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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Expanding State's Political Constituency

BY MARSHALL P. ADAIR

In the February issue of the *Journal*, I recommended the State Department take steps to energize and tap into an under-utilized constituency: retired Foreign Service personnel. Another potential constituency for U.S. diplomacy — American business — merits the same kind of attention.

American economic power, based in business, has always been an important component of our international profile. However, until recent years, the American business presence overseas was limited to a relatively small part of the overall business community. Today that is different.

Businesses of every size and sector are now involved directly in international trade and finance. As a result, businesses throughout the nation increasingly have or need to have a closer relationship with U.S. posts and diplomats overseas. American diplomats are the best providers of information, services, advocacy and protection — not to mention their role in negotiating and enforcing the growing array of multilateral economic agreements.

In the decades immediately following World War II, a tacit agreement was established between the government and American business, arising from interest in Middle East petroleum resources. Government would provide policy support and broad security for business, but business was

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

*American
diplomacy and
business would
both benefit from
more focused
cooperation.*



to make its own commercial decisions with neither interference nor direct support from the U.S. government. As international competition increased in the 1970s and 1980s, government began to do more to enhance business competitiveness. However, on the whole, government kept its distance.

In today's increasingly globalized environment, the nation could benefit from more studied cooperation between government and business internationally. Corporations could use a leg up from more targeted U.S. policies and resources. U.S. policy and strategy could benefit from more focused cooperation with business overseas, and from business's political support at home. There are a number of ways this relationship could be enhanced:

- The secretary of State should reach out to the business community and set the tone for the diplomatic corps. AFSA has recommended that Secretary Powell address the Chamber of Commerce and contact

the American Farm Bureau early in his tenure. State should promote a partnership with the American business community, not just to provide better services, but to invigorate the actual development and management of foreign policy.

- Training can help to increase both our awareness of opportunities for cooperation with business and our ability to take advantage of those opportunities. FST's excellent economic and commercial training could be usefully augmented with more extensive posting of Foreign Service personnel to business schools.

- The department could promote more exchanges with the private sector. Last year a "business practicum" program was established in which FSOs are detailed to businesses in the Washington area for four to six weeks after completing the nine-month economic course. This opportunity could easily be expanded to include FSOs and appropriate specialists who are in training or otherwise between assignments. Working with Commerce, Agriculture and AID, the department should establish a system for short-term two-way personnel exchanges with the private sector.

Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger created a "business bill of rights" in the early 1990s to make the Department of State more supportive of American business. Secretary Powell has the opportunity in the early 2000s to create an entente to enable business to be more supportive of American diplomacy. ■

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LETTERS

The Fear Factor

I was delighted to read Marshall Adair's article "State and Congress: An Up-Hill Battle" in the January *Foreign Service Journal*. I would like to mention another element which, at least in my time, complicated the relationship.

I refer to the fear factor. The overwhelming majority of my colleagues were deeply afraid of congressmen. This fear was palpable and certainly served to lessen whatever respect the latter might have had for the Foreign Service.

We would certainly be better served if our Foreign Service personnel not only welcomed contact with members of Congress and their staffs, but also stuck to their guns in defending well-prepared positions.

Ridgway B. Knight
Ambassador, retired
Inxent, France

Arabs, Israel and Democracy

In "Do We Really Want Democracy in the Middle East?" (*FSJ*, February) Amy Hawthorne discusses U.S. efforts to support "political liberalization" in the Arab world.

The Foreign Service Journal welcomes your signed letters to the editor. Please mail letters to the Journal, 2101 E. St., NW, Washington, D.C., 20037; fax to (202) 338-8244; or send via e-mail to journal@fsa.org. Letters, which are subject to editing, should include full name, title and post, address and daytime telephone number.

She says our fear is that without democracy, existing unelected governments will be overthrown and replaced by other unelected but actively anti-American governments. We make only tentative efforts to promote democracy, however, in fear that success would result in elected but actively anti-American governments.

She may well be right, unfortunately, but avoids any mention of the issues that underlie what should be a very sobering assessment. Arabs understandably view America through the prism of our most visible regional policies: unstinting financial, military, and political support for Israel's continued occupation of Palestine, and the armed suppression of its people; a staggering death toll from 10 years of embargo on Iraq. There is no requirement that we agree with the resulting perceptions, but it is foolhardy to disregard them — and infinitely more dangerous to pretend they do not exist.

Hawthorne offers a compelling example of the type of dynamic hypocrisy that generates strong anti-American feelings, and not just in the Middle East.

"Repression and exclusion from meaningful political participation sow the seeds of hopelessness, extremism, and violent upheaval." She says this explains the dangerous forces at work in Arab countries, but apparently does not see that she is describing exactly the situation Palestinians have faced, for decades, in the Occupied Territories.

Few foreign affairs problems have

greater emotional content than the Middle East, or greater potential for major, long-term damage to America's interests. Our efforts to help resolve them will be affected by how the people of the region see us. Preaching the absolute primacy of democracy and human rights to the Arab world is a very hard sell since it is shatteringly obvious we do not apply those principles equally to everyone. That is the point the author makes abundantly clear, perhaps inadvertently, in an article as superficial and biased as it is misleading.

Ed Peck
Ambassador, retired
Washington, D.C.

Hawthorne responds:

I am grateful for Ambassador Peck's close attention, but remind him that the assigned purpose of my article was not to assess the merits of long-standing U.S. government views of our vital interests in the Middle East. It was to evaluate the effectiveness of U.S. pro-democracy initiatives in the Arab world during the Clinton administration within the context of U.S. pursuit of those interests. I contend that when a more robust promotion of Arab world democratization was thought to impede core interests, pro-democracy efforts remained "low policy," achieved less impact than hoped, and met with skepticism among many Arabs. On this point Peck and I may be closer to agreement than he thinks.

Peck suggests that my article disregards the main issues that preoccupy



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LETTERS

the Arab public: not lack of democracy, but opposition to U.S. policies toward the Arab-Israeli conflict and Iraq. Obviously these are major issues. I disagree, however, with the implication that they justifiably relegate to the back burner the pressing need for internal political reform across the Arab world. Such thinking endorses the claim by undemocratic regimes that 'under the present circumstances' political freedom is a frivolous luxury or a Western import, rather than ultimately a source of Arab political and economic strength.

Amy Hawthorne
Washington Institute for
Near East Policy
Washington, D.C.

Voting Isn't Everything

Discussions on promoting democracy, including those in the February *FSJ*, almost invariably overlook two crucial factors that usually determine the success or failure of democracy. One is the particular system of democracy and the other is voting. Parliamentary government differs in its outcomes from congressional (presidential) government, and various parliamentary or presidential systems differ among themselves. It is not sociology but structure that accounts for stable, two-party government in Britain and the U.S. and, at the other extreme, Italy's revolving system of coalition governments. Is a society cohesive with agreed-upon principles? You may want a British parliamentary system. Do you want to see bi-partisanship and cooperation across party lines? You'll see more of it in a U.S.-style system than a British one. If a society is not cohesive, structures that result in multi-party systems may produce unworkable governments, something that we may unfortunately be seeing in Indonesia.

Americans attach an almost mystical significance to the act of voting. However, voting is only a step towards good, effective, honest government. Voting consequences are determined not only by a particular democratic structure, but also by the educational level of the electorate. It should surprise no one that where much of the electorate lacks even an elementary-level education, dishonest and incompetent politicians are elected through demagoguery. Until we confront directly the need for informed electorates and appropriate structures of government, we should not be surprised when our efforts to promote democracy fail to provide the results we desire.

Malcolm H. Churchill
FSO, retired
Washington, D.C.

Benefits Are the PITs

I am writing in regard to the recent Department of State cable (Secstate 05308) concerning retirement benefits statements for family member appointments, or FMAs, and former part-time, intermittent, temporary, or PIT, employees. The cable states that PIT appointments between 1989 and 1998 cannot receive retirement credit whereas PIT appointments prior to 1989 and after 1998 may be credited. The problem arises under current U.S. law governing the Federal Employees Retirement System and is not State Department regulation. It is difficult to comprehend inconsistency in legislation that disallows 11 years of federal service for former PIT employees.

Having accompanied my Foreign Service spouse overseas since 1979, I've been employed in several PIT appointments. FMA/PIT employees are dedicated to the Foreign Service and have risked their lives on their

LETTERS

jobs. They have had their spouses and families evacuated while they remained behind to assist in post evacuations; served at high threat posts and witnessed terrorists' bomb blasts at embassies abroad; and been kidnapped and held hostage by terrorists. They adjudicate visas and perform most other consular functions. They supervise Foreign Service National employees in administrative matters, function as community liaison officers, and serve as health unit nurses. Many posts would be hard pressed to function efficiently without the services of FMA/PIT employees. Like Kipling's Gunga Din, they also serve as a necessary part of the whole.

I encourage anyone affected by this issue to contact their congresspersons to seek support of an amendment in legislation to include a buy-back federal service credit plan for PIT employees who have served abroad. Rep. James Moran of Virginia has expressed his support in this matter. I also encourage the Department of State to support a change in current FERS legislation.

*Thomas J. Meredith
Consular Associate
American Embassy
Singapore*

Loyalty Matters

Yossi Shain's treatment of the complex question of loyalty among ethnic Americans in the October *FSJ* was unfortunately facile, politically correct and myopic. His dismissal of Samuel Huntington's concerns regarding the negative impact of ethnic lobbies on the pursuit of America's long-term national interests was particularly jarring, since this is the activity most often encountered by members of the Foreign Service. Such impact is not as positive or helpful as Shain suggests. Often, it is in direct contravention of the U.S.

national interest.

Shain's example of Armenia is curious, since it directly contravenes his thesis that retention of a strong ethnic identity is benign. As he points out, for eight years a highly-organized and well-heeled ethnic lobby has prevented the U.S. from improving relations with Azerbaijan, a country richly endowed with energy resources which has the potential to be a significant regional player. What is not said is that the same organization has also ensured a dizzyingly high level of foreign aid for Armenia, with tens, if not hundreds, of millions of U.S. taxpayer dollars being "privatized" by that country's oligarchs. None of these results are in our interest, nor are they in the long-term interest of the citizens of that small and unhappy country — as most U.S. diplomats who have served there would agree.

No one doubts the benefits that immigrants have bestowed, and continue to bestow, on our country. But when ethnicity and concern for the "mother country" trump support for U.S. interests, single-issue lobbies inevitably press us into playing favorites in ancient conflicts and into taking positions for which we receive no praise, little thanks and much blame — positions which are inimical to our national interests. In that instance, some questions about ultimate aims, and about the degree and focus of loyalty are not only permissible, but necessary.

*Morgan Liddick
FSO, retired
San Antonio, Texas*

Correction: In our March issue, the author ID for Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs Mary Ryan stated that she had been ambassador to Switzerland. In truth, she had been ambassador to Swaziland. ■



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IN A CABLE TO
DIPLOMATIC AND
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AS REPORTED BY
AL KAMEN IN THE
WASHINGTON POST

A DAM SITE BETTER THAN BEFORE

Despite its avowed goal of alleviating world poverty, the World Bank has faced a torrent of criticism in recent years for ignoring the social and environmental costs of the projects it funds in Third World countries. The latest critique comes from the World Commission on Dams, which was set up in 1998 to examine the costs and benefits of large dams (those over 15 meters high).

The WCD released its report, "Dams and Development," in November (www.damsreport.org). While the World Bank helped the WCD get started, the commission received funding from 53 sources and operated independently of the bank.

"If politics is the art of the possible, this document is a work of art," Kader Asmal, the commission's chair, told *The Seattle Times*.

The report acknowledged the development benefits of large dams, such as bringing drinking water, electricity and irrigation to millions of people. But the WCD also found that dams have fragmented and transformed the world's rivers, leading to displacement of an estimated 40 to 80 million people, especially in China and India. The report said, "In too many cases, an unacceptable and often unnecessary price has been paid to secure those benefits ... by people displaced, by communities downstream, by taxpayers and by the natural environment."

The World Bank is the greatest source of funds for large dam construction, having provided more than \$50 billion for over 500 large dams in 92 countries.

The WCD recommended that spon-

sors of future dams obtain the consent of affected people before construction, and that alternative methods of generating energy be investigated. While not advocating an outright ban on large dams, such guidelines would likely have that effect if put into practice.

It's hard to predict what practical effect the WCD report will have. The World Bank had earlier promised to honor the WCD's recommendations, but the commission itself was strictly advisory, leaving governments, international aid agencies and industry to choose whether or not to follow the guidelines.

On Feb. 27, more than 100 participants, observers and researchers met in Cape Town, South Africa, to discuss the WCD findings and officially end the two-year research project. A World Bank press release March 5 claimed there was no unanimous consensus on the findings, but that all parties would "work with the report."

POWELL'S FAREWELL TO SPECIAL ENVOYS

On March 12, Secretary of State Colin Powell abolished 23 of the 55 special envoy positions that had existed under President Clinton, Reuters reported that day. Some of the posts Powell got rid of include special envoys, advisers or representatives for the Middle East, the Americas, Haiti and the Great Lakes region of central Africa. Other eliminated envoy posts tackled specific issues like the rule of law, conventional forces in Europe and energy diplomacy in the Caspian Basin. The 22 envoy positions Powell retained include special envoys for Sudan and the Korean peace talks,



CLIPPINGS

and coordinators for Cyprus and Iraq.

President Bush is "not inclined" to use special envoys, says White House press secretary Ari Fleischer, according to a Feb. 13 Associated Press story. Instead, Bush prefers to "empower the desks" at the State Department to tackle international crises.

Clinton frequently sent a high profile team to sort out a specific diplomatic problem. For example, Clinton sent Richard Holbrooke to negotiate a Bosnian peace, former Sen. George Mitchell to oversee peace talks in Ireland, and former Defense Secretary William Perry to work on U.S. relations with North Korea.

Though a certain number of special envoys are necessary, some believe Clinton went overboard. Myles

Frechette, an FSO and former ambassador to Cameroon and Colombia, believes that "the Clinton people cheapened the coin," by relying too heavily on envoys.

PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR FOREIGN AID STRONG

The American public overwhelmingly supports U.S. efforts to reduce world hunger, according to a new study by the Program on International Policy Attitudes of the University of Maryland. Eighty-three percent of the study's participants agreed that the U.S. should commit to cutting world hunger in half by 2015, a goal set by the countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation

50 YEARS AGO

No one realizes better than those in our Foreign Service how earnestly the American people desire to understand and shape our foreign policy, so that it may successfully contribute to order, justice and well being in the world. All over America, we are well aware — for we know how America functions — that clubs, organizations, impromptu groups and individuals are giving our foreign policy a good sizing up, with all the information and intelligence they can muster.

—LETTER TO THE
EDITOR, MAY 1951
FSJ, R. SMITH
SIMPSON, FIRST
SECRETARY OF EMBASSY
MEXICO CITY



"You know, for a political appointee he really has a knack for this."

AGGELER



*“Diplomacy is
to speak
French, to
speak nothing
and to speak
falsehood.”*

—LUDWIG BOERNE,
19TH CENTURY
GERMAN POET

and Development. (The U.S. is a member of OECD.) Three-quarters of those polled say they would be willing to pay an extra \$50 a year in taxes to achieve this goal.

Support for foreign aid in general has also grown substantially since 1995. A 1995 study by PIPA found that 64 percent of Americans wanted U.S. foreign aid cut. Today, that's down to 40 percent.

TSP RULING: LET THE SAVER BEWARE

Federal employees will be responsible for finding mistakes in their Thrift Savings Plan accounts says a new rule passed in March by the Federal Retirement Thrift Investment Board, which runs these 401K-style investment plans. “Just as users of commercial services are expected to review statements

recording transactions in their accounts and to assert their rights in the event of an error, so are TSP participants,” the board's regulation said, according to a March 13 report by Brian Friel on Government Executive magazine's Web site.

Mistakes happen when federal employees move their money among the plan's three investment options or when they change the way future contributions are divided among the three options. Employees receive statements documenting all such transactions, as well as regular statements of account activity. They now have 30 days from the date they receive a statement to request a correction. Employees have six months to ask for a correction if it's their agency that puts the wrong amount of money in their TSP accounts.

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SPEAKING OUT

The State Department as GSA

BY PAUL FOLMSBEE

The State Department is full of talented, substantive individuals at all levels, who take on complex issues and really try to make a difference. Yet many of our programs never accomplish their key objectives, or do so only at enormous personal cost to our people. Why?

From where I sit, here is the crux of the problem: So many government functions have been farmed out to other agencies overseas that State Department political and economic officers, the so-called "flagship members" of the Foreign Service, have been reduced to roles that amount to waving the flag. (I am consciously excluding consular affairs and a few other offices since no domestic agency has claimed those functions yet.) As a result of this overseas invasion, the key State Department functions below the seventh floor have evolved into an international version of the General Services Administration. Rather than driving policy, State now mainly provides the administrative platform — increasingly just the physical plant from which other agencies such as DEA, DOD, Commerce, Centers for Disease Control, the Department of Labor, the Department of Transportation, the IRS and many more pursue their own overseas agendas.

The result is that the great world issues of our time, from HIV/AIDS in Africa to international peace-keeping efforts, do not get the resources and focused attention

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that they really need. Instead, posts and managers back in Washington are overly focused on handling support requirements for non-foreign affairs agencies — agencies which often enjoy almost wastefully high funding levels for their overseas operations.

People Are Money

Many traditionally non-foreign affairs agencies have well-funded bureaucracies in place in Washington, yet they also enjoy full access to the State Department services menu. Thus, they are essentially "double-dipping" in terms of support for their overseas employees, while a State employee has no such backstop.

For example, I once did a review of motor vehicle usage at one of our largest embassies in South

America. While many State and USAID employees had key jobs, they did not get the support commensurate with their position needs. In most cases they were lucky if they could even get a motor pool vehicle to take them to a meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. By contrast, virtually every other agency represented at post had cars and drivers in substantial numbers and would often assign government-owned vehicles for the exclusive use of their employees. In short, there was a single U.S. embassy, but not all agencies received equal support. (I also believe that employees of wealthier agencies accomplish their goals more successfully — but that is a subject for a future article.)

Why isn't State, the supposed foreign affairs lead, a "wealthy" agency, or at least funded on a par with many other agencies? I have repeatedly heard that we lack funding because we have no constituency, no base for our support, so Congress does not allocate the resources we need to do our jobs. In short, we don't count.

While there is some truth to that assertion, I don't believe that it is the whole problem. The biggest culprit in all of this is our own State Department culture. To put it succinctly: We tend to breed poor managers, recruiting them from the crop of intellectuals who pass the exam process. As soon as they are hired, we tell them in their first introductory training class that they

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SPEAKING OUT

are supposed to be elite generalists. We then give them poor support, ineffective training and increasingly flimsy portfolios. The natural consequence of this is that many officers quit doing the tough stuff somewhere along the way. Instead of leading or contributing to American diplomacy, they turn into super-bureaucrats, functionaries skilled at maneuvering through the system.

Message: We Manage

Paradoxically, the term "management" has never been more popular at State than now. Adding the word to your job title (whether it fits or not) is key to advancement. These days, every FSO is supposed to be a manager regardless of whether he or she can actually manage anything. The ultimate Foreign Service manager is, of course, the deputy chief of mission, who runs an embassy like some corporate chief operating officer. Bred into a system that tells them that being a DCM is the toughest, most rewarding job in the Foreign Service (not to mention the highest level most of them are likely to attain), many political and economic cone officers claim what they regard as their rightful inheritance — a DCM-ship — unprepared and untrained for the responsibility.

Once they are in the job, the mismatch between ability and responsibility leaves many senior managers scrambling to meet the challenge of handling multi-million dollar support programs, inevitably diminishing the time and energy they can devote to their substantive role. In effect, the DCM at many posts is a glorified administrative counselor, not someone who is active and knowledgeable about major policy issues.

What is becoming more and

*Are we sure we
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wrestling with
bureaucrats instead
of with bad guys?*

more apparent to me is that many of our best Foreign Service officers are not only giving in to this situation, but enthusiastically recasting themselves to remain competitive in an environment where process is more important than policy. By sacrificing the substantive agenda, they are capitulating to the idea of being an administrative platform — literally the business managers, as opposed to the authors, of our foreign policy.

