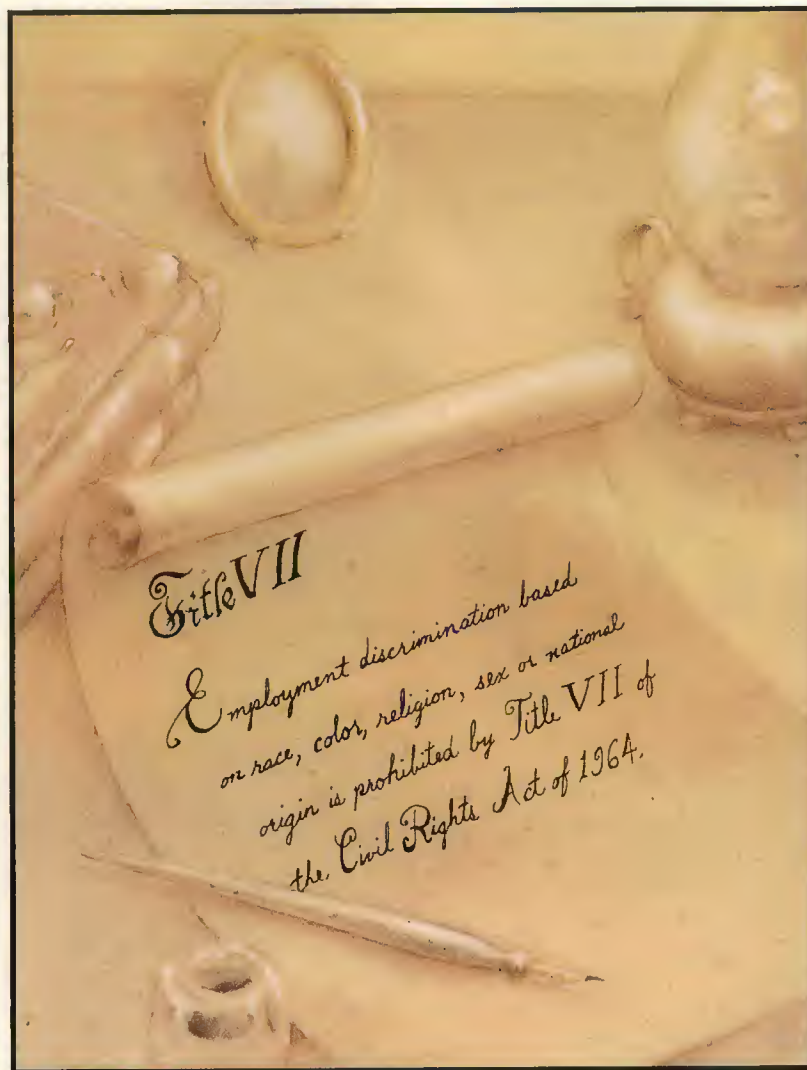


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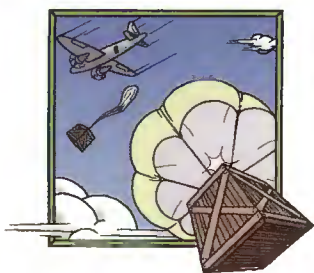


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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *Discrimination, Diversity and Merit*

BY F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

This issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* focuses on the continuing battles against discrimination in the foreign affairs agencies — battles also being fought elsewhere in the public and private sectors across the nation. My efforts in the last three years to chart a middle road and promote dialogue between those deeply hurt by discrimination and those deeply protective of merit principles in the Foreign Service have been attacked by both sides. To move ahead, the Foreign Service has to debate openly its principles, problems, failings and successes in the hiring and promotion processes. The Foreign Service must both protect merit and overcome discrimination. Though progress has been made regarding differences in social class and gender, the focus is now on race, age, sexual preference and disability. Other issues are now looming, such as the potential legal backlash from white males. This tough work can be done if four issues in hiring and promotion are maintained in proper focus: the overall context, the speed in acting, the process itself and the motivation behind personnel decisions.

Where is the Foreign Service — and where has it been — in terms of rapid social change in this nation? The Service is, after all, both a special instrument and a product of American society. Given the nature of the Service's overseas mission to carry out U.S. policy, it's a poor candidate to be in

F. A. "Tex" Harris is president of the American Foreign Service Association.

*It is necessary both  
to protect merit  
and to overcome  
discrimination in  
the Foreign Service.*

the vanguard of social change. But that is no reason why the Foreign Service should be the last to correct discrimination. Unfortunately, the Service has lagged in diversifying its membership and stamping out discrimination. The lags have cost dearly.

Next to advancing with the mainstream of American ideals is the difficult task of getting the process right. In a Service correctly grounded in merit and head-to-head competition for advancement and assignment, external interventions are suspect no matter how praiseworthy the motives. Too often in recent administrations, political leadership either has sought to delay needed actions or to force them via questionable procedures. Neither approach works. Delay greatly compounds the problems and the final costs of their resolution. Illicit corrections threaten the merit system and undercut confidence, morale and performance.

The key lies in properly motivating corrective action. If change is driven

solely by the courts, fear of litigation or the insidious pressures of political correctness, then organizations will resist change — with resulting divisions and ineffectiveness. To change successfully requires open and wide debate of the problems and adoption of solutions emerging from honest discussions. Such a participatory process, while messy in the beginning, ensures understanding and quicker, more successful implementation based on shared convictions that ending discrimination and promoting diversity truly strengthen the Foreign Service and honor this country.

