Subcommittees on Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary, and to the House Foreign Operations Subcommittee. In the CSJ testimonies, we pointed out the importance of fully funding, at a minimum, the administration's request. We spoke of the need to completely fund the third year of the Secretary's Diplomatic Readiness Initiative to fill the 1,100-person shortage identified in reports from 1999 and 2000. We noted that these reports are now three years old, and that personnel needs should be continuously examined. We continued to urge funding for embassy security, but also pointed to the need to provide protection for our families

in our overseas communities, in their homes, in the schools and elsewhere. In testimony submitted to the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, we emphasized the need for more funding in the operations account for State, and perhaps more importantly, we urged that USAID receive the same support for security funding that the department has received.

PRE-TAX ANNUITIES FOR HEALTH PREMIUMS: Federal employees and annuitants pay an average share of 29 percent for federal health premiums and the federal government picks up the other 71 percent. However, since October 2000, the impact on active-duty employees and retired annuitants has been different: employees can now pay their 29 percent in pre-tax dollars, while annuitants cannot. This saves the average active-duty employee about \$435 a year.

Rep. Tom Davis, R-Va., introduced H.R. 1231 and Senator John Warner, R-Va., introduced an identical bill, S. 623, in the Senate. These bills, targeted specifically at federal and military annuitants, have 190 cosponsors in the House and 23 cosponsors in the Senate.

They seek to amend Section 125 of the Tax Code by addressing the concerns of military and federal employees. The political difficulty is that it is anticipated that there would be a huge demand from the private sector seeking this same premium conversion benefit. That is where the cost — a multibillion-dollar impact on federal revenues — comes in, and it has dissuaded many lawmakers from supporting the legislation.

Despite these obstacles, under the leadership of the National Association of Retired Federal Employees and the Military Officers Association of America, AFSA and the other federal employee organizations continue to work together to seek the necessary change in law. We agree with Chairman Davis, who said that the proposal is the right thing to do, both as a way to recognize the importance of public service, and to rectify an inequity. Members, especially retirees, who wish to write to their congressional delegation supporting this legislation are urged to do so. □



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