Thus, administering embassies, not using them to advance U.S. interests, is becoming the chief overseas mission of the State Department. Look at the staffing of embassies the world over; you will see that support is the biggest thing going: security officers, information program officers, budget officers, personnel officers, general services officers and more. In my present posting, a typical mid-size embassy, we have far more American administrative staff members than political and economic officers combined. Administration is, of course, important, but it should have a secondary and supporting function, not consume the bulk of the front office's time and energy as it increasingly does now. Each DCM now chairs an ICASS (interagency management and accounting system) council which

gets involved in the issuance of furniture. Why? We don't need our senior diplomats deciding such things.

Getting Priorities Straight

We need to stop this. The first step towards sanity is to reduce the deputy chief of mission's responsibilities for resource management. After all, that's *my* job as an administrative officer; let me do it. That will also allow the DCM to concentrate on policy issues and give political and economic officers more hands-on guidance and direction.

Doing this would also have another important benefit. Freed from spending so much time on support issues, front offices both in Washington and overseas could rein in those agencies and offices who are empire-building, at the expense of their core mission. One of the best examples of this is the Bureau of Diplomatic Security, which has been on a steady growth spurt for some time, largely as a result of the August 1998 bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam.

I readily concede that DS is making progress on its primary mission: strengthening our embassies' security posture. But it has diminished some of its effectiveness by branching out too far. For example, the assistant secretary for diplomatic security now has authority over the Office of Foreign Missions, which primarily deals with benefits, privileges and immunities of foreign missions and diplomats (reciprocity/tax issues and the like). These are important bilateral issues but — managed by DS? Given the dangerous world we live in, I would much prefer the head of Diplomatic Security spend his or her day focused on the very real security issues our embassies face and let my fellow administra-

tive officers worry about whether or not the Rwandans are paying their taxes or the electric bill for their chancery.

There are also rumblings that DS wants to join the throng of agencies already involved in counter-terrorism and intelligence. Frankly, there are already plenty of people at that table. We need someone paying attention to the physical security of the embassy. DS is, and should remain, a *consumer* of the products of other national security agencies. This means reading the intelligence and taking action — not *creating* the data.

Even the Marines who guard our embassies are becoming increasingly involved in the administrative process. I already negotiate administrative support terms with the gunny sergeant (head of the guard detachment) and the day is not far off when I will have to cater to him as an ICASS voting head-of-agency representative. Are we sure we want a U.S. Marine spending his day wrestling with the administrative bureaucracy (I thought that was my job!) instead of conducting security training drills and maintaining security readiness? Is bureaucratic maneuvering really the purpose for which he was sent overseas?

We need to redirect our priorities towards core diplomatic issues and away from logistics and support issues. Let administrative officers deal with ICASS. Let's send our senior diplomats and the political and economic officers they supervise back to what they do best: making and implementing U.S. foreign policy. ■

Paul Folmsbee, an FSO, has served in Geneva, Nairobi, Libreville, Colombo, Washington and La Paz. He is currently administrative counselor in Dar es Salaam.

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IS STATE DEPARTMENT REFORM INEVITABLE?

All of a sudden, it seems that reform of the State Department is an idea whose time has come. For decades, FSOs, members of Congress, even secretaries of State have complained about serious deficiencies in the State Department and its performance. But in 2001, an unusual convergence of forces has begun to make renewal of the department seem not only advisable but inevitable. Those motivating forces include a new administration, a high-profile secretary of State who wants to revitalize his department, two new prestigious studies calling for reform, and a growing sense in Congress that the department is broken and needs major repairs.

This issue of the *Journal* includes nine articles and comments with varied views. While most writers agree on what the main problems are (nobody admires State's information technology or hiring process), you'll find some sharp disagreements on whether and how State should be reorganized.

To begin, former Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci presents the findings of the commission he led. His main recommendation: jump-start the reform process by making improved funding contingent upon demonstrated change — a "resources-for-reform" plan.

The Hart-Rudman Commission has quite a different take on how to strengthen U.S. national security and foreign policy in the 21st century. As commission director Gen. Charles Boyd explains, that study calls for a major restructuring of the State Department, including abolishing most of the functional bureaus and strengthening the regional bureaus.

David Newsom, a long-time FSO and former under secretary for political affairs, favors reform but disagrees sharply with Hart-Rudman's restructuring concept. He also criticizes the blue-ribbon commissions

for ignoring factors such as the relationship between the president and the secretary, or the importance of foreign economic relations.

Morton Halperin, recently head of Policy Planning at State, endorses many of the reform proposals, but also suggests that both blue-ribbon commissions have flawed understandings of the politics of foreign affairs. Agreeing with Newsom, he calls the Hart-Rudman restructuring proposal "counterproductive and ill-considered."

AFSA *News* editor and former FSO Shawn Dorman adds to the mix a key ingredient — what do rank-and-file State employees feel about reform prospects? The recent "SOS for DOS" campaign, she notes, has raised the profile of employees as a force favoring change.

For State to become more effective, it needs to rethink and upgrade its relations with Congress, writes Sen. Richard Lugar, long one of the Republican Party's major voices on foreign policy. He proposes a number of ways in which Congress and State could overcome barriers between the two institutions, benefiting both.

A central problem of the Foreign Service in recent years has been a shortage of workers, which affects training, morale and overall functioning. AFSA Vice President Willard De Pree crunches the numbers and explains just how big the shortfall is.

If State has lost influence, it may be in part because of its location, suggests retired FSO David Timmins. That could be remedied by giving the secretary an office close to the White House.

Lastly, and on a lighter note, check out "A Nightmare on C Street" by FSO Jim DeHart. It's a futuristic look at a world in which the State Department, alas, never did get around to reforming itself.

— Bob Guldin

WHAT STATE NEEDS: RESOURCES FOR REFORM



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THE CFR/CSIS TASK FORCE'S SOLUTION FOR STOPPING STATE'S DOWNWARD SPIRAL IS ITS "RESOURCES-FOR-REFORM" ACTION PLAN.

By FRANK CARLUCCI

State Department reform is a top priority for the Bush administration and the new Congress. Secretary of State Colin Powell emphasized his commitment to revitalizing the department when then-President-elect Bush announced his nomination in December. The new president's visit to the Department of State on Feb. 15, 2001 underscored his commitment to reform. In the 107th Congress, State Department reform was among first subjects to be addressed through hearings of the House International Relations Committee and Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The Department of State is an institution crying out for reform. Its advanced state of disrepair has been documented by numerous commissions over the last several years. To sum up the problems, which are well known to many inside

*The Department of
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crying out for reform.*

and outside the department: State's human resource policies have generated both a severe crisis in morale among employees and serious work-force shortfalls. The department's communications and information management infrastructure is outdated. Many State facilities at home and overseas are shabby, insecure and overcrowded. Ambassadors deployed overseas lack the authority necessary to coordinate and oversee the resources and personnel deployed to their missions by other agencies. Policy-making and budget management within the department are bifurcated. Finally, the department's professional culture remains predisposed against public outreach and engagement, thus undercutting its effectiveness at public diplomacy, an increasingly important priority of foreign policy.

The State Department's condition is a disservice to the high caliber men and women of the Foreign Service and Civil Service who serve their country at home and overseas. It also handicaps America's ability to respond to the opportunities and challenges of the 21st century. If State's deterioration continues, our ability to use statecraft to avoid, manage and resolve crises and to deter aggression will decline, increasing the likelihood that America will have to use military force to protect our interests abroad.

Concrete Steps

When the Council on Foreign Relations and the Center for Strategic and International Studies approached me to serve as chairman of their task force on State Department reform, I was initially reluctant. Many blue ribbon panels and commissions have already examined the department's institutional problems and recommended sound reforms. What was needed was not another study, but decisive and determined action on the part of the president and his secretary of State.

But the CFR/CSIS task force's mandate convinced me to accept the offer to lead their commission. Our mandate was not to reinvent the findings and recom-

Frank Carlucci headed the CFR/CSIS task force on reforming the State Department. He served both as the secretary of defense and national security adviser under President Reagan, and was an FSO from 1956 to 1980.

mendations of previous studies, but to synthesize them into concrete steps to achieve reform. Our hope is that our report, formally presented to Secretary of State Powell on Jan. 22, 2001, will help the new administration jump-start the revitalization of

the State Department.

If the task force fulfilled its mandate, it was in no small part due to its composition. Its membership is bipartisan and includes those who served in Congress and at the highest levels in both Democratic and Republican administrations. Additionally, our task force includes members who served on several of the important blue ribbon commissions, the conclusions of which were the starting point of our endeavor.

Past efforts to repair the machinery of American foreign policy included initiatives by previous secretaries of state, numerous high-level task forces, and legislation passed by Congress. However, they have been often received by the State Department and other agencies with grudging enthusiasm at best, or bureaucratic resistance. As a result, reform efforts have amounted to a series of half-hearted, selective and ultimately insufficient half steps. Congress has, justifiably, become skeptical of appropriating resources for the Department of State because the organization is sometimes viewed as fundamentally flawed and wasteful.

The CFR/CSIS task force's solution for stopping State's downward spiral is its "resources-for-reform" action plan. The action plan recognizes that while resources will be necessary for reform, reform will be necessary to obtain those resources from Congress. The task force is confident that if Congress is convinced that fundamental reform is under way, it will provide the resources required to modernize and revitalize the foreign policy apparatus. However, Congress should not delay in providing these resources where there is a demonstrated need.

The core components of the resources-for-reform action plan are: the establishment of a strong presidential mandate for reform, a clear division of responsibilities and authorities among the principal national security departments, and concrete steps that can be initiated immediately to renew the Department of State.

Personal commitment and attention from the president are imperative for State Department renewal. The

F O C U S

task force defined three core elements of a presidential mandate for reform: First, presidential directives should declare State Department reform a national security priority. They should articulate a comprehensive plan to reform the department and its role in national security affairs. Second, the president should use his bully pulpit to publicly reinforce the reform mandate. Toward this end, the task force urged the president to discuss the renewal of the Department of State in a major address to the nation. Third, the president should personally engage Congress to foster a partnership in this reform. He should meet with the congressional committees that have jurisdiction over the State Department to explain to them the resources-for-reform action plan.

The second element of the task force's action plan is the establishment of a sound organizational structure for coordination among government agencies and departments responsible for national security policy. Toward this end, the task force calls for presidential guidance on several fronts. First, the secretary of State's role as the president's principal adviser and spokesman on foreign affairs, and the leading role of the department in the implementation of U.S. foreign policy, should be reasserted. Second, the authority that ambassadors exercise over officials from other departments and agencies serving at their embassies should be strengthened. Third, an annual presentation of an integrated national security budget should be initiated. This document should define and explain the links and trade-offs between the different instruments of diplomacy, intelligence, defense, and international economics and the budgetary decisions upon which national security policy ultimately rests.

The third element of the task force's action plan consists of concrete reforms to overcome the department's institutional disarray and dilapidated infrastructure. The re-centralization of the department's budget and management authorities and their reintegration with the department's policy-making process must be a priority. The secretary should empower his deputy secretary to serve as the department's chief operating officer with authority over its finances, administration, and human resources, as well as policy. In short, the deputy secretary should return to his original role as the department's top manager. The task force disagreed with a recently enacted law which established the position of deputy secretary of State for management and resources. A proliferation of senior officials is not the answer to the State

Department's managerial problems. The task force urged Secretary Powell to have one individual fill both deputy secretary of State positions.

Second, the Department of State must correct its dysfunctional human resources practices. The task force was greatly disturbed by the severe crisis in morale which plagues the department. It strongly endorsed the recommendations of the Overseas Presence Advisory Panel which called for improvements in the selection and recruitment of personnel, expanded professional development opportunities with an emphasis on leadership training, and enhancing the quality of life the department provides its employees and their families.

Third, the State Department's culture should be transformed into one that embraces public outreach as a core function of diplomacy and statecraft. Today, the department's professional culture remains predisposed to information policing rather than information providing. In the information age, effective diplomacy requires explaining America's positions and views not only to foreign governments, but also to its citizens.

Fourth, it is common knowledge that State Department facilities, both at home and overseas, are dilapidated and insecure. Fixing these problems will require additional resources and significant reform of how the U.S. government manages the buildings and infrastructure supporting its foreign policy operations. For example, the highly inefficient Office of Foreign Buildings Operations should be eliminated. Its functions should be transferred to an "Overseas Facilities Authority" established as a federally chartered government operation. The department needs to get out of the business of building and renting office space. OFA would provide an effective means to inject a high degree of privatization into the management of U.S. overseas infrastructure.

Finally, the secretary of State needs to engage Congress with greater energy. The secretary should commit himself to meet informally on a monthly basis with the chairmen of congressional committees with jurisdiction over foreign policy and to instruct his subordinates down to the deputy assistant secretary level to do the same with relevant sub-committee chairmen, key legislators, and congressional staff.

Our task force suggests steps to upgrade the department's legislative affairs bureau. Promotional incentives should be created to attract top FSOs to serve in this

bureau, which should be led by a person of real stature, such as a senior ambassador. Like the Department of Defense, the State Department should rely upon its best and brightest junior and senior officers to press its case on Capitol Hill.

The task force intentionally directed its focus upon recommendations the Bush administration can start work on immediately. The president and his secretary of State, the two officials who must drive this process, have a clean slate that can be used to make difficult decisions and implement departures from long-standing practices.

Beyond Rhetoric

There is reason to be confident that this reform initiative will amount to more than just rhetoric. Over the last several years, Congress has been pressing for many of these reforms. The warm reception the task force report received from the House International Relations Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reaffirms Congress' shared commitment to this priority.

Secretary of State Colin Powell is determined to renew his department. He is well-prepared for the task: As Congressman Henry Hyde pointed out, Powell is the first secretary of State since George Marshall of the Truman era to bring to his office substantial experience in running a large government bureaucracy. The presentation of the report to Secretary Powell right after Bush's inauguration was very much a formality because the secretary had personally kept abreast of the task force's deliberations. Secretary Powell expressed appreciation for the task force's focus on actions that could be implemented with dispatch, because, as he said repeatedly, that is exactly how he intends to act.

The determined execution of the resources-for-reform action plan will immediately boost State Department morale, revitalize the department's central role in the making and implementation of national security policy, and provide a sound foundation for a genuine partnership with Congress in this reform endeavor. ■

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A RADICAL PROPOSAL: MAKE STATE FUNCTIONAL

A KEY PART OF REVAMPING AMERICA'S NATIONAL SECURITY APPARATUS FOR THE 21ST CENTURY MUST BE MAKING THE STATE DEPARTMENT MORE EFFECTIVE.

BY CHARLES G. BOYD

The State Department is caught in a Catch-22 now many years in the making: The weaknesses of its performance have contributed to Congress's repeatedly cutting its budget and dispersing its functions to other agencies, yet denying the department resources and repeatedly tampering with its responsibilities only make it more difficult for the department to function effectively. The advent of a strong secretary of State like Colin Powell may make a difference in breaking this spiral of decline, but Secretary Powell will find that the department's structural weaknesses impede its effectiveness. He will conclude, if he has not done so already, that serious reform of the structure and management processes of the department is a precondition for the State Department to be an effective vehicle for U.S. foreign policy.

The bipartisan U.S. Commission on Natural Security/21st Century — aka the Hart-Rudman Commission — looked closely at the broad question of how the U.S. government as a whole should be organized for national security in the new century. The commission undertook the most comprehensive such review since 1947, and in its final report, released in January (see box), made 50 major recommendations for the reform of the National Security Council system, the State Department, the Defense Department, the intelligence community, and other facets of the U.S. national security apparatus.

Among its recommendations is that, to combat the growing threats of terrorism and unconventional weapons, a Cabinet-level agency should be set up to

organize and rationalize the task of protecting American citizens on American soil. The National Homeland Security Agency would be built upon the Federal Emergency Management Agency, along with three organizations that currently protect border security — the Coast Guard, the Customs Service and the Border Patrol. The new agency's activities would be coordinated with the Departments of Defense, State, and Justice, through the NSC. Within the Defense Department, the National Guard should be given homeland security as a central mission, as well. The commission urges that homeland security be made a priority by Congress, the executive branch, and the DOD in particular.

The commission also seeks to remedy deficiencies in science policy management and education as national security issues. It focuses attention on problems in human capital throughout government. It recommends that Congress merge its appropriation and authorization processes. And it proposes major management innovations for the Defense Department.

One of its central conclusions, however, is that it is absolutely essential to restore the health and efficacy of the State Department as this nation's center for developing and implementing foreign policy.

But how?

A Structural Overhaul

Other studies have made various recommendations to strengthen the department, most of which the 14 commissioners endorse: a strong presidential commitment to the secretary of State's key role; providing the

department with the funds it needs; upgrading its communications capabilities; centralizing its management and budget process; stressing strategic planning and more systematic procedures for allocating the department's resources; reinforcing the authority of ambassadors in the field; and so on. But the commission went beyond these measures, however, to propose a radical overhaul of the department's internal organization.

The core problem of the department's present performance is structural. The proliferation of functional bureaus has produced enormous duplication, dispersed responsibility, and weakened coordination, which both magnifies the secretary's burdens and muffles the department's voice in the interagency process.

There is nothing wrong, and much right, with taking functional issues seriously. It was appropriate for the department in recent decades to develop functional expertise — in economics, arms control, counter-terrorism, environmental policy, human rights, public diplomacy, and other fields — and not entirely out of line for Congress to urge the department in that direction. And, of course, the recent integration of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the U.S. Information Agency into the department has expanded further the functional side of State's obligations. But there has developed a chronic problem with integrating all of these functional activities with the responsibilities of the regional bureaus that interact most frequently with foreign leaders, diplomats, and citizens.

Under present arrangements, for example, a typical humanitarian crisis in Africa involves at least four State bureaus (Africa; Democracy, Human Rights,

**To combat the threat
of terrorism on
American soil, a new
Cabinet-level agency
is needed.**

and Labor; Population, Refugees, and Migration; and Political-Military), at least three under secretaries (Political Affairs; Global Affairs; and International Security Affairs), not to mention three bureaus of USAID (those dealing with Africa; Global Programs; and Humanitarian Response). In practice, with 10 different offices weighing in, each with its own per-

spective, no one is really in charge. No one integrates the efforts of these offices into a coherent policy beneath the level of the secretary. No secretary, no matter how brilliant, has the time to preside over this integrating process. The result is incoherence, as State's multiple positions go forward in the interagency coordination process. No wonder that other executive branch departments and agencies often despair about State's divided approach to significant policy issues. No wonder, too, that the focus of responsibility and leadership for foreign policy has tended to drift to the National Security Council staff and the departments of Treasury, Commerce, and Justice. And no wonder Congress has often found it difficult to take the department's budget requests seriously.

The Hart-Rudman Commission therefore proposes a new structure for the department designed to better integrate regional and functional policy perspectives, eliminate duplication, establish clear lines of authority, and streamline the entire structure to improve efficiency and accountability. In essence, the proposal calls for functional activities — political, security, and economic and other transnational affairs — to be brought together under the senior regional officer, who would be upgraded from assistant secretary to under secretary. Beneath the secretary of State and deputy secretary would be five regional under secretaries (for Europe; East Asia; Inter-America; Near East/ South Asia; and Africa). Each under secretary would preside over three "bureaus," covering political affairs, security affairs, and economic and other transnational issues, with the mandate to integrate them and fashion a coherent regional policy embracing them.

USAID would also be folded fully into the depart-

Charles G. Boyd is executive director of the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century. He spent 36 years in the U.S. Air Force, retiring as a four-star general. He flew 105 combat missions as a fighter pilot during the Vietnam era, and later served as deputy commander-in-chief of the U.S. European Command.

ment and its regional aid programs folded into the economic bureaus under the regional under secretary. The position of USAID administrator would be abolished. Foreign assistance, after all, is supposed to be an instrument of policy, and for it to be an effective instrument it must be managed within an inclusive political context.

In addition, an under secretary for global affairs would (as now) cover the same spectrum of issues, but only those of a truly multilateral and cross-regional character.

To reflect the increasing salience of global issues, the commission suggests that this under secretary be given the honorific position, now enjoyed by the under secretary for political affairs, of being acting secretary when the secretary and deputy are out of town (though not in the sense of being a new layer of bureaucracy above the regional under secretaries). The under secretary for management would continue to exist, though the functions of this position would need to be redefined in light of the new responsibilities for programs and budgets that would be assigned to the other under secretaries. (For more detail on the proposed reorganization, including organizational charts, see the March 2001 *FSJ*, "How to Revitalize a Dysfunctional Department" by James M. Lindsay and Ivo H. Daalder.)