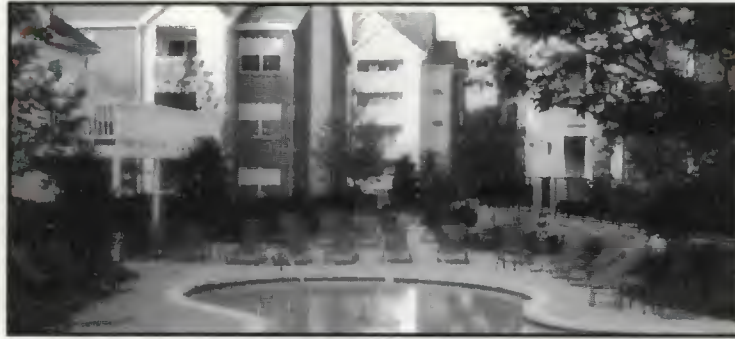
Correcting for past discrimination is hard even in good times. It is especially tough when budgets, pay grades and number of jobs are declining. Corrective actions cost good professionals deserved advancements. The current situation has been further complicated by failed past management policies. The State Department promoted officers into the Senior Service at rates that reached nearly 150 percent of attrition. The U.S. Agency for International Development invested in expensive state-of-the-art computer systems. The U.S. Information Agency allowed its broadcasting arm to be severed.

The merit system is also facing new issues. The Foreign Service confronted traditional forms of discrimination. More subtle forms need to be taken on, including career specialization, time in class, political affiliation, policy orientation and patronage. Objective merit must be a guiding principle. It is a core American value and the long-term key to a Foreign Service of excellence. ■

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# DESPATCH

## *Affirmative Action vs. Diversity*

BY KAREN KREBSBACH

There is perhaps no more divisive nor painful an issue for the Foreign Service today than diversity, that politically correct term that has replaced yesterday's "affirmative action" in the workplace lexicon.

But while the term has changed, the 30-year-old effort of making the Foreign Service look more like America continues to breed resentment and bitterness, particularly among white males. In one fresh controversy, some white male FSOs say they have been discouraged from applying for openings in the elite European and Canadian Affairs Bureau (EUR) of the State Department, because the slots have been earmarked for women and minorities. State has been wrestling with its first reverse discrimination challenge since 1993, which is still pending, and officials worry the EUR conflict will unleash a flood of complaints from white males who claim diversity policies are biased against them.

Change has come slowly to the Foreign Service, but it unquestionably has arrived. White women are more successfully climbing the diplomatic ladder, followed by minority women; however, black males seem to have fared the worst, actually decreasing in number over the last years. In 1995, the Foreign Service at the State Department, which employs 80 percent of FS employees, was 56 percent white male, 24 percent white female, 7 percent minority male and 4 percent

*Karen Krebsbach is the editor of the Foreign Service Journal.*

*Change has come  
slowly to the  
Foreign Service, but  
it unquestionably  
has arrived.*

minority female, according to State's director general's office. In the elite ranks of the Senior Foreign Service, from which are drawn ambassadors and other policymakers, the makeup included 84 percent white males, 9 percent white females, 5 percent minority males and 1 percent minority females.

But does the Foreign Service look more like America? According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the American workforce in 1995 was made up of 45 percent white males, 37 percent white females, 9.5 percent minority males and 8.5 percent minority females.

As the diversity debate rages and the foreign affairs budget shrinks, the element of merit appears to have been twisted the greatest in FSOs' rush for a place at the table. The premise that diversity automatically reduces quality in the diplomatic corps, a presumption gaining more legitimacy among the five foreign affairs agencies, is a flawed and discriminatory one. Diversity is about opportunity — not charity.

In this issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*, our authors take a comprehensive look at the complicated issue of discrimination in the Foreign Service, examining the way minorities, women and homosexuals have been treated in the 62-year history of the professional diplomatic corps. Our contributors also examined the ways in which class, age and disability concerns have shaped the personnel policies of the foreign affairs agencies. What our writers found was profound resistance to change at every bend, as evidenced by the carefully worded settlements recently announced in the 20-year-old Palmer women's suit and the decade-old Thomas blacks' suit.

And now white males have joined the fray of victims demanding justice. The flurry of legal initiatives and lawsuits from minorities, women, the disabled, the over-40 crowd and others suggests that much of the critical thinking about diversity issues is being done in the courtroom, not in the workplace.

Who among us in the professional world believe we have not experienced discrimination in the workplace, be it minor or major injustice? Undoubtedly, the issue of equality is among the most noble of American values and achieving a discrimination-free workplace is important, but what price are U.S. diplomats and taxpayers willing to spend in time, energy and funds to resolve this bitter internal strife? How many hours of one's day should be focused on workplace dynamics, instead of the work itself? ■



# LETTERS

*To the Editor:*

It was with great sadness that I read Jim Patterson's "Speaking Out" article, "Fighting Associational Discrimination," (September *Journal*.)

The Foreign Service calls on all of us to live apart from parents, siblings and adult children for years. It may ask us to spend a few years away from spouses and children, which most of us would accept with some difficulty. However, it is sad that someone would fight to be separated by great distances from his daughter for most of her childhood years. Author James

Patterson wants to maintain the "value and morale" of FS employees, but spends years trying to lessen the value and morale of his own daughter. He is "discriminated against" because his daughter's health denied him, in sum, a chance to work in a city other than Washington; what about his daughter being denied the closeness only her father can give? Who does she appeal to? I hope that she is able to forgive him when she becomes an adult.