If this reform were implemented, the secretary of State — as well as Congress and other agencies — would have a focal point of responsibility for regional policies. Each regional under secretary would be a senior American diplomat able to assist the secretary in integrating the various strands of policy, whether political-military, economic, human rights, public diplomacy, or foreign assistance.

Some may worry that functional goals such as human rights and nonproliferation might be given short shrift under these arrangements. This is not so. On the contrary, functional experts will be in a better position to affect policies by being involved in their formulation earlier in the process, and not at the last moment by intercession with the secretary. The under secretaries will be accountable for ensuring that the priorities of the president, the secretary, and Congress are being achieved. If functional goals are high priorities, it is hard to imagine they will be neglected.

The commission has also taken on other issues of

direct relevance to the State Department. The commission suggests a strong effort to "right-size" the U.S. presence overseas in light of new circumstances. It suggests a new means to vet ambassadorial appointments — both career and political appointees — to make certain that individuals are truly ready for their assignments. It has also made a series of suggestions concerning serious and growing deficiencies regarding personnel, professional education, and training for management and leadership within departmental ranks. The commission has commented, as well, on Foreign Service exam and recruitment policies, and recommends changing the name of the Foreign Service to the U.S. Diplomatic Service. Finally, the commission has recommended the institution of a National Security Service Corps — essentially a special grouping of senior executive service civilian employees who would rotate among national security departments in an explicit effort to improve the government's interagency culture. The State Department, of course, is a key department in that mix and would play a critical role in the formation and functioning of that Service Corps.

The Commission on National Security/21st Century had the mandate to look ahead 25 years —

What is the Hart-Rudman Commission?

The U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century is an official bipartisan advisory group originally appointed by the secretary of defense in 1998. The commission released its final report, "Roadmap for National Security: Imperative for Change," in January of this year. This article is based on that report.

The commission's co-chairs are former senators Gary Hart and Warren B. Rudman. Other members are Anne Armstrong, Norman R. Augustine, John Dancy, John R. Galvin, Leslie H. Gelb, Newt Gingrich, Lee H. Hamilton, Lionel H. Olmer, Donald B. Rice, James Schlesinger, Harry D. Train and Andrew Young — all recognized experts in foreign affairs and national security. For information on the commission, its activities, recommendations and members, see www.nssg.gov.

F O C U S

assessing the broad trends, shaping a national strategy, and reassessing the organization of the government. That long-term perspective encouraged us to think boldly. The present institutions of the U.S. national security apparatus evolved incrementally over 50 years of Cold War. In a radically new era, it is absurd to assume that the same structure is exactly what is needed or that only incremental adjustments are necessary to make it effective.

In the new world coming, the striking fact is the blurring of traditional dividing lines between political, military, economic, environmental, social, and other functional dimensions of national security. The integration of all these diverse strands of U.S. policy overseas is the essence of the president's job, and that overview is the president's perspective — which is why the

***In a radically
changed era,
we need a new
national security
structure.***

National Security Council was created in the first place. The *secretary of State*, in turn, is the president's pre-eminent instrument for turning perspective into strategy and policy — but an effective *Department of State* is the irreplaceable precondition for the secretary to be that instrument. That is why the Department of State must regain its classic role as the lead agency in foreign affairs. If it does not, the entire national security apparatus of the United States will remain distorted and hobbled. The commission has challenged the status quo and set forth a plan for reform. It is now up to the president, the secretary of State, other Cabinet officials, and the Congress to work together to bring this plan into being. Clearly, the cost to the nation of tolerating an intolerable status quo will be much higher than the cost of the changes we need to make. ■

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WHY STATE DOESN'T NEED THESE REFORMS

AN AWARD-WINNING VETERAN FSO SAYS BOTH THE CARLUCCI AND HART-RUDMAN STUDIES HAVE SERIOUS FLAWS.

BY DAVID D. NEWSOM

During 35 years in a ladder of positions in the State Department and the Foreign Service and 20 additional years of observing these entities from academia, I have seen countless recommendations — many by distinguished Americans — for improving the clout, the efficiency and the morale of foreign affairs agencies. Some have resulted in genuine improvements in equal opportunity recruitment and the quality of life for officers and staffs overseas, but full implementation usually foundered on seemingly insurmountable obstacles:

- the sheer complexity of the Department's responsibilities, often augmented by congressional mandates, however laudable: human rights, religious freedom, narcotics, etc.
- the jousting for bureaucratic power in the interagency process;
- the inability to relate budgets to foreign policy objectives; and
- the lack of true ambassadorial authority over mission staffing.

Now, in anticipation of the new administration, several more reports have appeared. Recognizing profound changes in the world scene, at least two of these studies propose major changes in diplomatic operations.

The first is a report of an independent task force chaired by Frank Carlucci and sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Center for Strategic and International Studies, addressing "State Department Reform." It is most valuable for its accurate catalogue of the current woes of the department and the Foreign Service: workforce shortfalls, outdated infrastructure, shabby and insecure overseas posts, inadequate ambas-

sadorial authority, bifurcated policy-making and budget management, and lack, in the Foreign Service culture, of a recognition of the value of public outreach. It also makes valuable recommendations regarding State's congressional relations.

The second, produced by the U.S. Commission on National Security in the 21st Century, under the chairmanship of former Senators Gary Hart and Warren Rudman, is called "Road Map for National Security: Imperative for Change." It would incorporate most State Department responsibilities — including those of the current functional bureaus — under five regional under secretaries reporting directly to the secretary. The commission also recommends the transfer of USAID into the State Department, and raises important questions about the current recruitment and examination system of the Foreign Service.

Perhaps indicative of the fact that the traditional political/security focus of today's foreign policy establishment — often criticized — is not a thing of the past, neither report emphasizes the significance of economic and finance policy. The Hart-Rudman report does recommend that the secretary of the treasury be made a member of the National Security Council — a step long overdue. The foreign policy establishment has for too long ignored the central importance of Treasury in making foreign and security policy. By contrast, it is only in an additional comment by Phyllis Oakley and Casimir Yost that the Carlucci report even mentions the importance of foreign economic policy.

Both reports suggest consideration of a national security budget, but with different parameters. The Carlucci study recommends an "integrated national security bud-

get" incorporating instruments of diplomacy, intelligence, defense, and international economics. The Hart-Rudman Commission suggests such a budget, but with a wider focus, including "homeland security." Recognition that diplomacy is part of national security in the budget process is long overdue and should be addressed. Strangely, however, neither report focuses on the significant role of the Office of Management and Budget in ultimately determining the allocation of national security resources; yet the inclusion of OMB representatives in policy and budget deliberations is essential. But both groups address the desperate need for more resources for diplomacy.

Strengthening the role of the secretary of State and the department in the foreign affairs process is, in the last analysis, a matter of the chemistry between the president and his principal Cabinet secretaries, but process is also important. The effectiveness and prestige of the secretary of State depend ultimately on adequate responses to three questions:

- Is the secretary of State truly central to the creation and implementation of policy?
- Does the organization of the department provide efficient support for the secretary's responsibilities? Can it respond well to the unforeseen and unexpected?
- Are ambassadors truly in charge of the policy-making process overseas?

Neither of these reports, in my opinion, adequately answers any of these three key questions.

The Centrality of the Secretary of State

The perceived position of the U.S. secretary of State as the principal articulator of the nation's foreign policy — in the diplomatic world, the Congress, and the agencies of government — depends primarily on the statements and actions of the president. It depends, too, on the internal organization of the interagency process.

The growing agenda of foreign and security policy issues since 1945 has meant an inevitable drift of responsi-

bilities to the White House and to the National Security Council staff. Powerful Cabinet secretaries, especially those at Defense and Treasury, were no longer content to sit at the feet of the secretary of State on diplomatic and security matters. This tension paved the way for the enhanced position of the national security adviser, but that figure's role in several recent administrations has created confusion, abroad and within the government, over who controls foreign policy.

Both reports emphasize that the responsibilities of the national security adviser and his/her staff should be confined to coordination and planning of national security policy. But the devil is in the details and neither report addresses two key questions:

Who chairs policy and crisis committees? Each administration has organized differently the internal interagency committee structure, but experience has also demonstrated how power flows to the agency whose representative is designated by the president to chair a key interagency group. It has been natural, in some administrations, that the secretary of State or his/her representative chair committees dealing with foreign policy and the NSC adviser chair those called together in crises. The difficulty has been that, once the NSC adviser achieved control of an issue in a time of crisis, the long-term responsibilities became confused because that official was reluctant to relinquish such control.

Who determines what is foreign policy and what is national security policy? Both reports seek to draw distinctions between the two, yet, in reality, those distinctions are not that clear. Is the pursuit of weapons of mass destruction a foreign policy issue or a national security issue? Which agency will chair the required committees: the NSC, the State Department, or Defense? Which agency should take the lead in an Asian financial crisis? In the Clinton administration, the secretary of the treasury clearly took the lead on issues with strong foreign policy aspects.

The Carlucci report proposes that the president issue a directive reasserting the respective roles of the secretary of State and the NSC adviser. But, as Secretary of State Alexander Haig discovered at the beginning of the Reagan administration, the issuance of a directive before the details have been coordinated and agreed to within the government is a recipe for turmoil. Some process establishing the intricate details of organization must precede any such directive.

Retired FSO David D. Newsom served as ambassador to Libya, Indonesia and the Philippines, assistant secretary of State for African affairs, under secretary for political affairs and interim secretary of State between the Carter and Reagan administrations. The recipient of AFSA's 2000 Award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy, he is currently a senior fellow at the Miller Center of the University of Virginia.

Departmental Organization

Six considerations are important in crafting a departmental organization that will best serve the needs of the secretary of State:

- Is the span of control manageable?

In other words, is the number of senior officials reporting directly to the secretary small enough for meaningful daily conferences yet large enough to provide access to him/her for all critical functions? One of the current problems is that the proliferation of those with under secretary titles and presumed authority for direct access has multiplied to almost unmanageable numbers.

- Are departmental officers of sufficient rank to deal effectively with counterparts in other agencies?

• Does the organization provide for adequate leadership in times of crises and when senior officials are absent? In today's world, despite rapid communications, secretaries and deputy secretaries spend much time away from their office, in foreign travel, congressional hearings, public speeches, and ceremonial events. It is essential to have someone clearly in charge at such times, someone available to other officers of the department who can deal quickly with such issues as responding to a sudden crisis or a vote in the Security Council.

- Does adequate machinery exist for resolving issues across regional and functional lines?

• Is the department organized to reduce regional parochialism in policy-making?

- Is there an effective process for linking management and budget responsibilities with foreign policy objectives?

The Hart-Rudman Commission recommends that the president propose to the Congress a plan to reorganize the State Department, creating five under secretaries, with responsibility for overseeing the regions of Africa, Asia, Europe, Inter-America, and Near East/South Asia and redefining the responsibilities of the under secretary for global affairs. These new under secretaries would operate in conjunction with the existing under secretary for management. The position of under secretary for political affairs would be abolished.

A separate congressional initiative has proposed a somewhat different approach to bringing management and policy together: the creation of a second deputy secretary of State for management. The Carlucci report, instead, suggests designating the existing deputy as the

The Carlucci study is most valuable for its accurate catalogue of Foreign Service woes.

department's chief operating officer, with responsibilities for finances, administration, and human resources.

This proliferation of senior positions in the department does not seem to me to meet the requirements stated above.

Admittedly, I have been away from the department for 20 years and circumstances may have changed. But, before that, I occupied positions at every level from desk officer to interim secretary of State, and it is from that perspective that I believe an administration should take a careful look at aspects of this recommendation before proceeding.

Elevating positions has long been a part of reform recommendations in the belief that such elevation will give more clout to the function or region. Dean Rusk elevated desk officers to country directors without significantly enhancing their authority. When Congress or the department wants to demonstrate the priority given to a function, it is done through creating an under secretary. The regional assistant secretaries have long been powerful and influential players both within State and within the wider bureaucracy. One needs to ask how upgrading the level is going to enhance that authority.

It is not clear to me in the Hart-Rudman proposal what becomes of the current functional under secretaries; presumably, they are eliminated. I doubt this is a realistic recommendation. Congress would be likely, for example, to resist eliminating the recently established under secretary for public diplomacy. If USAID is incorporated into the Department of State as the report proposes, it is doubtful that a replacement for the USAID administrator would be lower than an under secretary. Interests that support the current under secretary for economics, business and agriculture, and the under secretary for arms control and international security (which incorporates the former Arms Control and Disarmament Agency) would probably fight to retain representation at the under secretary level. If these are not eliminated and the five regional under secretaries are added, it would mean 11 under secretaries seeking access to the secretary and deputy secretary compared to the current six (seven, if USAID is added).

The Hart-Rudman proposal would abolish the position of under secretary for political affairs and apparently elevate the under secretary for global affairs to the number

three position. I am not convinced this would help policy management in the department or serve the needs of the secretary. The person in this position has traditionally had responsibility for the day-to-day coordination not only of the regional bureaus, but also of the bureaus of humanitarian affairs, international organizations, and intelligence and research. That officer has also played a major role in the day-to-day liaison, especially in crisis situations, with Defense, CIA, and the NSC. Continuity has been provided at times of transition through the under secretary for political affairs and the regional assistant secretaries. Although incumbents have ultimately changed with new administrations, they have frequently been career rather than political appointees and thus not subject to immediate resignation at the time of transition.

One of the continuing challenges in policy-making and coordination within the department has long been that of balancing regional parochialisms. One of the tasks of the under secretary for political affairs has been to deal with issues that span regional bureaus and, as necessary, present the essential elements to the secretary or deputy secretary for decisions. Is this a task that would fall easily to an under secretary for global affairs less involved in the broad political/security issues of the day? Will secretaries or deputy secretaries wish to undertake the task?

A Better Alternative

A manageable alternative that would meet the essential requirements and bring political, functional, and management responsibilities together would allocate responsibilities among under secretaries as follows:

Political Affairs: Regional bureaus, international organizations, intelligence and research, liaison with DOD, CIA, and NSC staff;

Economic Affairs: Economic, agriculture, business affairs, liaison with Commerce, USTR, and Treasury;

Public Diplomacy: USIA functions, departmental press relations;

Foreign Assistance: security assistance, refugees, USAID, relations with relief NGOs;

Global Affairs: Narcotics, arms control, human rights, environment, science and technology, liaison with appropriate agencies; and

Management: Human resources, budgets, foreign buildings.

Together with the head of the Policy Planning Staff and of the Secretariat, the under secretaries plus the

deputy secretary would constitute a manageable council to meet daily with the secretary to coordinate policies and actions.

Ambassadors and Leaders

It has long been a myth, reinforced by letters issued by each president, that U.S. ambassadors are in charge of their embassies. The fact is that good ambassadors achieve that control not through letters, but by overcoming bureaucratic obstacles, establishing confidence among their staff, and leading.

The Carlucci report addresses the problem of ambassadorial control and recommends greater ambassadorial involvement in each agency's country resource allocations, greater authority to return personnel to their home offices and suggests instructing "all agencies and departments to treat performance evaluations by ambassadors concerning personnel deployed to their embassies as a principal evaluation." This latter element is a major key to the authority of any chief of mission.

Neither report spoke to the question of ambassadorial authority to determine the size of the entire complement of an embassy. Ambassadorial efforts to reduce or reshape staffs have traditionally encountered the stiff resistance of agencies in Washington — and presumably still do.

Recognizing U.S. political realities, neither report addressed the question of ambassadorial appointments or the particular qualifications required in today's changing world. Yet more and more, the possibility of major crises developing in less prominent places is real: take the importance of having the skills of Barbara Bodine in Yemen during the USS Cole crisis.

The State Department, with its far-flung operations, its unpredictable and often unpopular problems, its anomalous place within the bureaucracy, and its constant battle with diplomatic stereotypes, will probably always be the subject of proposals for reform. Of the studies under review, the Carlucci task force makes the more sensible and needed recommendations within the present structure of the department. That approach is far preferable to the one taken by the Hart-Rudman commission, which would radically restructure the organization in ways that may meet strong resistance and, if implemented, complicate further the task of managing the foreign affairs process. ■

REFORM FOR ITS OWN SAKE

TWO BLUE-RIBBON COMMISSIONS OFFER SOME SOUND
ADVICE, SOME SERIOUS OMISSIONS, AND ONE REAL CLUNKER.

BY MORTON H. HALPERIN

The Carlucci and the Hart-Rudman Commission studies are the latest in a long series of reports recommending fundamental changes in the Department of State. Although their findings go in somewhat different directions, as I will discuss, both studies start with the same basic assumption: State needs more resources, which Congress has failed to provide because it is dissatisfied with how State is organized and managed. Thus, the emphasis of both reports is on attaining a tangible reward for better performance, not the intrinsic benefits of improving the way the department operates.

(Incidentally, it is worth bearing in mind that while both reports generally refer, somewhat loosely, to the "State Department budget," State's operating budget is actually only a small fraction of the overall "150 Account," which covers all budget expenditures related to international affairs.)

The first premise — that State needs (and deserves) more resources — is as true as it is familiar. Former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright — echoed by several independent groups, including a 1997 Council on Foreign Relations-Brookings Institution task force — regularly and eloquently argued the case for increasing spending on foreign affairs. Yet the two reports under review do not build on these and other efforts. Nor do they acknowledge that after many years of decline, the 150 Account budget has actually been increasing (at least in absolute terms) for the past several years.

In fact, Congress provided essentially the entire amount requested by President Clinton for the current year, and is likely to do the same this year, even though Secretary of State Colin Powell persuaded President Bush to increase the request he inherited for the coming

year, even while the president was cutting almost all other departments. That, in turn, suggests that the key to increasing the size of the 150 Account is for the secretary of State to persuade the president to overrule the Office of Management and Budget bureaucracy, which consistently does its best to keep the lid on spending.

But even if this were not the case, neither report presents any evidence to support the proposition linking the department's budget woes to congressional demands for State to reform. This is an understandable omission precisely because, in my view, the decline in international affairs spending had little to do with congressional unhappiness with State management. Simply put, the fundamental reason that the 150 Account is too low is that most of its recipients lack a strong domestic constituency. Those components that do enjoy domestic support, notably aid for Israel and Egypt, and, more recently, drug assistance for Colombia, have no difficulty obtaining funding at least equal to the need.

To obtain funds for other, less "protected" items in the foreign affairs budget, increased public support — especially from the business community, which now has a big stake in the activities of the State Department — would no doubt be helpful. But what would help most would be for Secretary Powell and President Bush to make the case that increased funding for the 150 account is a wise investment that will reduce the need to deploy American military forces and will advance the interests and values of the American people.

One final comment on this aspect of both reports: It is curious that, with the exception of the Carlucci group's discussion of the need for additional resources for communications and security, neither report discusses in any detail how State should spend additional funds.

If, contrary to the expectations of the Carlucci task force, a grand bargain of budget increases in exchange for changes in State's structure and procedures is not in the works, there is still a strong case to be made for reform and reorganization. Each commission report contains useful recommendations toward that end.

To begin with areas of agreement: Both reports call for a change in the role of the National Security Council staff (and of the national security adviser) so that the NSC returns to its proper role of coordinating policy, ensuring that the president is exposed to all options, and staffing the president for his personal involvement in foreign policy. Here again the early signals from the Bush administration are good. State is once again being given the opportunity to demonstrate that it can effectively implement the president's policies.

Promising Signs

The two studies also highlight State's poor performance in dealing with the Congress and the overall decline in cooperation between State and Congress in dealing with national security issues. They call for State to pay more attention to the Hill and to involve more of the department than just the famous H bureau, which traditionally guards its role as the transmission belt to members of Congress. Secretary Powell understands this need and is moving to implement some of the techniques long used by the Pentagon in its more successful efforts to woo legislators, including the establishment of a permanent office on Capitol Hill.

Most of what the Carlucci task force recommends falls into the category of modernization of the department and

Morton Halperin was director of the Policy Planning staff at State from 1998 to 2001. He previously served in the Defense Department and the National Security Council. Currently a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, he has also held leadership positions at such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union, the Twentieth Century Fund and the Center for National Security Studies.

The Hart-Rudman proposal to abolish most functional bureaus and create five new regional under secretaries would be disastrous.

its embassies, particularly security and communications. No one who has worked in the department in recent times or dealt with it can doubt these needs, so it is encouraging that steps in this direction are part of the revised Bush budget. Although it does not call for any overhaul of the department's organizational chart, it does recommend that the deputy secretary of State be given clear responsibility to manage the department. The

appointment of a deputy secretary, Richard Armitage, with close ties to the secretary, provides a unique opportunity to put this critical recommendation into effect.

The Hart-Rudman Prescription: Reorganize

The Hart-Rudman commission also offers many worthwhile ideas, with one major exception: its extraordinary proposal to create five new regional under secretaries and to abolish most of the functional bureaus. It is difficult to understand how such a counterproductive and ill-considered proposal could have gained the apparently unanimous support of this distinguished group of Americans.

One does not know where to begin in explaining why this proposal would have disastrous consequences. Perhaps the now familiar term "globalization" will do. Functional bureaus were created in the department in recognition of the fact that policies on issues like global warming, human rights, refugees and terrorism must be developed at a global level to be effective. A single under secretary for global affairs, combining the existing under secretaries for economics, security, and global affairs, as recommended in the report, may in fact be a good idea. However, this person could not compete with the new regional under secretaries. Nor could these new officials deal effectively with such matters as humanitarian and refugee crises or environmental and trade policy. And creating three functional bureaus under each regional under secretary will only make it harder to coordinate policy toward a country, since it also creates three desks for each country within the regional bureaus.

Although the proposal reflects a bewildering lack of understanding of what needs to be done, it is at least moti-

vated by a desire to deal with a widely perceived problem: the State Department seems uniquely incapable of speaking with a single voice. Officials from other agencies have grown accustomed to State insisting on having more people at every interagency meeting than any other agency, and then, being the representatives from different bureaus, taking wholly inconsistent positions, agreeing only that there is no State Department position. Any serious effort to reestablish State's leading role in foreign policy requires that this problem be fixed. But reorganization is not the answer; leadership from the top is.

State and the national security apparatus work best when a senior official (a seventh floor principal in department jargon) has a clear mandate from the president and the secretary to manage an issue. North Korea policy, where first Bob Gallucci and then Wendy Sherman had this mandate, is a case in point. No one doubted who spoke for State and department officials were able to lead an effective interagency process. This is the model that should be followed. On major issues of continuing con-

cern to the president and the secretary, they should agree on a senior State Department official (or, in appropriate cases, an official from another agency), to coordinate the interagency process. On less critical issues the deputy secretary should designate an individual to represent the department on each such issue and should create an intra-agency process to resolve disputes before someone represents State at an interagency meeting.

Still, as when this nation created the Department of Defense, the CIA and USAID, among others, creating new entities may be the best way to deal with the new problems and challenges of the post-Cold War period. For example, the Rudman-Hart commission usefully describes a challenge which, in my view, cries out for reorganization: improving interagency response to an overseas humanitarian crisis. But its solution — to put each regional assistant secretary in charge of such disasters in his or her region — is wholly impractical. Someone has to be clearly in charge and wield the authority of the government working under the policy

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direction of the secretary of State.

Fortunately, the seed of a more effective solution is found elsewhere in the report: merge USAID into State and create within State a new foreign disaster relief agency combining the bureau of humanitarian affairs in USAID and the refugee bureau in State and centering authority to deal with all foreign humanitarian crises in that agency. This would also permit the creation of a democracy promotion agency combining elements of the global bureau in USAID with the programs of DRL in State.

Both reports, particularly the Carlucci commission's, distill the key points of a variety of earlier official and unofficial studies. At least partly for that reason, I

The State

Department seems uniquely incapable of speaking with a single voice.

believe many of their recommendations are likely to be well received and even, perhaps, to be implemented.

Encouraging Prospects

In addition, Secretary Powell brings to the job an impressive combination of vast organizational experience, prestige and popularity. Tapping into the reservoir of goodwill he has built up with the president and the Congress, he is singularly well-placed to restructure and reform both the State Department and the national security process to deal with the continuing challenges of the post-Cold War period. His first steps have been in the right direction. But he will need the support of the members of these two distinguished task forces and others as he moves forward. ■

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INSIDE: Congressional Directory

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • May 2001

FOREIGN SERVICE DAY POSTPONED, RENAMED

“Foreign Affairs Day” Christened

The 36th Foreign Service Day, which was scheduled for early May, has been postponed until Sept. 10. Secretary Powell sparked an effort to make the annual event for Foreign Service retirees more inclusive when he made a suggestion some months ago that Foreign Service Day be more like a “homecoming” for all those who have served at State. As a result, Foreign Service Day will take on a new name —

Foreign Affairs Day — and all retired employees, both Foreign and Civil Service, will be invited to attend.

The department-sponsored Foreign Service Day was traditionally an opportunity for retirees and their spouses to attend briefings on current foreign affairs issues, as well as participate in special events and award ceremonies sponsored by AFSA, DACOR and

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UNFORTUNATE MANAGEMENT DECISION

State Wants to Renegotiate 1983 Agreement

AFSA was disappointed to receive the department’s formal notification of management’s decision to exercise its option to change the 1983 agreement with AFSA that protected the department’s overseas Foreign Service positions for Foreign Service employees.

The letter from State’s Chief Labor Management Negotiator Susan Moore stated, “The window period for modifying or amending 3 FAM 2210, Appointments, closes on March 30, 2001. The department wishes to modify... obsolete and possibly unlawful language; and develop a system that protects the department’s key jobs at post while allowing for the assignment of qualified State Department employees overseas. In short, we want to develop a system that is most fair to employees in the State Department family.”

Here are excerpts from AFSA President

Marshall Adair’s response:

“We are deeply disappointed that the department has elected to modify the 1983 agreement. ... The department is reopening wounds that had only recently started to heal. The department’s assignment last year of someone from outside the Foreign Service to fill a deputy chief of mission position generated outrage from Foreign Service personnel around the world. The outrage only increased when Secretary Albright permitted the illegal assignment to stand, by becoming the first secretary in history to reject a recommendation of the Foreign Service Grievance Board.

“Secretary Powell has indicated both appreciation and support for the career diplomatic service. Thus, we are particularly saddened that his department has now started down this road.

Continued on page 6

FROM AN AFSA PRESS RELEASE

Budget Increase

AFSA congratulates Secretary of State Powell for successfully obtaining the Bush administration’s support for increasing State’s FY2002 operations budget level by 13.7 percent. The projected increases are focused on enhancements in three areas: security, personnel, and information technology.

AFSA’s Workforce Planning Study demonstrated a shortfall of over 1,000 Foreign Service personnel. The diplomatic service must be restored to full complement if we are to train and develop employees, provide sufficient leave, and not overextend overseas personnel.

On security, the budget request represents a welcome increase, but still amounts to a cumulative shortfall of nearly one billion dollars.

AFSA President Marshall Adair said, “The proposed increase of 13.7 percent in the total State Department budget is a welcome first step, but AFSA believes strongly that the department’s budget must be doubled in coming years.” □

AFSANEWSBRIEFS



Final AFSA Election Results

For the term beginning in July, the new FAS representative will be Eric Wenberg, and the new International Broadcasting Bureau, or IBB, representative will be Gordon Thompson. The full election results can be found on the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org.

New DG Nominated

Ruth A. Davis, most recently the director of the Foreign Service Institute, has been nominated to be the new director general of the Foreign Service and director of human resources. Marc Grossman left the director general job to become under secretary for political affairs, known as P, in late March.

What You Thought about Extended Tours

Nearly 300 employees responded to AFSA's request for input concerning State's decision to move to a four-year tour of duty at non-differential posts. 53 percent opposed the change, 33 percent endorsed it, and 14 percent did not specifically endorse it but focused on how best to implement it. AFSA incorporated member suggestions into its proposals to management.

Legislative Action Fund Needs Your Support

Remember to make your contribution to AFSA's Legislative Action Fund. AFSA is the only organization actively seeking to protect and improve Foreign Service benefits for both active-duty employees and retirees. **Please mail your contribution to: AFSA Legislative Action Fund, PO Box 98026, Washington, DC 20090-8026.** Please support the Legislative Action Fund by giving generously.

Junior Officers Discussion Forum

Attention junior officers—whether you are still at FSI or already serving at an overseas post, you probably have many unanswered questions and concerns about the operations of the Department of State and the role of the junior officer within the department. You are not alone. Visit the JO forum on the AFSA Web site (www.afsa.org/c-street). Voice your concerns and raise your questions about recruitment, professional development, retention and any other issue that is on your mind. Junior officers can act as a resource and sounding board for one another. The issues raised will be brought to the attention of AFSA so that they can represent JO interests accordingly. Let your voice be heard—join the JO forum!

Do You Know about the Foreign Service Youth Foundation?

The Foreign Service Youth Foundation is the only private, non-profit organization dedicated to providing information, developing support activities, and advocating for the internationally mobile youth of U.S. foreign affairs agencies. Its programs include social, educational and leadership meetings for Foreign Service youth ages 9-18. Around the World in a Lifetime (AWAL), its teen group, and Globe Trotters, the pre-teen organization, assist Foreign Service young people as they prepare to go overseas or re-enter life in the United States after a tour abroad. The FSFY also presents annual Foreign Service youth awards for outstanding community service and sponsors seminars and publishes books for families about internationally mobile children.

For more information about the FSFY and its programs visit the Web site at <http://www.fsfy.org/>, or contact Melanie Newhouse at fsyf@fsfy.org or (301) 404-6655. To make a much needed donation, please send a check, payable to FSFY, to FSFY, P.O. Box 39185, Washington, D.C. 20016.



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Secretary: Aurelius Fernandez
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Retiree Representatives: Harry Cahill, Garber Davidson, George Jones, Robert Lamb
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General Counsel: Sharon Papp
Labor Management Attorney: Zlatana Badrich
Labor Management Specialist: James Yorke
USAID Labor Management Specialist: Douglas Broome
Grievance Attorneys: Harry Sizer, Tracy Smith
Law Clerk: Neera Parikh
Office Manager: Christine Warren
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Representative: Christine Spaulding
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Public Outreach/Retiree Liaison: Ward Thompson
Director of Communications: Thomas Switzer
Congressional Affairs Director: Ken Nakamura
Executive Assistant: Marc Goldberg
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Corporate Relations: Barbara Bowie-Whitman
Professional Issues Coordinator: Barbara Berger

AFFSA NEWS BRIEFS



New from AFSA: Merit Perpetual Scholarships

AFFSA announces, for the first time, two perpetual scholarships established through the Merit Award program cosponsored with the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide.

Formerly, scholarships were only offered under the need-based financial aid program. Beginning in 2001, a scholarship award each year in perpetuity will be made in the names of Priscilla and John P. Becker and Maria Giuseppa and Donald S. Spigler to two Foreign Service high school seniors for academic accomplishments.



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The new scholarship awards will be given for achievements based on grade point average, SAT scores, essay, extracurricular activities, and letters of recommendation. Students may also apply for an art merit scholarship in the areas of creative writing, drama, dance, musical arts or visual arts. Applications are available in November of each year, and the \$1,500 awards are bestowed in May.

The Beckers' daughters were recipients of AFSA awards when they were in high school in the 1980s, and the family wanted to give something back to the Foreign Service community. After a 30-plus year career with the Foreign Service retiring in the early 1990s, John continues to work for the State Department. Donald Spigler served in Germany, Austria, Sierra Leone, and South Africa. He retired to Florida with his wife in 1973 and served as the mayor of South Palm Beach for nine years. The Beckers and Spiglers currently reside in the Washington, D.C., area.

Individuals making donations of \$10,000 or more to the AFSA Scholarship Fund can now choose to have an award made each year in their name either under AFSA's Financial Aid Award Program or under the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award program. Only the interest from the principal is bestowed as a scholarship.

AFSA's other charity, the Fund for American Diplomacy, which educates the public on the importance of diplomacy, also accepts donations and is building its endowment to fund, among other activities: the speakers bureau, high school essay contest, and AFSA's awards for Foreign Service employees. For more information on either the AFSA Scholarship Fund or the Fund for American Diplomacy, contact Lori Dec at 202-944-5504 or dec@afsa.org. □

Award for Outstanding Volunteerism Abroad

The Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide is pleased to announce the 2001 winners of the AAFSW/Secretary of State's Award for Outstanding Volunteerism Abroad:

Bureau

African Affairs
East Asian & Pacific Affairs
European Affairs
Near Eastern Affairs
South Asian Affairs
Western Hemisphere Affairs

Post

Nairobi
Bangkok
The Hague
Cairo
Kathmandu
Caracas

Name

Ellen Kramer Wright
Melanie Kilmarrx
Anja Lundberg
Leslie Hamish
Melodie Gage
Anna Savinon



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AFSA congratulates these winners for well-deserved recognition of their hard work. The awards will be presented at Foreign Affairs Day in September.

The FSN Relief Fund Needs Your Support

The FSN Emergency Relief Fund, established in 1994, has helped FSNs in Maputo, Caracas, Athens, Nairobi, Dar Es Salaam, Freetown, Ankara, Dhaka, and Karachi following earthquakes, floods, terrorist attacks, etc. The fund assisted FSN employees and their families in San Salvador who suffered losses during the recent earthquakes. Unfortunately, the need always surpasses the supply of funds. FSNs are on the front lines with Foreign Service employees around the world. Please donate to the fund, and help show FSNs they are appreciated.

Contributions should be made by check payable to the Department of State, with the notation "FSN Relief Fund." Send to FSN Emergency Relief Fund, c/o Donna Bordley, FMP, Room 7427, Department of State, Washington, D.C., 20520.

Junior Officers Invited To DACOR

Junior officers are cordially invited to visit the office of Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired, and learn about the old and not-so-old Foreign Service. Some issues faced by JOs have been faced before. Member lunches are every Monday and Thursday, no reservations required. Lunches on other days, monthly speaker lunches, graduate student seminars and other events require reservations, which can be made by calling DACOR at (202) 682-0500. DACOR warmly welcomes any adventurous JOs who can find time to visit. DACOR is located in an elegant building at 1801 F St., N.W., Washington D.C.

AFSA Welcomes New Staff

AFSA welcomes Tom Switzer, joining AFSA to fill the newly created Director of Communications position. He will be coordinating outreach to the media and the public, as well as running the speakers bureau. Tom is a retired USIA FSO who spent last year serving as senior public affairs adviser on Balkan issues for the European Bureau.

Another warm welcome for Suzan Boshra Reager, the new AFSA USAID office manager. Suzan recently moved to Washington with her husband, a USAID FSO, after working for the embassy and AID mission in Cairo for over 10 years. Suzan can be reached at (202) 712-1941.

Fair Treatment Overseas

In February, the *Washington Post* reported that the Central Intelligence Agency had recently started paying its overseas employees an incentive pay linked to the 10.23 percent Washington locality pay. In so doing, the CIA became, in effect, the first agency to declare that overseas staffing cannot be maintained under the locality pay system as it currently exists.

As implemented during the 1990s, locality pay has created a wedge between the compensation of domestic and overseas employees. That gap, moreover, grows each year as locality pay rates continue to rise by one percent or more. This penalizes overseas employees, thereby discouraging them from serving abroad. If this gap continues to grow, it will inevitably begin to dissuade people from choosing a career in the Foreign Service. As one employee put it:

"Locality pay will kill the Foreign Service if it isn't dealt with soon. Our 25 percent differential posts are, in reality, now only 15 percent posts. In another three or four years, the effective differential for our most difficult posts will be just 10 percent."

Locality pay uniquely disadvantages overseas employees because it is paid only to employees assigned within the U.S. Currently, every domestic federal employee gets at least 7.68 percent in locality pay, which is the rate in the catchall "rest of U.S." pay area. Had that 7.68 percent been put into base pay instead of into locality pay, overseas employees would have gotten it. The fact that it was not severely disadvantages employees serving abroad. It does so both while they are on active duty (due to lower salaries which, in turn, reduce the value of post differentials) and after they retire (due to lower "high three" retirement annuity calculations and a career of lower Thrift Savings Plan contribution limits).

AFSA applauds the inclusion of funding for "virtual locality pay" in the department's FY2002 budget (allowing employees serving abroad to calculate their "high three" years salary for annuity purposes as if they had been earning Washington locality pay). However, this program will only help some employees in their final years of service. Therefore, we see the urgent need for a comprehensive solution to the overseas pay crisis.

One option would be to restructure the locality pay system by increasing pay government-wide by 7.68 percent while reducing all locality pay rates by 7.68 percent. This would have no immediate impact on domestic employees (for example, employees in D.C. would get 7.68 percent higher base pay plus a 2.55 percent locality pay rate — exactly equaling the current 10.23 percent Washington locality pay rate). However, overseas employees would earn 7.68 percent more in base pay.

Another option would be for Congress to take the Foreign Service out of the locality pay system altogether, just as the uniformed military is outside of that system. To do so, Congress would first need to adjust upward our base salaries to compensate for the loss of existing locality payments. Then, each year the Foreign Service would get the full civilian pay raise without subtracting out the portion dedicated to locality pay raises for other employees.

AFSA clearly recognizes the importance of this issue and will keep it on the front burner until we achieve fair treatment for overseas employees. □



Locality pay will kill
the Foreign Service if it
isn't dealt with soon.
Our 25 percent differential
posts are now only
15 percent posts.

STAMPS OF APPROVAL

Honoring U.S. Diplomats on Postage Stamps

U.S. postage stamps have been issued to honor presidents, military officers and leaders of other professions, but there has been little recognition of diplomats, at least, not yet. AFSA, in cooperation with DACOR and State Department officer John Hotchner, has embarked on a multi-year project to seek the issuance by the Postal Service of stamps honoring U.S. diplomacy and significant American diplomats. Hotchner works in the Consular Affairs bureau's passport office and is a member of the Citizens Stamp Advisory Committee, which recommends stamp subjects to the postmaster general.

The lead time for new stamp issuance is two to three years and beyond. The diplomat nominated must have been dead



at least 10 years. Historic events may only be marked on anniversaries in multiples of 50 years.

Who do you think were the most significant American diplomats in each of the following periods: 1776-1820; 1820-1900; 1900-1945; 1945-1990? Send your nominations to AFSA or DACOR. At AFSA, contact John Naland by e-mail at NalandJ@state.gov, by fax to (202) 647-0265, or by mail to AFSA, Room 1251, Department of State, Washington, DC 20520. Contact DACOR by e-mail at dacor@dacorbacon.org or by mail to Dacor Bacon House, 1801 F St. N.W., Washington, DC 20006. □

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AFSA CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

American Foreign Service Association • May 2001

107TH CONGRESS 2001 AND 2002

We are pleased to provide the AFSA Congressional Directory for the 107th Congress.

When the first AFSA Congressional Directory was produced in 1997, it was preceded by a brutal two-year fight over resources for the foreign affairs budget account. In order to gain increased resources for sustained American leadership in the world, we called on your help many times to show that Americans care deeply about our nation's ability to provide world leadership.

Thanks to your assistance, the situation has improved. We received increased funding in the past sessions of Congress, mainly for protecting our embassies abroad with increased security. However, we need to remember that the fight for resources for the foreign affairs account is an annual occurrence, and that we will need your help just as much in this session of Congress as in previous ones.

We are focusing on a number of issues vital to the American Foreign Service Association in the 107th Congress. We are aggressively lobbying Congress and the Bush administration to increase drastically spending for the State Department and its programs for the current fiscal year. Secretary Powell is to be commended for his FY2002 request, but it still needs to be increased. We are also continuing working "bread and butter" issues, such as amending the capital gains tax exclusion on the sale of a principal residence to include FS personnel serving abroad, amending the law regarding Foreign Service specialist overtime pay when serving abroad, and eliminating the dual compensation limitations on Foreign Service retirees who return to work for the federal government.

Certainly, the issues that AFSA focuses on will change, but our need for your support will not. For us to succeed in doing our job, we need you to tell your senators and representatives that a strong and active foreign affairs constituency exists.