Mr. Patterson, your place may or may not be in the Foreign Service, I don't know. But I do know that

your place is at your daughter's side. Come home, Jim.,

*Bob Fretz  
Deputy Chief of Mission  
U.S. Embassy Bissau*



*To the Editor:*

I am writing in response to Ervin Rose's "Reflections from a Stay-At-Home Man" ("Letters," May *Journal*.)

I was surprised by your assumption that husbands and male partners

## Test Your Wit

The *Journal* is planning an issue on the role of wit and humor in diplomacy. Diplomats interested in testing their own wit and humor are invited to respond to the challenge below. The best answers will be published in an upcoming *Journal*.

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## LETTERS

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of Foreign Service employees would necessarily have different interests and needs than wives and female partners.

Having been a Foreign Service spouse for 16 years, having continuing my career as an international corporate attorney, and having grappled with the myriad issues connected with raising a family in this unique lifestyle, I would offer the following advice:

Don't assume that employment and other issues are new now that there are more male spouses. Many Foreign Service spouses, male and female, have long tried to maintain and further their careers, and share the inevitable frustrations and challenges that accompany frequent international moves.

Try to be open in seeking support and understanding, and don't limit yourself to husbands and male partners. I have found support, camaraderie and useful professional contacts on career issues from female spouses, and have tried to reciprocate whenever possible. My first overseas legal position was as successor to a Foreign Service spouse, who was coincidentally female. Similarly, I recommended another Foreign Service spouse, coincidentally female, for a position with my international law firm in Moscow, and we became colleagues. Conversely, I have also spent many fruitful hours discussing child-rearing issues with male Foreign Service spouses.

Don't dismiss the experience of those who have been Foreign Service spouses for decades by assuming you have nothing in common with them. My husband was a Foreign Service "brat," his father an ambassador, and his mother a traditional Foreign Service wife. Despite generational differences, the fundamental similari-

ties of my mother-in-law's and my experience and the depth of her wisdom have far outweighed these superficial differences.

Don't expect too much out of organizations. Organizations like the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) serve a very useful role, but by their nature, cannot tailor their groups to each person's unique professional and personal needs. In many ways you are on your own, and must concoct your own solutions by fusing your specific professional and personal needs and goals with your individual circumstances. However, we do need to work together through organizations such as the Family Liaison Office (FLO) and AAFSW on broader institutional goals, such as bilateral work agreements and consideration of non-tandem spouse employment in assignment decisions.

I hope I am not being too preachy, but especially in this lifestyle we cannot categorize ourselves or each other too quickly. Good luck, and feel free to contact me if I can ever be of assistance to you as you join the Foreign Service fraternity/sorority.

Mary Hartnett  
Attorney  
Coudert Brothers  
Dublin

---

*To the Editor:*

I am writing to express my consternation about the manner in which John Underriner ("Of Elephants and Insects," August *Journal*) treats the issue of human contact with the Asian tiger in remote Thailand.

Prior to joining the Foreign Service, I lived in Alaska. Up there,

the state's Fish and Game Department does not go out and hunt down "people-eating" brown bears every time a hunter or a remote villager gets killed. On the contrary. The attitude is that the bears are not at fault. It is the risk people take when entering or living in the wilderness. Otherwise, it wouldn't be wilderness.

I hope that, when FSOs work with the difficult issue of refugee settlement, concern about the impact on the wildlife inhabiting the area of new settlements will be of greater concern in planning efforts than appears to have been the case in Thailand.

William M. Howe  
Vice Consul  
U.S. Consulate General  
Lahore

---

*To the Editor:*

Wouldn't writings on American foreign policy in the *Journal* and elsewhere, benefit from less emphasis on nuance and more on balance? I would urge attention to a better balance of negative goals (anti-terrorism to replace anti-communism) with positive ones like development of a healthy international community, which can continue unchanged.

No doubt it was containing communism that drew emotional support for U.S. foreign policy from 1946-91. Was it not, however, America's effective support of a healthy world system of nation states, as subsequent foreign policy, that gave containment at least half of its astounding success?

My father, a medical doctor with a deep interest in public affairs, once likened the anti-communists of the early Cold War era to doctors



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## LETTERS



who only worried about cancer. Whatever was wrong with you, if you went to them you got treated for cancer. Their fundamental problem, he suggested, was the focus on fighting disease rather than the less dramatic, more complex, but ultimately more constructive concern with the patient's health.

Humans are deeply fortunate that, with considerable debate, and an assist from greed as well as generosity, we retained enough optimism through the Cold War to present a constructive alternative to dying dogmas. Without this carrot, as well as the deterrence stick, could that era have had such a happy ending?

I urge my Foreign Service colleagues not to forget this crucial lesson, and to keep reminding U.S. citizens and leaders of the crucial need for positive goals as well as negative ones. Does anyone have a better suggestion for this purpose than the formulations in the issued presidential directive (NSC 68) that committed the United States to supporting a viable global system of nation states?

*Robert T. Willner*  
 Retired FSO  
 Rickreall, Ore. ■



### CORRECTIONS

The military records of former presidents George Bush and Franklin D. Roosevelt were erroneously reported in "Does Military Service Count?" (September *Journal*).

Bush served as a Navy aviator during World War II; FDR served as assistant secretary of the Navy during World War I. The *Journal* regrets the errors.