Here are vital points to remember when contacting your senators and representatives:

- Do not use government work time or resources, such as letterhead, franked envelopes or computers to contact Congress. Not only is this illegal, but it is highly counterproductive. Be certain to specify that you are writing as a private citizen, not as a representative of the U.S. government.
- Explain your position clearly and concisely. If you are referring to specific legislation, give the bill number.
- Be brief and to the point. If possible, limit your correspondence to one page. Postcards work too.
- Ask for a reply and for your legislator's position.
- Give your name and address.
- Address letters as follows:

Honorable John Smith
United States Senate
(Room and Building)
Washington, D.C. 20510
Dear Senator Smith:

Honorable John Smith
United States House of Representatives
(Room and Building)
Washington, D.C. 20515
Dear Representative Smith:

You have a valuable story to tell about the importance of diplomacy in the advancement and protection of U.S. interests around the world. Thank you for your time and help.

American Foreign Service Association
2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037
Phone: (202) 338-4045 Fax: (202) 338-6820
E-mail: nakamura@afsa.org



DIRECTORY OF THE 107TH CONGRESS AS OF APR. 1, 2001.

All phone numbers are in area code (202) unless stated otherwise. Room numbers (for representatives) with 3 digits are in the Cannon House Office Building, 4 digits beginning with 1 are in the Longworth HOB, and 4 digits beginning with 2 are in the Rayburn HOB. Room numbers (for senators) beginning with SD are in the Dirksen Building, SH are in the Hart Building, and SR are in the Russell Building

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Cramer, Robert E. (Bud), Jr. (D-05)	225-4801	2367	225-4392	205-551-0190	budmail@mail.house.gov
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Hilliard, Earl F. (D-07)	225-2665	1314	226-0772	205-328-2841	callearl@mail.house.gov
ALASKA					
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Sen. Stevens, Ted (R)	224-3004	SH-522	224-2354	907-271-5915	Senator_Stevens@stevens.senate.gov
Young, Don (R-At Large)	225-5765	2111	225-0425	907-271-5978	don.young@mail.house.gov
AMERICAN SAMOA					
Faleomavaega, Eni F. H. (D-Delegate)	225-8577	2422	225-8757	684-633-1372	faleomavaega@mail.house.gov
ARIZONA					
Sen. Kyl, Jon (R)	224-4521	SH-730	228-1239	602-840-1891	info@kyl.senate.gov
Sen. McCain, John (R)	224-2235	SR-241	228-2862	602-952-2410	senator_McCain@mccain.senate.gov
Flake, Jeff (R-01)	225-2635	512	225-3405	602-831-2900	jeff.flake@mail.house.gov
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Stump, Bob (R-03)	225-4576	211	225-6328	602-379-6923	N/A
Shadegg, John B. (R-04)	225-3361	432	225-3462	602-248-7779	j.shadegg@mail.house.gov
Kolbe, Jim (R-05)	225-2542	2266	225-0378	520-881-3588	jim.kolbe@mail.house.gov
Hayworth, J. D. (R-06)	225-2190	2434	225-3263	602-926-4151	jdhayworth@mail.house.gov
ARKANSAS					
Sen. Hutchinson, Y. Tim (R)	224-2353	SD-239	228-3973	501-324-6336	Senator.Hutchinson@hutchinson.senate.gov
Sen. Lincoln, Blanche (D)	224-4843	SH-825	228-1371	501-376-0977	blanche_lincoln@lincoln.senate.gov
Berry, Marion (D-01)	225-4076	1113	225-5602	870-972-4600	N/A
Snyder, Vic (D-02)	225-2506	1319	225-5903	501-324-5941	snyder.congress@mail.house.gov
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Ross, Mike (D-04)	225-3772	514	225-1314	870-536-3376	N/A
CALIFORNIA					
Sen. Boxer, Barbara (D)	224-3553	SH-112	415-956-6701	415-403-0100	senator@boxer.senate.gov
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Condit, Gary A. (D-18)	225-6131	2234	225-0819	209-383-4455	rep.condit@mail.house.gov
Radanovich, George (R-19)	225-4540	123	225-3402	209-248-0800	george.radanovich@mail.house.gov
Dooley, Calvin M. (D-20)	225-3341	1201	225-9308	209-585-8171	N/A
Thomas, William M. (R-21)	225-2915	2208	225-8798	805-327-3611	N/A
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Sherman, Brad (D-24)	225-5911	1524	225-5879	818-999-1990	brad.sherman@mail.house.gov
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Schiff, Adam (D-27)	225-4176	437	225-5828	818-577-3969	N/A
Dreier, David (R-28)	225-2305	237	225-7018	818-339-9078	N/A
Waxman, Henry A. (D-29)	225-3976	2204	225-4099	213-651-1040	N/A
Becerra, Xavier (D-30)	225-6235	1119	225-2202	213-483-1425	N/A
Solis, Hilda (D-31)	225-5464	1641	225-5467	626-458-4524	N/A
Vacant (32) ¹	225-7084	2413	225-4091	213-678-5424	N/A
Roybal-Allard, Lucille (D-33)	225-1766	2435	226-0350	213-628-9230	N/A
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Harman, Jane (D-36)	225-8220	229	225-7119	310-543-9021	jane.harman@mail.house.gov
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Miller, Gary G. (R-41)	225-3201	1037	226-6962	909-444-1761	publicCA41@mail.house.gov
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Calvert, Ken (R-43)	225-1986	2201	225-2004	909-784-4300	N/A
Bono, Mary (R-44)	225-5330	516	225-2961	760-320-1076	N/A
Rohrabacher, Dana (R-45)	225-2415	2338	225-0145	714-847-2433	Dana@mail.house.gov
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Issa, Darrell (R-48)	225-3906	1725	225-0134	619-631-1364	congressman.issa@mail.house.gov
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Filner, Bob (D-50)	225-8045	2463	225-9073	619-422-5963	TalkToBobFilner@mail.house.gov
Cunningham, Randy Duke (R-51)	225-5452	2350	225-2558	619-737-8438	N/A
Hunter, Duncan (R-52)	225-5672	2265	225-0235	619-579-3001	N/A

COLORADO

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Sen. Campbell, Ben Nighthorse (R)	224-5852	SR-380	224-1933	303-866-1900	administrator@campbell.senate.gov
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Udall, Mark (D-02)	225-2161	115	226-7840	303-245-8005	Mar.udall@mail.house.gov
McInnis, Scott (R-03)	225-4761	320	226-0622	719-543-8200	N/A
Schaffer, Bob (R-04)	225-4676	212	225-5870	970-493-9132	rep.schaffer@mail.house.gov
Hefley, Joel (R-05)	225-4422	2230	225-1942	719-520-0055	N/A
Tancredo, Thomas G. (R-06)	225-7882	418	226-4623	303-783-1051	tom.tancredo@mail.house.gov

¹Vacant due to death; special election mid-April

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Sen. Dodd, Christopher J. (D)	224-2823	SR-448	224-1083	203-240-3470	senator@dodd.senate.gov
Sen. Lieberman, Joseph I. (D)	224-4041	SH-706	224-9750	860-549-8463	senator_lieberman@lieberman.senate.gov
Larson, John B. (D-01)	225-2265	1419	225-1031	860-290-8944	N/A
Simmons, Rob (R-02)	225-2076	511	225-4977	203-886-0139	bozrah@mail.house.gov
DeLauro, Rosa L. (D-03)	225-3661	2262	225-4890	203-562-3718	N/A
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Johnson, Nancy L. (R-06)	225-4476	2113	225-4488	860-223-8412	N/A
DELAWARE					
Sen. Biden, Joseph R., Jr. (D)	224-5042	SR-221	224-0139	302-573-6345	senator@biden.senate.gov
Sen. Carper, Thomas R. (D)	224-2441	SH-513	228-2190	302-573-6291	N/A
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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA					
Norton, Eleanor Holmes (D-Delegate)	225-8050	1424	225-3002	202-783-5211	N/A
FLORIDA					
Sen. Graham, Bob (D)	224-3041	SH-524	224-2237	305-536-7293	bob_graham@graham.senate.gov
Sen. Nelson, Bill (D)	224-5274	SH-716	224-8022	305-530-7100	senator@billnelson.senate.gov
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Brown, Corrine (D-03)	225-0123	2444	225-2256	904-354-1652	N/A
Crenshaw, Ander (R-04)	225-2501	510	225-9318	904-739-6600	N/A
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KANSAS					
Sen. Brownback, Sam (R)	224-6521	SH-303	228-1265	913-492-6378	webmail@brownback.senate.gov
Sen. Roberts, Pat (R)	224-4774	SH-302	224-3514	785-295-2745	pat_roberts@roberts.senate.gov
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KENTUCKY					
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Sen. McConnell, Mitch (R)	224-2541	SR-361A	224-2499	502-582-6304	senator@mcconnell.senate.gov
Whitfield, Ed (R-01)	225-3115	236	225-3547	502-885-8079	ed.whitfield@mail.house.gov
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LOUISIANA					
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MAINE					
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Sen. Snowe, Olympia J. (R)	224-5344	SR-154	224-1946	207-780-3575	Olympia@snowe.senate.gov
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Sen. Bond, Christopher S. (R)	224-5721	SR-274	224-8149	573-634-2488	kit_bond@bond.senate.gov
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NEBRASKA					
Sen. Hagel, Chuck (R)	224-4224	SR-250	224-5213	402-758-8981	chuck_hagel@hagel.senate.gov
Sen. Nelson, Ben (D)	224-6551	SH-716	224-7645	402-341-1776	N/A
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NEVADA					
Sen. Ensign, John (R)	224-6244	SR-364	224-1867	702-784-5007	senator@bryan.senate.gov
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Sen. Gregg, Judd (R)	224-3324	SR-393	224-4952	603-225-7115	mailbox@gregg.senate.gov
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Barton, Joe (R-06)	225-2002	2264	225-3052	817-543-1000	rep.barton@mail.house.gov
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Matheson, Jim (D-02)	225-3011	410	225-5638	801-524-4394	N/A
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VERMONT					
Sen. Jeffords, James M. (R)	224-5141	SH-728	228-0338	802-658-6001	vermont@jeffords.senate.gov
Sen. Leahy, Patrick J. (D)	224-4242	SR-433	N/A	802-863-2525	senator_leahy@leahy.senate.gov
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Sen. Allen, George F. (R)	224-4024	SR-200	224-8689	804-771-2221	Senator_allen@allen.senate.gov
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THOMAS <http://thomas.loc.gov> This is a service of the Library of Congress. You can check status of legislation and get summaries and text of legislation. It will also give you access to the Congressional Record and Committee Reports.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES www.house.gov

THE SENATE www.senate.gov

ROLL CALL www.rollcall.com This is a newspaper that reports on what is happening on Capitol Hill. It comes out twice a week, and deals more with the politics and personalities involved in an

issue, than with the pros and cons of the issue itself.

THE HILL www.hillnews.com Like Roll Call, this is also a newspaper dealing with what is happening on Capitol Hill. It comes out once a week, and also discusses the politics of an issue as opposed to the issue itself.

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET (OMB)

www.whitehouse.gov/omb From the OMB homepage, you can see the Statement of Administration Policy regarding a particular piece of legislation that is moving, see the administration's budget request, and see the OMB testimony on various bills.

the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide. AFSA/AAFSW scholarships were presented as well.

AFSA President Marshall Adair explained AFSA's position on the proposed changes. "AFSA told the department that we're not opposed to the concept of broadening participation in Foreign Service Day. However, AFSA argued that both the name and the tradition are important and should not be dropped. AFSA recom-

This year's event will "continue to honor State Department retirees as in the past."

mended instead that Foreign Service Day be held as usual in May and the occasion be used to bring retirees into the decision-making process of expanding the scope of this tradition."

Foreign Service Day over the years has been more or less successful in part based on the interest in it shown by the secretary of State and the director general of the Foreign Service. The first Foreign Service Day took place in 1965 with the strong support of then-Secretary of State Dean Rusk. In recent years, it has suffered from a lack of attention from the top. This year it will be reinvigorated. The talk coming out of Human Resources — reflecting the secretary's own views — is about bringing the department together as one team, Foreign Service and Civil Service.

According to Doug Hartwick, senior adviser to the director general, the secretary plans to participate in Foreign Affairs Day. The shape and theme for Foreign Affairs Day had not been finalized, Hartwick said, but this year's event will "continue to honor State Department retirees as in the past. It may also seek to broaden awareness of the diplomatic readiness challenges facing the department."

AFSA will keep members informed of any new developments in the plans for Foreign Affairs Day. □

FAS Update

Much has happened in FAS over the past several months. First, I am pleased to announce that the word "Acting" in front of my AFSA title is no longer necessary. As a result of the recent election, I will soon assume the VP position on a full-time basis, probably sometime early this summer, but officially as of July 16. I look forward to continuing to serve you and promise to be in contact on a regular basis.

Second, many members have contacted me to ask what the new executive order regarding partnership councils really means, especially since we (management, AFSA and AFSCME) recently negotiated sweeping changes to our current partnership council agreement. No one seems to know the answer. (Hopefully, we will know by the time you read this article.) One immediate and, I believe, unfortunate result has been a step back to the old Washington Placement Plan agreement in lieu of implementing the new agreement recently negotiated within the partnership council. It is unfortunate, because I believe that the new agreement will ensure that over time there will be sufficient managerial positions to accommodate Foreign Service officers rotating back to FAS Washington. The new partnership council agreement, which was negotiated prior to the executive order, may eventually be implemented. I will keep you posted. In the meantime, given the projected number and grades of returning officers this summer, the lack of a new Washington Placement Plan agreement should not adversely impact FAS Foreign Service officers.

Third, we have concluded our mid-term contract negotiations with management and I believe the results are positive for our members and our agency. Some of the key mid-term changes include:

- an increase in language incentive pay, which includes protection against future inflation;
- an increase in language training available to spouses of FSOs assigned overseas;
- the addition of a performance element to selection board precepts for administrative assistants and program specialists to more accurately reflect the full range of work many of these employees are required to do as workloads increase and staff decrease;
- the addition of a performance element to selection board precepts for FSOs which will permit boards to more fully recognize work done by mid-level FSOs in non-supervisory positions;
- a change to Senior Foreign Service time in class regulations so that an outstanding individual who is rapidly promoted will no longer be required to retire earlier than an individual promoted less rapidly.

Finally, the goals I stated as a candidate in the recent election remain unchanged as I assume the position of FAS AFSA VP. I intend to improve communications with our members in order to increase member input. I will also continue to work to build effective ties with management and our Civil Service colleagues to ensure that every agency employee has an equal opportunity to enjoy a rewarding FAS career. □

One immediate and, I believe, unfortunate result has been a step back to the old Washington Placement Plan agreement in lieu of implementing the new agreement recently negotiated within the partnership council.

"The State Department and the FS ended the 1990s weakened and dispirited. Not only was State starved for resources, but the career services (both Foreign and Civil Service) were weakened as poor management reduced the opportunity for meaningful public service. Overseas missions, where Foreign Service employees spend two-thirds of their careers, became increasingly unsafe and often dilapidated. The burdens of overseas service remained, while the benefits declined.

"However, it was staffing cuts that inflicted the greatest damage on the Foreign Service during the past decade. Between 1994 and 1999, Foreign Service staffing was slashed by nearly 500 while Civil Service staffing rose by over 100. This decimation of the Foreign Service created massive staffing gaps that were used to justify assigning an ever-rising number of Civil Service employees to overseas positions.

"The 1980 Foreign Service Act (current law) specifies that Foreign Service positions must 'normally' be filled by

Foreign Service employees. In 1983, AFSA signed an agreement with the department, under then-Secretary Shultz, that insulated the department's overseas Foreign Service positions from outside applicants. It required that Foreign Service members fill senior Foreign

It required that Foreign Service members fill senior Foreign Service positions unless the director general certified that there was no one available in the Foreign Service who could do the job.

Service positions unless the director general certified that there was no one available in the Foreign Service who could do the job. The 1983 agreement has been renewed annually by every subsequent secretary of State, including Madeleine Albright.

"The agreement is an auxiliary precaution through which the State Department controls (and, thereby, protects) itself. It insulates the department's top overseas Foreign Service positions from political poaching. It ensures that the top professional positions overseas will be available to those who have done the career training and made the sacrifices to maintain a viable and effective career diplomatic service. ...

"Abrogating or substantially weakening this agreement would cause extensive damage to American diplomacy now and in the future. It would suggest that Secretary Powell does not believe in the concept of a professional Foreign Service dedicated to implementing U.S. foreign policy abroad. It would represent a terrible defeat in the department's "War for Talent." It would cause many to question the value of spending decades working up through the ranks of the Foreign Service — committing themselves and their families to a series of difficult overseas assignments — only to eventually face reduced opportunities to serve in senior-level positions." □

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ARE STATE EMPLOYEES READY FOR REFORM?

EVERYONE AGREES THAT STATE NEEDS BIG CHANGES, BUT
WHEN YOU GET DOWN TO DETAILS, THE CONSENSUS EVAPORATES.

By SHAWN DORMAN

Everyone now seems to agree that the State Department needs to be "reformed." But what exactly is meant by reform? Stroll the corridors of Main State and ask 10 department employees, and you'll get at least that many answers.

Despite this diversity, there does appear to be what one senior Foreign Service officer called "a convergence" of forces at work that could drag an unwieldy bureaucracy into the 21st century. First, a new secretary with management experience and tremendous stature wants to lead the department and not just the policy. Second, Congress claims to be ready to supply desperately needed resources if State can actually revamp its tired ways. And third (though perhaps most difficult to measure), the department's employees are finally frustrated enough with the status quo to make reform a priority.

One indicator that many State employees — both Civil and Foreign Service — are ready to support change is "SOS for DOS: A Call for Action." SOS for DOS is a loose-knit group that circulated a petition calling for "the leadership needed to undertake a long-term, bipartisan effort to modernize and strengthen the Department of State." More than 1600 State employees and retirees signed the letter, which was presented to Secretary Colin Powell Feb. 2. (See sidebar for more detail)

SOS for DOS was a distress signal sent by State's

crew to its new captain, and was timed to coincide with the change in administrations. The SOS for DOS campaign got started last fall. Office of Foreign Missions Deputy Assistant Secretary Ted Strickler invited a few colleagues to lunch to brainstorm about what could be done to spur significant reform at State. They formed a steering committee, which evolved into a group of about a dozen Foreign and Civil Service employees, which decided to write a letter to the secretary. The initial draft went through 12 rewrites.

Not Another Study

Members disagreed at first about how specific the letter should be. They were clear that they didn't want to form an ongoing organization to study the problems and make recommendations. That had all been done before.

They finally agreed to keep their appeal general: there were too many conflicting views about specific proposals. Senior FSO and steering committee member Stephanie Kinney said, "We wanted maximum solidarity and adherence. State is so fractured, if it did not stay at the strategic level, it could never succeed."

The eloquent final draft of the SOS letter called the department "a rusted-out diplomatic hulk that is no longer seaworthy." Committee members started circulating the letter in October, hoping to gather 300 signatures in support. Word spread primarily via e-mail; the petition was also posted on the discussion forum of the AFSA Web site.

Shawn Dorman, a former FSO, is the editor of AFSA News.

A CALL FOR ACTION

Excerpts from the SOS for DOS letter

United States leadership in a post-Cold War world requires a rigorous foreign policy and robust diplomacy attuned to the realities of the present, not the past. ... The Department of State is ill-equipped and ill-prepared to meet the foreign policy challenges of the 21st century. Outdated procedures and chronic resource shortages have taken their toll. The organizational structure is dysfunctional, its staff is overextended and many of its embassy buildings are crumbling. The State Department's traditions and culture block needed change while its dedicated employees are distracted with trivia and drift without a common institutional vision. Multiple studies have identified the problems. We must act now to make the needed repairs.

We must

- craft a clear plan of action to modernize and renew our organization, procedures and infrastructure.
- transform our outdated culture and demonstrate a clear commitment to change.
- embrace new technology and managerial techniques quickly.
- integrate policy and resource management in ways that advance national interests and promote operational efficiency.
- make a clear and compelling case for how we will use any new resources needed to underwrite and sustain a modernized and reinvigorated Department of State.

We ask for the support, involvement and leadership needed to undertake a long-term, bipartisan effort to modernize and strengthen the Department of State. The era of quill pen diplomacy is over. At the dawn of the 21st century, we call for bold and decisive steps now to deal effectively with the problems of today while preparing for the challenges of the future — a future that is as close as tomorrow.

Employees around the world started signing their names. Among the supporters were ambassadors present and past, Foreign Service generalists and specialists, and Civil Service employees of all ranks. Some supporters started wearing cut blue ribbons on their lapels to symbolize a call for the end of blue-ribbon studies and the beginning of action on reform. By the time signature collection stopped in January, 1,614 people from the department and over 100 U.S. overseas missions had signed on.

Some might look at the SOS steering committee — mostly senior-level employees, including one from the director general's office and no junior or mid-level FSOs — and conclude it was essentially a management initiative. But Strickler wrote in one of his SOS updates, "Contrary to some speculation making the rounds, this initiative is not 'management-driven' ... It is a true grass-roots movement."

The effort did have the support of then-Director General of the Foreign Service Marc Grossman. Grossman said he was "impressed with the effort people put into SOS and the enthusiastic response it has gotten," and acknowledged that he had been kept informed of the group's work.

It may be a bit of an overstatement to call SOS a grass-roots movement. Many of the 1,614 people who signed had no further involvement in SOS.

But SOS for DOS did make its point effectively. As steering committee member Glen Johnson, a Civil Service office director, put it, "The idea was to raise the visibility (of the need for reform) but leave it to the new administration of State to do it. Those who signed SOS stand ready to receive instructions on what to do and how we can be useful. We're not here to second-guess the administration."

Committee members Ted Strickler and Curt Struble met with Colin Powell for 15 minutes Feb. 2. They presented the letter and the list of signatories. Struble, an FSO office director, said, "We told Secretary Powell the SOS is unique in that our purpose is to go out of business."

The secretary, according to Struble, said that he had been following the SOS effort with interest. He requested attachments to the letter, which would summarize useful suggestions distilled from the more than 1,000 e-mails sent to the SOS account.

The campaign has been mentioned in numerous

F O C U S

press reports, and in congressional hearings. It has served as a useful tool for the secretary and others to show that, contrary to popular belief, State employees do want reform.

Details, Please

Not everyone agreed the SOS letter should have been kept vague. Phil Skotte, a consular officer in Hong Kong who opted not to sign, said, "It was too general in its aims and complaints. Sounds like a *démarche* without any specific actions requested. The new guys have so much on their plates and they're going to get general pleas for more from every branch of the government. We need to tell them exactly what we want."

Mark Johnson, an economic officer in Madrid, agreed the SOS "seemed like a good idea, but it was

***SOS leaders insist that
their campaign is
grass-roots and not
"management-driven."***

vague." He signed the letter early in the campaign, however, noting that "it shouldn't be too hard to cobble it all together into a good wish list."

Some State employees wonder about the impact on State's credibility if people complain too loudly that their organization is dysfunctional. A mid-

level political officer who declined to be named said, "It's a fine line to tread between complaining that we don't have adequate resources to do our jobs and admitting that we are not competent to the task. That all of Washington seems to recognize that DOS is in shambles can only tarnish the reputation of all FSOs."

Some view the department as inherently difficult to manage, and do not believe major restructuring would succeed in making it easier to manage. One



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economic officer, who declined to be named, was skeptical that significant reform is possible but signed the SOS letter anyway, because he was "impressed that anyone cared." He noted that his FSO father said talk of reform was nothing new: it had all been tried before. Political officer Jim DeHart observed, "It's trendy to talk about terrible morale, but it's all a little exaggerated. After all, we are a government bureaucracy: we will always be a little dysfunctional."

De-Marginalizing State

Certain reform proposals are like motherhood and apple pie: they're universally popular with the troops. Those include upgrading the department's information technology, plugging staffing gaps, improving recruitment efforts, securing embassies, improving relations with Congress, creating a better personnel system with more competitive salaries and benefits, and improving opportunities for spousal employment overseas.

But even "easy" reforms are difficult, once you get down to details and implementation. Take mid-level staffing gaps. Immediate measures for handling this critical problem include putting more Civil Service employees in Foreign Service jobs, placing junior officers in more senior positions, and hiring at mid-level grades. Every solution will be viewed as unfair by some employees, as seen in the recent controversy over the assignment of a non-Foreign Service employee to the deputy chief of mission position in Lima.

The call to put State back into the center of foreign policy formulation and implementation is one of the broadest and most difficult of the initiatives under discussion. The role of State has eroded, as other agencies have assumed greater roles in the foreign policy process, and as State's operating mechanisms were slow to change. Thickly layered hierarchies, slow clearance processes, and computer systems that don't communicate within bureaus, let alone across international borders, all play a role. One AFSA member, quoted in a recent AFSA election campaign brochure, said, "We ponder whether to send a reporting cable as Immediate or Priority precedence while Washington decision-makers turn to CNN for their updates."

A reform opportunity like this may not come again.

Other proposed reforms — changing the "culture" of the department; eliminating the Foreign Buildings Office; merging USAID with State — might make many employees unhappy. One key recommendation from the Hart-Rudman

Commission on National Security calls for the elimination of the functional bureaus, merging them into five expanded regional bureaus.

State employees have extremely strong views on this proposal, both for and against. Ed McWilliams, an FSO office director in the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, said that creating mini-functional offices under regional offices "will preclude development of global perspectives on such key cross-cutting issues as environment, human rights, terrorism, and narcotics trafficking. Each region will be formulating its own approach, more akin to how Rome ran its empire than how we should be addressing 21st century challenges."

Mark Johnsen, an FSO studying at the Naval War College disagreed: He compared bureau restructuring to the military reforms mandated by the 1986 Goldwater-Nichols Act, which strengthened the now-powerful regional Commander in Chief or CINC positions. "For State to play its role as leader of inter-agency coordination and policy implementation, it needs a more muscular and clearer line of authority." Whether or not functional bureaus are somehow merged into regional bureaus, there is widespread agreement on the need to de-layer and streamline the bureaucracy.

An Historic Opportunity

The SOS petition was a remarkable statement. More than a mere call for help, it was also a challenge to the new secretary of State to act. It is now up to Secretary Powell to develop a blueprint for reform.

All the necessary elements seem to be present: State employees appear ready for change; Congress seems ready to pay for it; and the new secretary looks like the right person for the job. An opportunity like this may not come around again for many years. Mr. Secretary, good luck! ■

STATE AND CONGRESS: CAN WE TALK?

O

IMPROVEMENTS IN STATE'S RELATIONS WITH CONGRESS WILL
MAKE IT MORE LIKELY THAT REFORMS WILL BE ACCEPTED.

BY RICHARD G. LUGAR

Over the past few years, numerous high-level studies have published remarkably consistent reports on the need for reforming the Department of State.

State's problems are the result of a collective failure of several administrations and Congresses. They can only be fixed by collaboration and cooperation between the two branches. The Bush administration and the new foreign policy team, working closely with Congress, have an opportunity to correct these departmental deficiencies.

Although congressional attention to foreign policy has lessened in recent years and institutional reform commands limited interest on Capitol Hill, the proliferation of studies stressing the need for reform has aroused the interest of many members. Many members support Secretary of State Colin Powell's assertion that American diplomacy is our first line of defense. They will not settle for more inaction or another round of superficial tinkering with the current system.

Because others writing in the *Journal* will deal more broadly with the issue of State Department reform, I will focus my thoughts on the awkward relations between the State Department and the Congress, just one of the organizational difficulties cited in the studies calling for reform.

Conflict between the executive and legislative branches over foreign policy is to be expected. By design, the structure of our federal government creates such conflict

between the two branches which share foreign policy-making power. The executive branch has primary responsibility for diplomacy, but it must ask Congress for approval of international treaties and all senior-level and ambassadorial appointments. Similarly, the authority to wage war is shared by the two branches and the division of responsibility over war powers has never been completely worked out. Additionally, virtually every foreign affairs activity requires appropriations from the Congress. Most foreign policy decisions are not debated along party or ideological lines. Rather, debates over foreign policy are often between the Congress and the president, which is not necessarily harmful to good policy-making but can make it inefficient.

The Budget Tangle

The department frequently laments the fact that it cannot secure adequate funding from the Congress, and it blames its obsolete telecommunications, deteriorating infrastructure, and lax embassy security on this lack of funds. There is some validity to the department's claims, but some of the responsibility for the problem lies with the executive branch's unwillingness to seek adequate funds. Responsibility for the problem also lies with the department; some of its funding has not been well managed. While the long-term decline in departmental funding is sometimes exaggerated because the decline is calculated from a carefully selected baseline, international affairs funding unquestionably has not kept pace with the requirements of diplomacy in the post-Cold War world.

The International Affairs Account (150 Account), which includes funding for the Department of State and

Richard G. Lugar, long-time Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is a senator from Indiana.

other international activities such as international exchanges, foreign assistance, contributions to international financial institutions, and refugee aid, is one of the federal budget's smallest accounts, taking up just one percent of the total budget. There is no real enthusiasm for increasing funding for international affairs in Congress, and many administrations have been hesitant to ask Congress for more resources. When they do ask for more resources, administrations have not succeeded in marshaling arguments to make a credible case for additional resources. In fact, administrations have often been reluctant to make a strong case for more international affairs funding to Congress because they cling to the view that working with Congress on the issue distracts them from their principal mission of advancing our foreign policy interests with other countries.

Decisions on funding for the international affairs budget are complicated by the confusing way in which the Congress considers the international affairs budget requests. For example, the foreign affairs committees of both houses have responsibility for arms sales and arms transfers under the Arms Export Control Act, but other committees have jurisdiction over dual-use transfers. Similarly, international food assistance is under the jurisdiction of several committees in the two houses of Congress.

The most serious budget problem is the integration of State Department appropriations with funding for the Commerce and Justice departments into a single annual appropriations bill. The State Department portion of this appropriation frequently suffers from this linkage. Funding of foreign policy programs such as bilateral assistance programs, and certain State Department-run programs, such as refugees and migration, is separate from State Department funding and is undertaken in an entirely different appropriations subcommittee in a separate piece of legislation. To help remedy this confusion, Congress should consider a single integrated foreign affairs appropriation under a single appropriations subcommittee.

A more ambitious reform would seek an integrated national security budget composed of foreign affairs and defense. These are changes that the administration and Congress should discuss promptly.

*Service in Legislative
Affairs should be a
prerequisite to
advancement into the
Senior Foreign Service.*

Relations between the Congress and the department could be improved by strengthening the legislative liaison function. Most everyone in Congress agrees that day-to-day interaction with the State Department must be improved. For many years, the department has clung to the view that communication between career employees of State and Congress is best done through highly controlled and limited channels. This approach has meant unanswered inquiries, delayed responses and frustrations, which result in bad feelings and can translate into retaliatory legislation.

Needed: A Permanent Presence

I believe that the department should establish a permanent presence on Capitol Hill modeled on the armed services liaison offices which exist in the House and the Senate. Secretary Powell has already begun efforts to create such offices. The offices' primary function would be to respond to Hill requests and to monitor and analyze legislative activities — not to develop legislative policy, a responsibility which should remain with the department's Bureau of Legislative Affairs. Quick and reliable access to department personnel for members and staff on the Hill could help shorten the distance, both physical and psychological, between Congress and the department. The liaison offices would also provide space for department briefers, committee witnesses, and others while they are on the Hill.

Similarly, the Legislative Affairs Bureau must be strengthened. The bureau should be led by senior appointees who have clout, political experience and access to the secretary since the bureau must deal with at least 20 different congressional committees and subcommittees with some influence on foreign policy and with at least eight primary committees of jurisdiction. It must also deal with 535 members of Congress and with the even more numerous staffs. Service in Legislative Affairs should be a prerequisite to advancement into the Senior Foreign Service.

To improve State's relations with Congress, the State Department should consider doubling the number of department employees assigned temporary duty in Congress through fellowships such as the Pearson and

American Political Science Association fellowships. Members of the Congress, especially those who sit on committees which deal with foreign policy and national security, should be more willing to accept the department fellows in their offices, since fellows often return to the department with a more favorable and accurate view of the Congress.

The department and the Congress ought to consider a parallel arrangement by which congressional staff are encouraged to spend time in the department, at overseas posts, or at U.S. missions to international organizations to gain a better understanding of State Department dynamics and processes. Such a program could be implemented during recess periods or following congressional adjournments.

Make Congress Part of Training

Many Foreign Service officers are more knowledgeable about countries in which they have served than they are about Congress, with whom they share responsibility for the conduct of foreign policy. FSOs frequently view negotiations with other countries as an opportunity to advance a policy or a career and consider working with the Congress a distraction from, or even an obstacle to, State's diplomatic mission.

To improve State's relations with Congress, this view of Congress must be modified. A good place to start is the Foreign Service Institute, which should require courses on Congress. Like our international exchange, training, and visitor programs which bring foreign persons to the United States for short duration stays, personnel at the FSI should be rotated to the Capitol Hill liaison offices for firsthand education and training.

It should not be inferred from this list of suggestions for improving cooperation between the Department of State and Congress that the problems or their remedies lie wholly with the department. Indeed, thoughtless deference to Congress can undermine good policy and weaken our system of checks and balances. The president is and must be the principal architect of American foreign policy, and the secretary of State should be the first among equals within the executive branch. Cooperation may not come easily because of competing missions and the rivalry built into our system of governance, but it is absolutely necessary to promote our national interest effectively.

Institutional reforms which can enhance the quality of the cooperation between the department and the Congress while not compromising the interests of the

United States should be considered. The numerous studies, reports, and commissions urging State Department reform offer a wealth of constructive ideas for fulfilling this goal. Improvements in the department's relations with the Congress will not solve problems like mismanagement or conflicting policy and budget goals in the department, but they will make it more likely that reforms will be accepted by the two branches of government that share responsibility for foreign policy. Better cooperation between the branches could have lessened the acrimony that accompanied the integration of the United States Information Agency and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency into the State Department a few years ago.

President Bush and Secretary Powell and members of the Congress should take this opportune time of world peace and U.S. budget surplus to make necessary reforms to protect and promote our national interests in the years ahead. Many in the Congress are willing and eager to collaborate in this effort. ■

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FLOATING THE SHIP OF STATE

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ecretary of State Colin Powell is well aware that his department is woefully short of people. Prolonged staffing gaps at most posts have already become the rule, not the exception: At one African embassy, for example, the transfer of the sole consular officer recently caused a five-month vacancy, during which period the chargé d'affaires — the only FSO with a consular commission at post — had to cover those duties.

This dire situation is neither transitory nor merely a matter of perception. As of the end of Fiscal Year 1999, before USIA personnel were incorporated into the State Department, the department could not fill almost 10 percent of its approximately 7,850 Foreign Service "workstation positions" — i.e., all established full-time permanent Foreign Service career slots, excluding those established for FSI students and details — simply because there were not enough Foreign Service personnel on board to fill them. The department has since stepped up Foreign Service recruitment and the staffing situation has improved, but only marginally.

The direct effects of these staffing gaps on efficiency and morale are pernicious enough, but the indirect effects are equally bad. Foreign Service personnel often have to forgo or curtail language and professional training and rush to post to meet the "urgent needs of the service;" indeed, the department's own figures show that it was only able to meet language proficiency requirements for 50 percent of language-designated positions overseas in FY 1999. Similarly, it is becoming increasingly common for officers to defer or cut short

STATE IS FINALLY PAYING ATTENTION TO WORKFORCE PLANNING. BUT IT NEEDS TO DO MORE TO RID THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF PROLONGED STAFFING GAPS.

BY WILLARD DE PREE

home leave between assignments, with attendant damage to morale, in order to minimize staffing gaps.

Yet even those sacrifices are not enough to keep critical positions filled. So the department is increasingly turning to Civil Service personnel (225 at last count), contractors and other agencies to perform work which career Foreign Service personnel could and should have been recruited and trained to perform.

As a result of these desperate remedial measures, State has been able to keep the staffing situation from getting worse even that it has. But with hiring barely keeping even with attrition, only a fundamental shift in approach can keep the whole assignment process from becoming a gigantic shell game.

After trying, unsuccessfully, to persuade the department to engage seriously in workforce planning, AFSA lobbied Congress to require such a report from State, which it did in the State Department's FY 2000 authorization bill. The department submitted its first workforce plan in March of this year. But while the plan does an excellent job of documenting current Foreign Service staffing shortages, it does not project personnel needs over the next five years, as Congress had requested in the original legislation. But it is still, nonetheless, an excellent first step.

Making Training a Priority Again

Major budget cuts over the past decade or so are generally cited as a reason for today's shortage of Foreign Service personnel. Certainly, drastic budget cuts have forced department managers to make some hard decisions. Yet, it was State's choice to live within a

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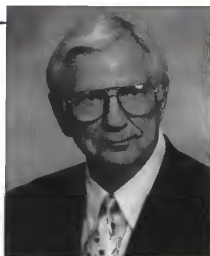
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reduced budget by dramatically cutting intake of junior officers and hiring below attrition levels. Other trade-offs were possible. It was also the department's choice to staff new posts in the former Soviet Union in the early 1990s without battling for more positions to meet these sizable staffing needs. In the absence of stronger White House or congressional support for State Department funding, the department's managers may have concluded that these were tactically wise budget and personnel decisions. But the long-term staffing consequences of these decisions could and should have been foreseen.

To recruit, train and rotate people with the necessary language, functional and professional skills in and out of its overseas posts every two, three or four years, the department must realize that it needs considerably more people on board than it has positions to fill. This reserve is generally referred to as a "float" and, as the military long ago recognized, is the key to keeping organizations running smoothly while they constantly transfer thousands of personnel around the world.

So how many more people than positions does the Foreign Service need to ensure full staffing? AFSA believes the float should be at least 15 percent, and possibly higher. It arrived at this figure by calculating the department's full-time equivalent employee needs for training, transit and home leave time, details, and short tour work demands. The arithmetic is as follows:

Training: The Foreign Service Institute reports that in Fiscal Year 1999, U.S. Foreign Service personnel logged the equivalent of 592 FTE in short- and long-term training slots. The department's true FTE requirement for training is considerably higher, forcing many Foreign Service personnel to forgo or curtail training in order to fill vacant positions. Nevertheless, AFSA used this 592 FTE figure as its base starting point. To this figure, AFSA added 55 FTE to reflect additional training needs were Foreign Service staffing at full strength; 121 FTE for FSI's newly inaugurated leadership and management training program (mandated by

Congress); and the 46 FTE FSI calculates will be necessary for the department to fill all language-designated positions with personnel possessing the level of language competence required for these positions.

Thus, the total FTE to account for all personnel involved in training totals 814.

The Rest of the Float

Home Leave: Foreign Service personnel assigned abroad are required by statute to take periodic home leave in the United States when transferring from post to post or when transferring from posts back to the U.S. Presuming all overseas workstation positions were filled, the total annual days required for home leave each year are the equivalent of 155 FTE.

Details: Each year, an average of 129 Foreign Service personnel are assigned on detail to the National Security Council, the Pentagon and other federal offices and agencies. Since none of these details are currently counted as part of the department's Foreign Service workstation positions, 129 FTE must be included in the float.

Short Tour Requirements: Each year, State pulls FSOs out of workstation assignments or out of training to manage diplomatic crises (e.g. Bosnia, Kosovo), to backstop American delegations at the growing numbers of international conferences, and respond to seasonal or unanticipated workload surges. These short tours count for the equivalent of 77 FTE annually.

To summarize, then: the total annual full-time equivalent required for training (814), home leave (155), details (129), and short tours (77) — in other words, for the department's float — comes to 1,175. If State wishes to fill all its workstation positions without unacceptably long staffing gaps, and if it wishes to satisfy its training, home leave and detail demands, it must have 15 percent more FSOs on board than workstation positions. Yet at the end of FY 1999, the Foreign Service had only 42 more people than workstation positions. This is patently unacceptable.

Fortunately, Secretary Powell is well aware of the gravity of the situation, and the department has sought funding in its FY 2001 budget request to begin to redress this serious Foreign Service staffing shortfall. If Congress approves the full request, that will meet one-third of the Foreign Service's current staffing needs. That's a good beginning. ■

Willard (Bill) De Pree is the AFSA vice president for retirees. During his 38-year career, he served as ambassador to Mozambique and Bangladesh and, in Washington, on the Policy Planning staff and as director of Management Operations, among many other postings.