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# CLIPPINGS



*“The past several years we have not had funds to [send] the New York City Ballet to Russia [as in 1972]. Now we send out trios.”*

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## FOREIGN POLICY TURNS OFF GRADS

Seems foreign policymaking is not a career many top-notch graduates aspire to these days, according to those close to the Council on Foreign Relations, which celebrated its 75th birthday at a Sept. 30 gala.

“Les [Gelb, council president] and his Harvard Ph.D. class ... all went into foreign policy,” Gretchen Crosby, Gelb’s then-assistant, told *New York* magazine’s Eric Koningsberg. “They were the best and brightest. But the best and brightest don’t go into foreign policy today. The Clinton administration made domestic policy the place to be.”

Since the Council was founded in 1921, “equal parts think tank and gentlemen’s club, [it] was the outpost from which the engineers of the American century, the Wise Men ... devised the strategy that gave us the Cold War as a half-century of American foreign policy,” Koningsberg wrote in the magazine’s Oct. 7 issue.

Indeed, the very issues the council wrestles with today are less substantive than in the good old days before the Cold War ended. Koningsberg observes that the council’s foreign-policy portfolio “has been reduced to a *mille-feuille* of miniature problems, most of them outside Europe, involving cultures we don’t understand very well — Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia, Haiti, Iraq. The fact that diplomacy now has to do with brown people and what used to be called ‘soft issues’ — terrorism, the environment, cultural tensions and technology — makes the entire endeavor seem somewhat less central than in bygone eras.”

Even Gelb admits that foreign policy as a career track doesn’t interest many of the up and coming Big Thinkers. “Foreign policy as a career has less prestige than it used to,” Gelb told the magazine. “It is not even considered a field unto itself the way it once was. [But] this is the most exciting time to be working in foreign policy.”

## MAGS FOCUS LESS ON FOREIGN NEWS

Covers devoted to foreign news just don’t sell newsmagazines, according to a Sept. 23 article in *The New York Times*. As of that date, Time had run five international covers in 1996, compared to 11 last year. *Newsweek* also ran 11 international cover stories in 1995, but only four so far this year. *U.S. News*, which has not had a foreign news cover story yet this year, claimed six in 1995.

“Ties that bind the international community are economics, business, science and technology and culture and lifestyle,” noted Michael Elliot, editor of *Newsweek’s* International Edition. “You can’t just kind of wave your magic wand and pretend that the striped-pants diplomats’ news is as interesting as it was during the Cold War, because it plainly isn’t.”

Editors say Americans want international news that is an extension of domestic concerns, a trend editors say may be due to President Clinton’s greater focus on domestic issues than his predecessor George Bush. Maynard Parker, editor of *Newsweek*, pointed out the parallels. “You have a president who basically signalled to the American people they didn’t have to worry about for-



# CLIPPINGS

eign affairs. He wasn't going to spend that much time worrying about foreign affairs and they shouldn't either."

## CIA, FBI PROBING FSO BEFORE DISAPPEARANCE

FSO James S. Schneider, 27, was under investigation by the FBI and the CIA for mishandling missile secrets when he disappeared on Aug 30 at Shenandoah National Park, according to a Sept. 24 article in *The Washington Post*.

Before applying for a CIA position in 1995, Schneider served for three years as a surface warfare officer on the *USS Chancellorsville*. In April 1995 he applied for a CIA post, but failed a June 1995 polygraph test after being asked if he had ever discussed classified materials with foreign nationals while in the Navy, the *Post* reported.

The case was turned over to FBI agents later that June, but it was not until September 1995 that CIA officials formally notified the FBI and Naval Criminal Investigative Service about the failed polygraph.

The State Department, which had hired Schneider for the Foreign Service before he applied to the CIA, did not learn about the failed polygraph test until mid-summer of this year, when State denied Schneider access to areas with classified material. Before his disappearance, he had failed a second FBI polygraph test, and his case had been referred to the U.S. Attorney's office in Alexandria, Va., for possible criminal investigation.

On Sept. 12, the *Post* reported the disappearance of Schneider, who it said was about to begin his first posting for

the Foreign Service in Greece. He had last been seen Aug. 30 at the Big Meadows Lodge, about 10 miles south of the parking area where his rented car was discovered by rangers, the paper reported.

## AMBASSADOR SMITH DEBUTS ON SCREEN

Jean Kennedy Smith, U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Ireland, has been criticized for her walk-on role in the highly political film, "Michael Collins," which opened last month in Washington, D.C. In a Sept. 17 issue of *The Washington Post*, Smith joked about her brief appearance: "If you blink, you miss it."

In a Sept. 21 *Post* article, Smith's role was lambasted by Northern Ireland's Protestant politicians, whose distaste for the political appointee began in 1994 when she helped get Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams a tourist visa to visit Washington, where he was a guest at the White House.

"If you can have a pseudo-diplomat, no doubt you can have a pseudo-actress," quipped Ken Maginnis, a legislator with the Ulster Unionists, the largest Protestant vote-getter in Northern Ireland. He called her performance "indicative of the political bias of the Clinton regime — soaked in Irish Republicanism."