LOCATION THEORY AND STATE

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othing is more central to microeconomics than location theory. In the business world, location theory is essential in assessing the best site to set up a factory or store to maximize clientele and managerial effectiveness, and to minimize transportation and distribution costs. Location theory also has a direct bearing on foreign policy in terms of deciding where to locate the offices of senior personnel in order to facilitate interpersonal contact and information exchange at all levels.

These considerations reflect the fact that memoranda and formal meetings with rigid agendas are no substitute for a short walk down the hall to monitor progress on a task or touch base regarding a possible new program. Anyone with experience in any American embassy or in any government department can attest to the importance of such personal access in developing and implementing policies. Yet surprisingly little attention has been given to "location theory" in terms of the efficiency of government operations or its effects on foreign affairs.

Considered in this light, perhaps the most disastrous event in U.S. diplomacy in recent years was moving the operations of the Department of State in 1943 from "Old State" (known also as the Old Executive Office Building), next to the White House, to its current home in Foggy Bottom.

Not long afterward, in 1947, Congress created the National Security Council for the purpose of coordinating all foreign affairs and military programs. Before the State Department moved, that role would naturally have belonged to it. But with the secretary now out of sight (and out of mind?) across town, a new White House group was brought into being for this purpose.

David Timmins is a retired FSO who served in London, Paris, Madrid, Reykjavik, Rabat, Guatemala City, Beijing and Bucharest.

GIVING SECRETARY POWELL AN OFFICE IN THE WHITE HOUSE WOULD HELP STATE REGAIN SOME OF ITS LOST INFLUENCE OVER FOREIGN POLICY.

BY DAVID TIMMINS

Of course, the secretary of State still has access to the president; it is, after all, only a five-minute ride from 21st and C to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. But between the hassle of appointments and elevators and traffic, the point is that such off-schedule meetings rarely take place today. So perhaps the time has come to rethink this situation in terms of location theory.

For our purposes, the main variable is the ease of access to the final user (the president) and the product is information input. I have no doubt that at least in foreign affairs, and perhaps in government in general, the value of timely and ready access by department heads to the president far outweighs the negligible cost of transportation, communications, etc.

In fact, location theory would suggest that every member of the president's Cabinet should be given an office in the White House office building with enough additional space for a private secretariat of perhaps three or four people. (Each agency head would, of course, also maintain an office back at headquarters.) Such proximity would make those officials available to see the president when required or, within reason, to touch base at their own initiative. Besides eliminating a whole layer of staffers and committees, this would enable the president to rely more closely on his Cabinet. It would also promote informal coordination among the most senior officials in the executive branch. Finally, State employees would feel more confident of top-level consideration of their projects, knowing their leader had immediate access to the president.

But even if there is no systematic consolidation of department and agency heads' offices under the Bush administration, both the formulation and the implementation of the president's foreign policy in this still-not-quite-post-Cold War world would improve significantly if he at least applied this idea to the secretary of State. ■

A NIGHTMARE ON C STREET

AS I STUMBLED THROUGH THE DARKENED HALLWAYS OF MAIN STATE, I REMEMBERED THE OLD DAYS WHEN THIS PLACE COULD STILL INSPIRE AWE.

BY JIM DEHART

It was my last day of work and I was packing my things. I took the pictures down from the wall, then the awards I'd gotten instead of promotions, finally the article that had started it all: "As Diplomacy Loses Luster, Young Stars Flee State Department." The edges were frayed where I'd clipped it from *The New York Times* back in September 2000, five years ago.

I left my safe open on the way out. Let a pink slip be my legacy, I thought to myself.

It took a moment for my eyes to adjust to the dark. Ever since the passage of H. Res. 12453 concerning "grave misuse of light bulbs at foreign affairs agencies," the hallways had been tough to navigate. Sure it was only a sense of the Congress resolution, but the seventh floor had judged it wise to comply.

My sense was that the dark hallways were affecting morale. The department had recently commissioned a study by McDuffy & Co., starting from the premise that there was no talent left to retain and asking only why the dead wood remained. Electricity, running water, clean air, and plenty of time to shop around one's résumé were all identified. Now, thanks to mandatory focus group participation, at least the free time issue was being addressed.

The hall was empty as I fumbled toward the red corridor. A memo classified Secret drifted like a tumbleweed toward the boarded-up Communications Center. Behind the locked doors of the China desk, a single telephone rang. Rumor had it EAP had emp-

tyed so quickly that some of its posts never got the word. Out there in Medan and Shenyang, frustrated political officers were still writing and sending cables and praying they'd be read. It was good to know that at least some things never changed.

For old time's sake, I stopped by the cafeteria for one last meal. A DRL staffer sat alone near the window, soaking up the natural light. Most of the tables were stacked with chairs. The man serving Mexican food was apoplectic when he saw me, so desperate was he for human contact. I didn't have the heart to eat Chinese.

He looked at my cardboard box. "So you are leaving! Bueno. Tomorrow, me too!"

I asked if he was already starting A-100. It seemed too fast, even for the Alternative Exam Program, which had long since replaced the traditional test. These days, most new recruits came from the retail and food service sectors.

"Bah! The clearance take three months! I finished with government. Time is money!" As if to drive his point home, he slapped some shredded chicken on my taco.

The cafeteria was depressing. I ate by the bulletin board, shuffling from foot to foot. There were travel irons for sale, and transformers, and water purifiers, and multi-system TVs.

"So you're finally getting out, eh?" It was Gladstone Wells, my old boss, a former fast-tracker whose name once held the promise of an ambassadorship — in those heady days when a career officer could still aspire to such heights. Gladstone had left for greener pastures a few weeks back. Now he seemed to materialize from nowhere.

Jim DeHart is an FSO currently working in the Bureau of European Affairs. He has served in Istanbul, Melbourne and the Operations Center.

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EXECUTIVE SHORT-TERM HOUSING

"What are you up to?" I asked with a belch.

"Six figures and then some," he said. "After taxes."

"I mean here." For the first time I noticed his collar wasn't the usual button-down; his suit looked Italian.

"Oh. Picking up the old earnings and leave statement," he said, glancing furtively at the shadows. "Shall we? I need an escort now that I'm retired."

"I thought they hired interns for that."

"They're still waiting for their clearances. C'mon, let's walk."

I felt fatigued, and talked him into an elevator instead. It was empty; no one aboard to stop us at each and every floor, no one to sneak glances as we ascended to big number seven. "I don't know how you put up with it as long as you did," said Gladstone with a sigh. "State has such horrible management."

It occurred to me that Gladstone had once managed me, but I ignored the thought and soon it passed. "How is it on the outside?"

"Great. No more clearing cables with 20 different offices. I joined the Foreign Service to change the world, not argue happy versus glad in a memo."

Pleased, I thought to myself. Always *pleased*. But I only said, "So you've found more meaningful work?"

"Currency trading. When it goes up I buy. When it goes down I sell."

We paused at the door of Gladstone's old office. The sign read H. Ross Perot Room for Direct Diplomacy, but to me it would always be the Ops Center.

A junior officer buzzed us in and returned to his chair. "Showgirls III" was playing. He stared solemnly at the screen.

"Quiet in here." I looked around. I couldn't recognize the place. Gone were the telephone banks and pneumatic tubes. Now every station had an Internet terminal and a fax machine. My attention was drawn

*Under the
Alternative Exam
Program, most
new recruits now
came from the
food service and
retail sectors.*

to a raised leather chair in the middle of the room; it was covered with plastic.

The watch officer perked up. "Soon as the chat rooms come online, that's where the Secretary will sit!"

"When's that?"

"Eh," he shrugged. "Soon as the rest of the world gets its act together."

I felt dizzy. All the PCs had identical screen savers. "World's Only Superpower" moved left to

right and right to left and up and down in undulating patterns of red, white and blue. The effect was hypnotic.

Gladstone didn't see me leave. I loitered in the darkness, balancing the cardboard box on my knee until the elevator took me to the C Street lobby. I shuffled slowly, taking in the sights, the smells, one last time. The windows were murky and the floors covered with dust. Above me, the flags of the world were missing from their rods, an enthusiastic maintenance worker having taken them down some weeks back in anticipation of the nation-state's demise.

A solitary DS agent sat at the exit. "Good luck," he said, eyeing my box. "You know, it ain't as easy as it looks out there."

I told him I'd be okay, but in fact I had my doubts. "What about you?"

He shook his head. "I'm a public servant, sir. I wouldn't know where to go."

I held back a smirk. Public service, loyalty, patriotism — such anachronisms. What a throwback he was, the good soldier, standing guard over all this faded glory. I took a long, last look around. There was once a time when this room could inspire, when it still had the power to awe. But diplomacy was no longer the stuff of bricks and mortar. It was a different world now, a new age. Now the place seemed merely quaint, like a set piece in a history theme park.

The guard seemed to sense my hesitation. "Sir?"

"Yes?"

"Don't worry. You go on," he said. "I'll get the lights." ■

BETRAYAL IN THE BALKANS

THE CIA AGENT KNEW THAT WAR-TORN SARAJEVO WAS A DANGEROUS PLACE —
BUT HE DIDN'T EXPECT TO BE THE TARGET OF AN IRANIAN-BACKED KIDNAPPING PLOT.

By H. K. ROY

When the Central Intelligence Agency informed me in mid-1995 that I had been selected to lead an all-volunteer team to Sarajevo to carry out a highest-priority mission, I had mixed emotions. One year earlier, my team and I had made it most of the way to Sarajevo on a similar mission, but we were turned back at the last minute due to the deteriorating security situation in the city. By 1995, the situation in Sarajevo had worsened even further, but the potential for NATO intervention in the country necessitated an immediate CIA presence on the ground in Bosnia's capital.

In mid-1995, the Bosnian Serbs were shelling the once picturesque city of Sarajevo around the clock from the surrounding hilltops, and random sniper fire made it impossible to walk down its cobblestone streets safely. Just getting into the city, which was surrounded by hostile Serb forces, was next to impossible. But this was the reason I'd become a CIA operations officer in the first place. I loved the adventure, believed in the agency and its mission, and always jumped at the chance to return to my old stomping ground in the Balkans. Despite

Upon the successful completion of his mission to Sarajevo, H.K. Roy received an award from the CIA's deputy director of operations. He is currently working on an espionage thriller involving the hunt for war criminals that takes place in present-day Bosnia and can be contacted at hkroy1@yahoo.com.

the obvious risks, I was honored to be named the CIA's first chief in Sarajevo. However, I couldn't shake the haunting notion that this time I might not be as lucky as I'd been during previous assignments. This time I might not return.

I'd already served in Belgrade and witnessed the breakup of Yugoslavia as it slid out of the Cold War and into civil war. The agency tapped me to go into Croatia during the height of the war there in 1991 to report on the first armed conflict in the heart of Europe since World War II. The CIA sent me to the region again in 1992 to do some poking around the front lines in a then-little-known

place called Bosnia. I'd also covered Kosovo, where events unfolded much as we forecast in the early 1990s. What I didn't know when I accepted this latest mission was that the Serb shelling and sniper fire would end up taking a back seat to an equally deadly but much more personalized threat to my security in Sarajevo.

Prior to my temporary duty assignment to Sarajevo, I stopped off in Washington to meet my team and plan the specifics of the operation. I quickly learned that no one in Washington had a clue about how I was supposed to get into Sarajevo. I decided to travel to Split, Croatia, on my own and improvise from there. I knew the country and the language and besides, that approach had always worked before.

Meanwhile, my team, which was to have included several armed security escorts, had now dwindled down to two officers: me and John Garcia (not his real name), a gregarious senior communications officer who'd already proven his mettle in hot spots like Somalia. John managed

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to get his hands on a secure satellite phone in a few hours' time, and the two of us made arrangements to leave that night for Europe.

After arriving in Zurich, we killed time by strolling around Niederdorfstrasse, then spent a sleepless night at the airport Hilton. The next day we flew across Italy to the balmy Adriatic coastal town of Split, a hub of activity during the war.

Over ice-cold Dalmatian beer that night in the restaurant of the communist-chic Hotel Split, we reviewed our plan for entering Sarajevo the next day. We thought we'd decrease our odds of being shot by inserting our vehicle into a U.N. convoy that was scheduled to bring relief supplies to the isolated city, by way of Mostar and the deadly Mt. Igman road. Although we

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were armed, our light weapons and armored Jeep would serve no defensive purpose against the anti-aircraft guns the Serbs might use against us.

The final leg of our journey to Sarajevo began when we left Split in the early morning hours of July 10

for the sleepy farming village of Tarcin, on the Bosnian-controlled side of Mt. Igman. Along the way up the 'dusty back of Mt. Igman, we heard artillery shells whistling by overhead. There was also sporadic

small arms and machine gun fire. This was our first real taste of the live-fire zone we were about to enter.

Not long after dark, the U.N. convoy began winding its way down the face of Mt. Igman and into Sarajevo. All vehicle lights were blacked out in order to avoid being targeted, and the drivers used night vision goggles to see. It was pitch black as there was no moon in the cloudless summer sky.

We knew that the Serbs could kill us at any time. Racing down the bumpy mountain road in the dark, inches from the edge of a steep, rocky drop-off, was in itself risky. Within a few weeks of my trip, three U.S. officials were killed on this very road while attempting a similar entry. To this day I am angered by their deaths, because just before they died, I had promised Washington in writing that someone would be killed if we continued to send people into Sarajevo.

After 16 hours and several close calls, we made it to our renovated villa in the heart of downtown Sarajevo. There a security officer welcomed us by providing detailed guidance on when and when not to flush the villa's toilets. We were then shown to the downstairs laundry



Above: A Sarajevo plumbing supply house open for business in 1995, despite being riddled with artillery fire. Right: U.N. sniper barrier of concrete slabs leaned against unused city trams.




room, which was to be our living and working quarters for the next month. Since there was nothing to eat, we tried to sleep on the dusty and bug-infested linoleum floor. After a couple nights with no sleep, one more couldn't hurt.

My primary mission in Sarajevo was to provide intelligence on the military situation in Bosnia and on Bosnian Serb military targets and capabilities in advance of the expected NATO intervention. Months later I was gratified to read about successful NATO air and missile attacks on dozens of Bosnian Serb positions, including radar and anti-aircraft sites, command centers, and communications facilities, whose locations I had pinpointed in July.

While in Sarajevo, I also covered the Serb capture of U.N.-declared "safe areas" Srebrenica and Zepa, which fell during my brief assignment there. Then-U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Madeleine Albright was especially interested in knowing the number of Bosnians killed. When I reported that, according to my reliable sources, between 6000 and 8000 Bosnians were slaughtered by the Serbs during the initial takeover of Srebrenica, Washington was skeptical. It was later confirmed that over 40,000 Bosnians were "ethnically cleansed" from Srebrenica, and at least 8,000 men and boys were indeed gunned down by the Serbs as they attempted to flee through the woods. The fall of Srebrenica was the final straw for the Clinton administration, and it led to the NATO intervention to stop the Serb rampage in Bosnia.

My daily meetings at the oft-targeted Bosnian Interior Ministry building in downtown Sarajevo were intense. I would drive at high speed to and from the meetings to decrease my chances of being hit by



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sniper fire. Random artillery shells were also a constant threat.

My Bosnian colleagues worked around the clock in stressful wartime conditions. They prowled around the office like caged animals, desperately attempting to gather intelligence and counterintelligence on the encroaching Bosnian Serb army. Dressed in camouflage fatigues, they smoked foul-smelling Balkan cigarettes night and day, as did their Serb and Croat enemies in other parts of the country.

As the Croatian government had done in 1992, the Bosnians pleaded with me to relay their request for U.S. military intervention to Washington. Their arguments were compelling, but my job was to obtain as much intelligence as possible, without promising any action in return. At the same time, I always held out the possibility that eventually the U.S. might intervene militarily on the side of the Bosnians.

During my meetings I also attempted to learn more about the growing Iranian presence in Bosnia. After the war started in 1992, the Iranian government moved in to fill the vacuum left by the West's inaction, and, with the collaboration of the Clinton administration, to provide military support to the dying Bosnians.

I knew that the White House was facilitating Iran's illegal arms shipments to Bosnia. In the fall of 1992, the U.S. government supported the Croatian government's interception of an Iranian 747 "relief" flight which brought weapons and mercenaries to Bosnia. But later, in July 1994, I learned that the U.S. ambassador to Croatia, Peter Galbraith, had quietly suggested to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman that he should permit Iranian arms shipments to transit Croatia en route to Bosnia. This suggestion violated official U.S. policy as well the U.N.

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arms embargo on the whole of the former Yugoslavia, but since the orders had apparently come from President Clinton and then-National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, Galbraith complied in implementing this secret and arguably illegal policy.

At the time there were several moderate, pro-U.S. governments like Turkey and Saudi Arabia which had indicated a willingness to provide arms to the Bosnians. Common sense would dictate that any country would be preferable to Iran as a provider of arms to the Bosnians. Yet the Clinton administration, for reasons that are not credible, decided that Iran was to be the supplier of arms and influence in Bosnia.

Against this backdrop, it is easy to understand why the Bosnians made it clear to me that they considered the Iranians to be close allies. By the time I showed up in Sarajevo in July 1995, the war had been raging for three years. The Iranians were dug in, thanks in part to the secret influence of the White House. My Bosnian colleagues refused to discuss Iran's role in Bosnia with me, other than to say Iran was welcome there.

Iranian influence in Sarajevo was palpable. Mujaheddin wandered the empty streets of the city between

battles with the Serbs. Soviet-made vehicles bearing license plates and other symbols of Iranian private relief organizations were omnipresent, and some were involved in conducting surveillance of our vehicles. The Iranians considered Bosnia their backyard, and the few Americans present were not welcome.

Although I was cognizant of the Iranian threat in Sarajevo, I, like most people, was more concerned with surviving the daily wartime hazards in the city. The Iranians were a threat, to be sure, but they were a secondary threat under the circumstances. So when the head of the Bosnian security service one day called me into — and then dismissed me from — a room occupied only by him and a tall, bearded Middle-Eastern man in fatigues, I took note but was not overly concerned by the strange incident.

Even in this grim atmosphere, there were occasionally humorous moments. One night, during an especially intense firefight between the Bosnian Muslims and the Serbs outside our villa, John was busy watching the Vietnam War movie, "Full Metal Jacket." As the real battle raged all around us and grew more deafening, John had trouble hearing his movie. He'd inch closer to the generator powered TV and turn up the volume so that he wouldn't miss any of the action, all the while oblivious to the shooting going on outside. I yelled at John that he might want to pause the movie for a little while and come out and see the real thing, but he was glued to the set and didn't hear a word I said.

The day after the head of the Bosnian security service showcased me to the bearded Middle-Eastern man, I learned from very reliable sources that the man was none other than the head of Iran's intelligence

office in Sarajevo. As *Los Angeles Times* journalist James Risen would later report, by July 1995 the Bosnian Interior Ministry was under the control of the Iranian intelligence service. The Iranian intelligence chief had asked his Bosnian colleague to bring me into the office so that the Iranian could see the CIA's new chief in the flesh. He wasn't just looking me over out of professional curiosity. I discovered that the Iranian intelligence man was in fact planning an operation to kidnap, torture, interrogate, and kill me. It was nothing personal. In the Iranian's eyes, I was a high-payoff target of opportunity. It's not every day that a lone CIA officer shows up and declares himself in true name to a security service controlled by Iran.

After I learned of this very personalized threat to my life, my whole perception of danger in Sarajevo was turned upside-down. I now focused on not being snatched off the streets rather than avoiding the random barrage of mortars and sniper rounds. I vowed not to make it easy for the Iranians to take me. Since I was alone behind enemy lines, I also knew that brains, not firepower, would be my only chance of survival.

The next morning I conferred via secure satellite phone with my superiors in Washington. We all agreed that the prudent thing to do under the circumstances would be to get out of Sarajevo as quickly as possible. Getting back out under "normal" wartime circumstances without being killed by the Serbs would have been challenge enough. But now I also had to come up with an exfiltration plan for getting John and me out without falling into the hands of the Iranians or their Bosnian collaborators.

In devising my exfiltration plan, I had to consider what I knew and what I didn't know about the situa-

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tion. I also had to plan my escape based on a worst-case scenario. I knew that the Iranians were planning an operation against me. I also knew the Bosnian Interior Ministry officials followed orders given by the Iranian intelligence service. The Bosnians and the Iranians both knew my vehicle and my face by sight. They also knew the location of our villa and had our office and phones monitored. There was only one way out of Sarajevo, and that was back over the Mt. Igman trail. Unfortunately, my "friends" in the Bosnian security service controlled all the police checkpoints between Sarajevo and Tarcin, on the other side of Mt. Igman.

I then learned that one of our local Bosnian employees was a spy for the Bosnian service, and he too could report on my comings and goings. In a worst-case scenario, the Bosnians and Iranians would know when and how I planned to escape and would intercept me before I was able to leave Sarajevo. They had me covered from every angle.

I discussed the various exfiltration options with Washington and with U.S. military commands in the region via secure satphone. I was heartened when Washington laid out several impressive exfil options of their own, including some that involved sending U.S. forces via helicopter into Sarajevo to extract me.

After careful thought, however, I rejected all of Washington's tempting proposals. As there was no air traffic in the skies over Bosnia, a helicopter attempting to enter Sarajevo would draw fire from all sides. Moreover, all of Washington's plans would require up to a week of preparation. I knew I had to get out as quickly and quietly as possible, before the Iranians and Bosnians realized that I was on to them.

I decided that the best exfil plan

*Fresh in my mind was
the kidnapping, torture
and murder of
my colleague William
Buckley 10 years
earlier.*

was for us to go out on our own, in a high-speed two-vehicle convoy. Without hesitation, a courageous American security officer we'd been working with and his heavily armed colleagues agreed to escort us out. We could depart for Split the next night.

Washington was not pleased that I had rejected all of their options, but they acceded to my decision, as I was the one on the ground. I also conferred with John, who backed my decision as the one most likely to get us out alive.

Hoping for the best but preparing for the worst, we created fake ID cards for John and myself in the event the Bosnian police were alerted to detain us on our way out of town. Just before our escape, though, I discovered that our Bosnian employee spy was planning on getting out of Sarajevo himself with our convoy. If he learned that I was joining the convoy, he could alert his masters of my plans and they'd be able to pull me out at a roadblock, fake ID or no fake ID.

We decided that once the Bosnian spy entered our 4WD escape vehicle, we would not allow him to get out of the vehicle until after we'd made it over Mt. Igman. We didn't want to give him any

opportunities to alert the Bosnian security service of my unscheduled departure.

We left the villa at 2:30 a.m. as planned. As we pulled out of the silent, darkened compound, I was alert to any signs of surveillance. As the entire city was without power and blacked out, and as there were no cars on the road, it was easy to detect surveillance. We made it through several Bosnian and U.N. checkpoints near Sarajevo's airport without incident and without any indications of surveillance. Our unarmed Bosnia spy was buckled in and not going anywhere.

Then, just as we prepared to ascend Mt. Igman, we were delayed for two nerve-wracking hours in the dark while incoming Bosnian army traffic cleared the checkpoints. By the time we were permitted to proceed up over Igman, the sun had begun to rise, and with it the risk of attracting Serb anti-aircraft fire on the exposed dirt road. Because of this peril, we considered heading back to the villa to try again the next night.

I wasn't keen on turning back, as doing so would have permitted the Bosnian spy to report my attempted escape, and could have prompted the bad guys to accelerate their move against me. Luck was with us, however. That morning the city and mountain were shrouded in a light haze so visibility was poor. Moreover, we knew the frequently inebriated soldiers were least attentive just before daybreak. The Serbs would have difficulty targeting us. We decided to make a run for it. We raced to French Battalion (FRE-BAT) on top of the mountain without drawing fire. Along the way, we sped past the smoldering hulks of several UN vehicles that had been destroyed by the Serbs just hours earlier.

Throughout our escape from

Bosnian territory, we were extra alert and had our fingers on the triggers of our weapons. If the Iranians gave chase, we were prepared to do battle with them. I made John promise me that he'd shoot me before letting any bearded fanatics haul me off for one of their notorious torture sessions. Still fresh in my mind was the kidnapping, torture and murder of my colleague William Buckley, the CIA's chief in Beirut, by Iranian-backed terrorists 10 years earlier.

Knowing that John would have a hard time explaining to the agency's lawyers why shooting me was actually in my best interest, I was as pleased as he was that he did not have to make good on his promise. After our safe arrival in Split, Croatia, we bade farewell to the security officer and our escorts, including the now harmless Bosnian spy, and made our way by taxi to the airport.

From the airport pay phone, I called our nervous colleagues in Washington to let them know that we had made it out alive. My friends were relieved that we were safe and sound. I'm sure there were more than a few bureaucrats who breathed a sigh of relief at the thought of all the paperwork and explaining they wouldn't have to do, thanks to our successful exfiltration.

The next day in Vienna we briefed the director of central intelligence on our Bosnian operation. He'd been following our travails and was eager for a full report. A few days later I gave the same briefing to an interested congressional committee in Washington. We survived these high-level briefings unscathed.

Betrayal comes in many forms, but one thing about it remains constant. It comes at a high price. When the West betrayed its commitment to democratic ideals by

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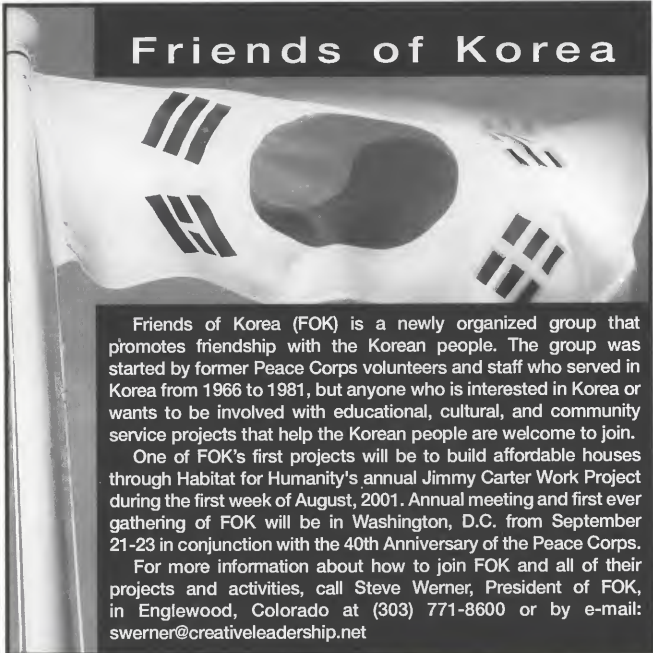
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refusing to recognize the irreversible independence movements in Croatia and Slovenia in 1991, we gave the green light to the Serb-dominated Yugoslav People's Army to wage predictable and bloody wars in those countries. The simultaneous arms embargo only hurt the victims.

The CIA did a phenomenal job of reporting and predicting events in the former Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, U.S. policy-makers failed to heed their own intelligence service. When the U.S. and the rest of the civilized world betrayed the helpless civilian victims of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia by refusing to intervene for over three years, the price was high. Although we intervened in Kosovo, the price there too was high because we explicitly ruled out the use of ground troops, giving the Serbs the green light to "ethnically cleanse" at will.

The U.S. also lost an opportunity to shape the future in Bosnia, yielding to and even abetting dangerous Iranian influence in the region. When my Bosnian security service colleagues betrayed me to the Iranians, then, it was a logical consequence of our misguided policies.

Epilogue: After my escape from Sarajevo, I learned that the head of the Bosnian security service who had betrayed me to the Iranians, as well as the Iranian agent who had betrayed the teachings of the Koran by planning to kill me, both died under bloody and mysterious circumstances inside Bosnia.

Note: CIA's Publications Review Board has reviewed the manuscript to assist the author in eliminating classified information, and poses no security objection to its publication. This review, however, should not be construed as an official release of information, confirmation of its accuracy, or an endorsement of the author's views. ■



BOOKS

WORLD TRAVELER'S ZEST FOR LIFE

In the Mountains of Heaven: Tales of Adventures on Six Continents

Mike Tidwell, *The Lyons Press, New York, 2000, \$24.95, hardcover, 230 pages*

BY TAMERA FILLINGER

This collection of 20 travel pieces demonstrates over and over again why Mike Tidwell, a resident of Takoma Park, Md., and frequent contributor to the *Washington Post*, is an award-winning travel writer. His words instill a longing to go see the places and people he describes, yet they also make you feel you've already been there.

Tidwell was a Peace Corps volunteer in Zaire in the mid-1980s, and you can feel his compassion for the people of the developing world and his frustration with First World responses as he writes about his time there. The Peace Corps connection would later take him to Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, when he accompanied his wife there during her posting as Peace Corps administrator in the mid-1990s. The "mountains of heaven" of the title are, in fact, the local name for the range surrounding Bishkek.

While there, he explores the mystery of the city's rapidly disappearing manhole covers and the implications

*Tidwell's empathy is
what truly makes his
descriptions memorable
and evocative.*

of that phenomenon for the desperate, post-Cold War Kyrgyz economy. As he explains, Kyrgyzstan lacks investment capital, natural resources, modern commercial traditions and an educated work force. He takes aim at USAID and other international aid agencies and their failure to tailor programs to local needs. He also argues for greater Kyrgyz involvement in setting the country's priorities, while realizing that it will take time for a people silenced for so long under Soviet rule to learn to articulate its national values and aspirations.

Although he describes beautifully the wonder and diversity of each place he visits, Tidwell's consistent focus is on the people he encounters. Indeed, his empathy is what truly makes his descriptions memorable and evocative. For example, after returning to Washington from Bishkek, he learns that a Kyrgyz friend, Ishen, is dying of tuberculosis. He immediately enlists the support of a former U.S. ambassador to

Kyrgyzstan to line up financial sponsors so Ishen can be rushed to the U.S. for life-saving surgery.

But the book has its share of lighter moments, too. Tidwell searches for solitude and maroons himself on picture-perfect Ragged Island in the Bahamas. He travels to the farthest point on the globe in search of the antipode (geographic opposite) of Washington, D.C. When he discovers it is water he looks for the nearest land mass — Cumberland Rock, off the southwestern tip of Australia — and gets to know its only inhabitants, seals.

Exotic as many of the foreign locales are, some of his most engaging stories are set in the U.S. — surviving a death-defying rockslide in the Rio Grande, learning the lost art of fishing between the memorials in Washington, D.C., discovering the pristine grace of Isle Royale in Lake Superior, and finding love amidst great turbulence between Washington National and LaGuardia airports.

Tidwell's vision of paradise is found in the self-sufficiency and great humor of the Mbuti pygmies of the Congo, whom he describes in the final chapter. If they need a chair or cup or backpack or house, they fashion one from the abundance of the forest. With just a few simple tools, techniques and weapons, the Mbuti people make a living that keeps them physically healthier and living longer than any people across Africa. They are also the happiest people he has

encountered anywhere in the world.

Throughout the book, Tidwell's own zest for life permeates his writing. Wherever he goes, he shows us the transforming power of small kindnesses exchanged across cultures, but stops short of moralizing.

Tamera Fillinger was an FSO legal adviser with USAID, serving in Nairobi and Jakarta from 1992 to 1999. She now practices law in Washington, D.C.

WASHINGTON, D.C., AFTER THE MALL

Washington, D.C. Off the Beaten Path

William Whitman, *The Globe Pequot Press, Guilford, CT, 2001, \$12.95, paperback, 165 pages*

By ARNIE SCHIFFERDECKER

Even long-time Washingtonians can feel challenged finding ways to keep visitors entertained after they've done the Mall, the memorials and Arlington Cemetery. But now there is a way to keep Aunt Jen, Uncle Bob and those pesky cousins from Ohio busy touring and not constantly underfoot: a gem of a Washington guidebook, researched and wittily written by retired FSO Bill Whitman.

As one of the latest installments in the publisher's "Off the Beaten Path" series, Whitman's volume on Washington offers visitors (and residents) the chance to discover little-known or out-of-the-way places — historical, cultural and culinary — with detailed street maps and suggestions that will delight even the most jaded tastes.

Organized by neighborhood, *Off the Beaten Path* will lead you to the author's favorite little parks, gal-

leries, gift shops and cafes in every part of the city. Along the way, he entertains you with "Capital Quotes" by Washingtonians (famous and infamous), and historical facts, such as the origin of the term "hooker," what you will find at the "Bull Moose B & B" and the location of a monument to sobriety right in the middle of the city. You can also find out how to set up your own architectural or antiques tour, discover the "Discovery" channel store's location or book a Potomac river cruise.

Best of all, the guide's numerous suggestions of fine little restaurants in every part of the city won't bankrupt your visitors — or yourself if you want to try out some of Whitman's recommended eateries. Most of his "author's favorites" are on the moderately priced or inexpensive side. Try, for example, Zuki Moon, a Japanese noodle restaurant, a short walk from Main State up New Hampshire Ave., or Bob and Liddy Dole's favorite little drop-in Chinese restaurant in the Watergate complex.

Also included in the guide's Foggy Bottom section is the increasingly popular tour of Main State's Diplomatic Reception Rooms, which offers the useful warning that bookings in the summer may require up to three months' advance notice.

Grouped under separate headings in the practical index are locations and phone numbers of hotels (including a number of smaller hostels and B & B lodgings); places of special interest to children, as well as African-American and Jewish sites; a surprising variety of museums tucked into converted homes; and — for Lincoln buffs — all the city's sites connected with our 16th president.

As with the rest of this series, Whitman's guide is primarily geared for tourists, whether on their first or 10th visit. But it should also prove beneficial for Foreign Service families

returning to Washington on TDY, home leave or reassignment. As noted above, even long-time residents will read about exciting new places to eat out, visit or shop — such as the innumerable small museums and gift shops, old and new, scattered about the city. So when indefatigable out-of-town visitors tell you they've run out of destinations in their conventional guidebooks, do yourself a big favor and lend them your Whitman with a Metro map and a bus schedule.

Arnie Schifferdecker, a retired FSO now living in Washington, is a member of the Journal's editorial board.

BANANA DIPLOMACY

The United States in Honduras, 1980-1981: An Ambassador's Memoir

Jack R. Binns, *McFarland & Co., Inc., 2000, \$39.95, paperback, 397 pages*

By STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

Although it analyzes events of 20 years ago, *The United States in Honduras, 1980-1981: An Ambassador's Memoir* is remarkably timely as a new Republican administration takes office expressing renewed interest in our neighbors to the south.

In his first chapter ("Getting There Was Half the Fun"), Jack Binns quickly summarizes his Foreign Service career, concentrated in Latin America and Europe, prior to his appointment as ambassador to Honduras for the final year of the Carter administration and most of Reagan's first year in office.

His mission there was challenging but clear: nurture the country's ongoing transition from military rule (relatively benign though it was) to consti-



tutional democracy. Although he had only modest levels of economic and security assistance to work with, Binns maximized those resources by linking their disbursement to concrete progress on preparing for elections, safeguarding human rights and rooting out corruption.

Ostensibly, the incoming administration shared the same objectives. But as Binns soon found out, the new team's real emphasis in Central America was on bringing down, or at least containing, the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. Even more worrying, Washington increasingly turned to military and clandestine means, primarily support for the contras, to achieve that goal, ignoring the prescient warnings of the author and other FSOs about how destabilizing such tactics would be for the entire region.

Binns structures his account chronologically, like a heavily annotated diary. This is an effective way to organize the material but it does read dryly at times. Based largely on primary documentation, including over 1,000 pages of declassified correspondence not previously available to the public, the narrative provides a truly comprehensive account of Binns' tenure as chief of mission in Tegucigalpa from April 1980 to October 1981. We see Binns deal with a series of attacks on the embassy and other U.S. facilities and personnel by unknown parties, a Honduran president who all but crumbles under the weight of office, countless rumors of imminent coups before one attempt very nearly succeeds, a flood of Salvadoran refugees into the country, a sharp economic downturn and increasingly frequent human rights violations.

Even under the best of circumstances, all that would be enough to occupy any ambassador's every waking moment. But to make matters

worse, Reagan's election immediately turned Binns into a "lame duck," increasingly cut out of the loop with Washington. That fact, in turn, not only lessened his influence in Honduras but emboldened CIA, DOD and NSC operatives to become increasingly active — and secretive, making a mockery of interagency cooperation — in pursuing their own agendas. Meanwhile, various members of Congress (both on the left and the right) and their staffers did their best to undermine his authority, both in Honduras and back in Washington.

Binns pulls no punches in denouncing U.S. policy in Central America under Reagan. But to his credit, he does not portray himself as omniscient, either. He acknowledges instances where he failed to notice, or to investigate, problems that would

later come back to haunt him. He is also generous in praising the work of his staff, though he does not shrink from criticizing his station chief and certain members of the defense attaché's office for repeatedly withholding information and freelancing on policy.

Thankfully, times have changed and there is no reason to believe the Bush administration is inclined to repeat those foreign policy mistakes of 20 years ago. Still, just to be on the safe side, it might be a good idea to slip copies of this memoir to Secretary of State Powell and National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, or at least to their Western Hemisphere Affairs staffers. ■

Steven Alan Honley is associate editor of the Journal.

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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Everyone (Alas) Comes to Kathmandu

BY KATHRYN UPHAUS

In January 1974, my husband and I arrived in the small, quaint, filthy city that was Kathmandu. A newcomer, I marveled at the coughing Nepalis, blowing their noses Asian fashion by delicately pinching the nostrils between two fingers and depositing the results in the street with a quick flick of the wrist. My husband, a former Nepal Peace Corps volunteer long inured to such sights and sounds, instead feasted his eyes on the intricately carved temples and statuary all around.

Places you knew when young are supposed to look smaller when you return years later. Not so Kathmandu. Now, in October 2000, it sprawled in all directions. Lanes we once leisurely strolled we now negotiated in fits and starts, dodging vehicles, people, and merchandise spilling onto the sidewalks. The ambience then was one of an outdoor art exhibit. Now it is more like Filene's Basement.

Then, we ate savory curries in tiny dark shops where the entire vegetarian menu cost about \$3. On winter mornings we treated ourselves to sticky, deep-fried syrupy pretzels and sweet, hot buffalo milk tea. Now, curry is expensive, and bland, prepared to suit Western tastes. Breakfast is cappuccino and a scone.

Menus then featured "teasy snacks," "mutton bowels," and "stake and cheeps." Today, Nepali English is

Kathryn Uphaus is a freelance writer. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

*Kathmandu skipped
much of the 20th
century and has
surged directly into
the 21st.*



better but still not perfect. A tourist brochure notes that "the standee in this square is pygnized by the towering five storied pagoda." A street sign admonished us, perfectly grammatically but somewhat ambiguously, to "Discourage the Beggars," who were looking every bit as discouraged as they had in 1974.

The restoration and preservation of three city squares, all of them world heritage sites, is a positive change. Now closed to vehicles, they provide islands of relief from the surrounding sea of traffic, and the admission charged to foreign visitors helps maintain the temples and palaces they contain.

People believe one of the biggest changes in the region is the advent of pollution. However, the valley surrounding Kathmandu was always polluted, in 1974, with mud or dust according to the season and year round with excrement of all varieties.

Today Kathmandu's streets are considerably cleaner, although the air most certainly is not.

In many ways, Kathmandu skipped much of the 20th century and has surged directly into the 21st. Like Rick's in "Casablanca," now "everyone comes to Kathmandu" — trekkers, mountaineers, nirvana-seekers, aging baby boomers. It is, arguably, their presence that has caused much of the change: the explosion of vehicles and humanity that snarls the streets; the introduction of national parks, forest preserves and non-polluting, electric-powered conveyances; the proliferation of cyber cafes, e-commerce enterprises, and travel agencies; and the destruction, reconstruction and reconfiguration of buildings, monuments, temples. All these are signs of an ancient culture struggling to join the modern world.

The architectural integrity and leisurely pace that gave the valley its preserved-in-time, jewel box aura in 1974 is gone, never to be regained. The pockets of magnificence that remain, such as the squares, the religious sites, the temples, palaces, and museums, provide a lingering sense of the beauty and all-embracing religious and cultural tolerance that was such a large part of Kathmandu's grace and charm. Meanwhile, progress marches on, with the approval and for the benefit, one must hope, of the Nepalese themselves. As our teenage son, seeing Kathmandu for the first time, put it so succinctly: "Who wants to live in a jewel box, anyway?" ■

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