Despite the criticism, Smith enjoyed her acting debut. She spent a September morning in Dublin filming the scene where she points Collins, the Irish Republican guerrilla leader (played by Liam Neeson) assassinated in 1922, toward escape as he battles the British to free Ireland from imperial

# 50 YEARS AGO

Apparently, U.S. diplomats have long been favorite targets of newspaper editors and columnists. "What I like about our American foreign policy is that it sleeps home at night," opined Arthur "Bugs" Baer in an editorial in the *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, entitled "Bugs: Diplomats As Errand Boys," and which was reprinted in the October 1946 *Foreign Service Journal*.

"It proves that an ambassador is merely an errand boy who knows what's in the bundle, but he has no more say-so than a busted record.

"That goes for all diplomats and all nations. ... What you need to remember about any diplomat is that his thinking is prepared, predigest and prepaid."

Before leaving Washington, he is given a million units of repetitious penicillin."

## CLIPPINGS



*"An imprecise  
foreign policy  
is no policy  
at all.  
It means  
aspiration  
only."*

— HAROLD NICOLSON,  
BRITISH DIPLOMAT

rule. "It was great fun," Smith said. "And my co-star Liam Neeson said I had great potential as an actress."

Smith agreed to perform the role, requested by film director Neil Jordan, after being granted permission by the State Department. But in accordance with department regulations, Smith will not receive payment nor have her name appear in the closing credits.

### DIPLOMATS' BALL RAISES \$500,000

The National Multiple Sclerosis Society raised more than \$500,000 this year at the Sept. 19 Ambassadors Ball, the annual tribute to the diplomatic corps that the society has organized for the last 18 years. The balls, which have raised \$5 million in the last five years,

used to be hosted by the White House until President Jimmy Carter discontinued the practice, *The Washington Post* reported on Sept. 20.

"They [the diplomats] are always there for us," noted society Executive Director Jeanne Oatesangulo, who pointed out the enormous fundraising potential with its draw of ambassadors, corporate leaders and other Washington luminaries. "They make their embassies available and attend different fundraisers. ... [The idea is to] "make it festive and have a lot of fun, and we do it for the right reason, which is the cure of MS, to help people who have it and their families."

The "splashy affair of champagne, sumptuous food and expensive gowns," attended by foreign and American envoys, also draws congressional legislators, the *Post* reported. ■

## J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST

### AN INVITATION TO PROPOSE PROJECTS FOR FUNDING BY THE J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST

The J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust is a charitable fund recently established in the memory of Kirby Simon, a Foreign Service Officer who died in 1995 while serving in Taiwan. The Trust is committed to improving the opportunities for effective service, professional fulfillment and personal well-being of active Foreign Service Officers and their families. The Trust has been funded with contributions from Kirby Simon's colleagues, friends and relatives and other persons interested in the purposes of the Trust. The Trustees are present or former members of the Foreign Service - State Department community and Kirby Simon's parents.

During its early years, the Trust will be principally engaged in the support of projects that are initiated and carried out, not in an official capacity and not on official time, by Foreign Service personnel or members of their families, acting alone or in collaboration with others. In view of the Trust's central concern with the life and work of active Foreign Service Officers, it is expected that most of the Trust's projects will be undertaken by FSOs or their family members. The Trust will, however, consider proposals from other Foreign Service personnel and from U.S. Government employees, regardless of nationality, employed at American diplomatic posts abroad.

Each year the Trust will make grants of up to \$10,000 in support of one or a number of projects proposed in response to this invitation. (The projects may last longer than one year.)

It is expected that projects funded by the Trust will reflect a variety of interests, approaches and styles. For example, the recipient of a Trust grant might conduct educational, cultural, social service or technical assistance activities that serve host country citizens (perhaps in cooperation with host country voluntary organizations). Another project might be a study of governmental policies affecting FSOs' opportunities for service and achievement or affecting their personal and family circumstances - or an exploration of new initiatives (public or private) to enhance these opportunities and circumstances. A Trust grant could also be used to increase public awareness of the work of the Foreign Service and the lives of its members. Another Trust-supported project could seek to expand knowledge and stimulate thought, within the State Department and related agencies, about selected foreign policy and international relations topics (including human rights and environmental issues).

These possible projects are mentioned only for illustration. The Trust will welcome other proposals, consistent with the general goals of the Trust.

Grants provided by the Trust can be used to defray a wide range of project expenses, such as travel and data collection costs, acquisition of equipment and materials (e.g., books, tapes, sports supplies, musical instruments), fees to non-Foreign Service personnel for research and publication assistance, and reproduction or dissemination of materials. Grant funds from the Trust, however, cannot be used to pay salaries or other forms of compensation to U.S. Government employees or their family members.

Foreign Service personnel and members of their families are invited to submit proposals to the Trust. A proposal should include a description of the project and what it is intended to achieve, a preliminary plan for disseminating the products of or lessons learned from the project, a budget and a brief biography of the proposer or proposers. Proposals should not be longer than five double-spaced pages (exclusive of the budget and biographical material).

Proposals for projects to be funded during calendar year 1997 should be received by the Trust as early as possible in 1997 and no later than March 1.

Proposals should be sent to: J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust, 82 Edgehill Road, New Haven, CT 06511, U.S.A., FAX: 203-432-0063

*Inquiries should be directed to the above address or fax number, by phone to 203-432-2698 or by e-mail to [simon@mail.law.yale.edu](mailto:simon@mail.law.yale.edu).*





# SPEAKING OUT

*Give FSNs More Respect, Rewards, Opportunities*

BY CARMAN CUNNINGHAM

**W**arning! This is being written by an INFJ, in other words, a Foreign Service misfit. According to results of the Myers Briggs test, which I took during inspectors' training at the Foreign Service Institute, there are very few of INFJs in the United States, much less at the State Department. As an "I," I am an introvert, thus have an aversion to representational events. As an "N" I am intuitive, "sensing the world beyond the logical limitation of the senses." Those with a preference for "F" like dealing with people and are "sympathetic, appreciative and tactful." And, as a "J," I have a judging attitude towards life and "live in a planned, orderly way." By implication, and according to the test administrator, I was not likely to succeed or be happy in the Foreign Service community. And yet I did, and I was, for more than 35 years.

While the number of years I spent as a member of the foreign

*Carman Cunningham, a retired FSO, has been a member of the Foreign Service community since 1960. Then known as Carman C. Williams, she was a FS spouse and embassy employee from 1960-74; she was an FSN after retirement in Melbourne, Australia, from 1990-93. As an FSO from 1975-90, she served in Tijuana, Mex.; Port-au-Prince; Marseilles, France; Paris; Melbourne and Washington, D.C.*

*As an FSO I  
always felt  
overpaid for the  
work I did; as an  
FSN I felt  
underpaid and  
underprivileged.  
And most FSNs  
work as hard, if  
not harder, than  
many FSOs.*



affairs community is not extraordinary, how I spent them may be unique. I have been a dependent spouse, a commissary employee, a Civil Service employee, Foreign Service staffer in a not-to-exceed 90-day appointment for more than two years, a Foreign Agricultural Service secretary, a communicator, an FSO, a Foreign Service retiree, a member of the Foreign Service Reserve Corps, and a Foreign Service National (FSN). It was

during my stint as an FSN that I developed a new perspective.

After retiring from the Foreign Service, I worked as an FSN for several years. I cannot say enough in praise of my FSN colleagues. Most FSNs work as hard, if not harder, than many FSOs. FSNs see Americans come and go; they receive inconsistent and, often, contradictory orders. I worked at a post where, prior to my FSN appointment, the section chief and the vice consul did not get along. They eventually stopped speaking to each another and would communicate only through the FSNs. "Go tell fatso ..." and similar insults prefaced their comments to the message bearer. Although this was a small post with only seven American officers, the consul general never appeared to be aware nor lifted a finger to intervene in a situation that required immediate supervisory action. Eventually transfers "solved" the problem.

**F**SNs do much more than is required of them. Many of the tasks they perform, such as explaining to an irate public why someone has been denied a visa, or why a requested service cannot be performed, really should be done by American staff. The decision to deny a visa or refuse a service is made by an FSO, yet all too often, it's the FSN who defends an adverse decision to applicants, travel agents, families, friends and

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## SPEAKING OUT

attorneys. Only when a tense situation escalates does an FSO intercede, and then, nine times out of 10, the FSO exercises his prerogative to overturn the original decision, leaving the FSN in the villain's role.

As an FSO I always felt overpaid for the work I did; as an FSN I felt underpaid and underprivileged, although in all fairness, most FSNs consider themselves well paid by local standards. In front of FSNs, I have heard Americans place their duty free liquor orders and discuss their paid rest and recreation vacations, their profits from the sale of cars, their tax rebates, and their differential, housing and hardship allowances. FSNs see glossy mail order catalogs and watch huge boxes with cheap goods arrive, but not for them. I have heard Americans speak disparagingly of their post in front of nationals of that country. I have seen FSOs arrive late, leave early, read newspapers and do crossword puzzles on the job. I know one FSO who wrote a book on the job. Some FSOs come back from lunch reeking of alcohol. At a post in Latin America, an FSN not only gathered all the information for required reporting, he and I, the secretary, wrote the reports. The drunken officer — our boss — signed off on them, classified them, sent them to headquarters and was promoted for his efforts. However, I have never seen this behavior exhibited by an FSN.

The primary reason consular sections run as well as they do is thanks to FSNs. Not only do they make the factory run, they are often left in charge of training first-tour officers, some of whom have swallowed the myth — hook,

## SPEAKING OUT

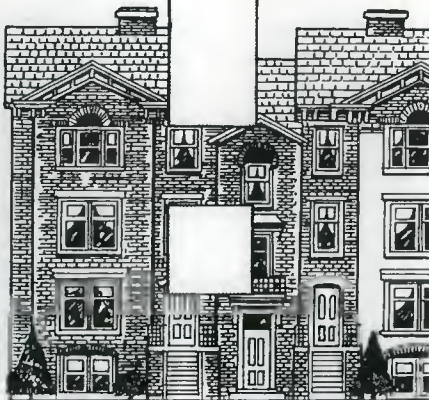


line and sinker — that FSOs are American society's elite. Even the best new FSOs rely on FSNs for the post's institutional memory, technical skills and encyclopedic knowledge of arcane regulations in the country. FSNs nurture neophytes, teaching without seeming to do so, without bruising delicate egos. In many instances, the servant is more mature and more highly skilled than the master or mistress in charge.

There are times when American embassy employees treat FSNs callously. I know of a post where, although its closure had been announced months previously, severance pay for FSNs was not provided on time. When the pay finally arrived, one of the then former employees had not been credited with his unused leave. Four months later, he still had not been paid the money owed to him. A great deal of useless finger-pointing went on; a team of inspectors who happened to visit the post at the time was not interested in the case and declined to take it up with the regional finance office. It is inexcusable to treat U.S. government employees this way. If America is prepared to condemn those who violate human rights abroad, why can't it ensure its own employees share at least some of the protections and rewards federal employment guarantees U.S. citizens? In many posts abroad, FSNs are not even considered third-class citizens.

Embassy security regulations are another means of insulting and demeaning FSNs. No matter how many years of loyal service they have given, no matter what their nationality, we deny FSNs access to controlled materials and to "sensitive" areas of the building.

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## SPEAKING OUT

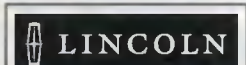
In addition to the superior attitude some Americans display toward FSNs, they also are led to believe they will receive training, and will travel to other posts and to Washington for consultation and professional development. This, however, rarely happens. Too often, there are "no funds available." How many times have they heard that? At the attainment of a certain rank, and after so many years of service, a trip to the United States should be mandatory for FSNs, just as home leave is for U.S. embassy employees. In respect to training, for each new piece of hardware or software installed at post, the State Department should require a pre-determined number of training hours be certified by post management. By the same token, all regulation changes should be discussed in frequent FSN staff meetings and so certified by a supervisor.

All FSNs understand that they are subject to promotion and salary caps and that they usually hit the ceiling early in their careers. There are, however, other means by which deserving employees can be rewarded. There are many informal ways to acknowledge efforts: letters, flowers, candy, lunch, a telephone call of thanks, or kind words from the ambassador or other high-level supervisor. It's amazing that ambassadors, deputy chiefs of mission and consuls general are not sufficiently motivated to spend two hours per week in each embassy section to discuss FSN concerns. One year my post was rated the most efficient nonimmigrant visa post in the world, but not one word of recognition was heard from a supervisor.

In addition to the training certification and mandatory travel men-

tioned previously, what else can the Department do to improve the lot of FSNs? I believe that Foreign Service inspectors should be tasked with responsibility for FSNs. I'm not talking about perfunctory meetings where the administrative inspector tells assembled FSNs how much they are appreciated and asks for comments from the floor. I'm suggesting pre-inspection FSN questionnaires that address deficiency and efficiency issues. Responses would alert the inspectors to present and potential problems that require official action. All senior FSNs should be interviewed by an inspector and encouraged to provide confidential views on management. From experience, I know FSNs have many insightful suggestions on how to manage a daily workload more effectively. Where there is no ombudsperson, it's only through inspectors that FSNs can speak openly and, in far too many cases, be guaranteed a hearing never given by a supervisor. As an inspector who talked to FSNs, I discovered that FSNs are sometimes aware of malfeasance when Americans employees are not. But, in general, FSNs do not understand the inspection process and are given no opportunity to share the potential benefits of their wisdom and experience.

No matter how elaborate the superstructure, an institution is only as strong as its foundation. At overseas posts, FSN employees are the foundation. FSNs are dedicated and hard-working now, and with projected staff reductions, more FSNs will be the ones called on to do "more with less." If the U.S. government expects this, it must be assured that it, too, is doing its best by FSNs. ■



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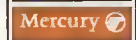
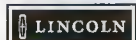
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# THE ISSUE OF RACE, ETHNICITY

**A**fter three decades of affirmative action pushes, diversity drives, minority recruiting programs and court-ordered mandates, the Foreign Service still significantly lags behind other federal employers in hiring and retaining minorities. The news is worst for black males: There are fewer black male FSOs today than a decade ago.

As in the general American workforce, racial and ethnic discrimination is the most common complaint of employment bias in the Foreign Service — and there are signs that the climate may only worsen. “How can the Foreign Service be effective in doing business around a world whose majority of inhabitants are non-white, when it discriminates against its own non-white employees?” asks Theresa Watson, an attorney for the black FSOs in a class-action racial discrimination lawsuit that has been pending since 1986.

U.S. District Court Judge Stanley Sporkin, who presided over the negotiation of a settlement offered in June, criticized the State Department managers for not resolving the discrimination issue themselves. “I marvel at the idea to think that [State officials] can settle all these problems throughout the world but can’t work to settle a couple of employment problems,” he said,

according to court transcripts. “You shouldn’t be having an adversarial relationship with these people just because of their color. ... You’re a government agency. You could be doing that without even having these people put you under a decree. It’s doing what’s right.”

The racial makeup of the Foreign Service contingent of the State Department, the agency that employs 80 percent of FSOs, included 79 percent of whites and 11 percent of minorities in 1995, according to figures provided by the office of the director general of the

Foreign Service. In the Senior Foreign Service, the highest-paying ranks from which ambassadors and other policymakers are chosen, the numbers were more telling: A whopping 93 percent were white, and only 7 percent were minorities. Only black and Asian women have increased their representation in the Service since 1993, with black males losing ground, and Hispanic men and women holding steady. At the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the racial makeup of FS employees in 1995 was 72 percent white. At the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), whites made up 88 percent of the Foreign Service workforce. Of the 12 percent who were minorities, 7.7 percent were black, 1.9 percent were Hispanic, 1.8 percent were Asian and .1 percent were Native American.



LINA CHESAK

**DESPITE DIVERSITY PUSH,  
THOMAS SUIT, MINORITIES  
STILL UNDERREPRESENTED**

*By FRANCINE MODDERNO*

## F O C U S

### *Racial and ethnic discrimination is the most common complaint of employment bias in the Foreign Service — and there are signs that the climate may worsen.*

These figures aren't news for the Foreign Service, which has been damned in various public and private reports for not being serious about increasing minorities in its ranks. Although a General Accounting Office (GAO) report of September 1995 praised State for making some progress in increasing the number of minorities in its workforce between 1984 and 1992, it found underrepresentation of Hispanics, Asians and Native Americans, especially relative to their percentages in the general U.S. population. The GAO also criticized State's personnel office for failing to seriously implement recommendations on tracking promotion rates by minority groups and for failing to adequately monitor the results of affirmative action programs.

FS employees can file discrimination complaints either through their respective agency's grievance counselors (with appeals to the Foreign Service Grievance Board or FSGB), or to their respective agency's Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) office (with appeals to the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission or EEOC). According to State's EEO office, 38 race-bias complaints were recorded in fiscal 1995, including 26 from blacks, seven from whites, four from Hispanics and one from a Native American. Figures were unavailable for fiscal 1994 and fiscal 1996. At USAID's EEO office, four race-bias complaints were reported in fiscal 1996, including three by black males and one by a white male; three in fiscal 1995, including one by an Hispanic male, another by a white male and another by a white female; and three in fiscal 1994, including two by black males and one by a white male. At USIA's EEO office, three complaints were filed in fiscal 1996,

two in fiscal 1995 and one in fiscal 1994. The figures represent only the number of formally filed EEO complaints; an estimated 90 percent of all conflicts are resolved informally through dispute resolution or EEO negotiation. The FSGB, where more serious bias complaints tend to be filed, declined to provide figures, saying it does not file complaints by type, but whether they are financial disputes or job assessment issues.

Minority races and ethnic groups have been protected against employment discrimination under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, which prohibits "discrimination in hiring, promotion, discharge, pay, fringe benefits, job training, classification, referral and other aspects of employment on the basis of ... race and ethnicity." That same year, public workers were specifically protected by an executive order by President Richard M. Nixon, which not only prohibits racial discrimination on the job, but mandates "affirmative action to ensure equality of opportunity in all aspects of employment."

Complaints of racial discrimination have been relatively stable in America's public and private-sector workplaces over the last five years, but have consistently remained the No. 1 complaint, according to the EEOC. In fiscal 1995, 29,986 complaints were filed, compared to 29,121 in fiscal 1990. The EEOC does not track private and public-sector employees in its annual totals.

President Ulysses S. Grant took the first step toward diversifying U.S. diplomatic representation after the Civil War, when he appointed two black men as envoys, one to Haiti and the other to Liberia. Ebenezer Don Carlos Bassett, a Yale graduate and the principal of Colored High School of Philadelphia, became the first American minister and

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*Francine Modderno is a former Foreign Service spouse who is now a freelance writer in the Washington, D.C., area.*

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consul general to Haiti; James Milton Turner, a Missouri educator and politician, was named minister and consul general to Liberia. By 1908, 11 black men were serving in the Foreign Service. Clifton Wharton, who would become U.S. ambassador to Norway, became in 1925 the first black to pass the Foreign Service exam — for the first time required for applicants under the 1924 Rogers Act.

President Harry Truman named the first black ambassador, Edward R. Dudley, as U.S. envoy to Liberia in 1949. According to Terence Todman, a recently retired career ambassador who was the highest-ranking black FSO in Foreign Service history, a major turning point was in 1958, when John Morrow was named ambassador to Guinea, the first time a black had been named to a country other than Liberia. "The appointment accentuated a tendency to send black Americans primarily to Africa, which continues to this day," he said in a 1989 speech on the history of blacks in the Foreign Service.

However, neither blacks nor other minorities made much headway in the Service until the U.S. civil rights movement swept the country in the mid-1960s. When that decade opened, only 17 of 3,732 FSOs were black. Movement was also aided by the progressive policies of presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. In 1963, the Kennedy administration established an equal employment opportunity program to recruit blacks and other minorities for government service, appointed blacks to the FS Board of Examiners and the State Department's promotion boards, and launched a grant program, The Foreign Affairs Scholars Program, to encourage minorities to study foreign affairs.

The year 1964 was a turning point for blacks in the Foreign Service, culminating in the passage of the Civil Rights Act and a revised Foreign Service Act. A flurry of programs to recruit minorities into the Foreign Service would follow, including a 1964 program to draw 20 minorities annually to form a Foreign Service reserve corps; a 1969 mid-career recruiting program; a 1975 program to recruit 30 minority and female employees annually; and a 1992 fellowship program that finances minorities' educations in return for promises to serve as FSOs for at least four years after graduation.

President Jimmy Carter, backed by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, was credited with increasing the

number of black political appointees as ambassadors between 1977 and 1981. Three black women political appointees were named: historian Mabel Smythe to Cameroon, civil rights leader Anne Holloway to Mali and Barbara Watson to Malaysia. And for the first time in history, a record number of black ambassadors were named to non-African posts, breaking one of the most profound discriminatory practices in Foreign Service history. Blacks were named to Romania, West Germany, Burma, Haiti and Trinidad and Tobago. During this period, Todman himself was named ambassador to Spain. Carter's appointment of Andrew Young as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, the first time a black had been named to such a high-profile policymaking level in U.S. government, became an important milestone for minorities as well.

During the Reagan administration, 11 black career diplomats were named as ambassadors. Fewer black ambassadors were appointed in the Bush administration, although black appointees fared better during Clinton's first four years.

**A**nother ugly chapter of ethnic bias in the Foreign Service was the State Department's treatment of Jews, particularly in the 1920s and '30s. After the Service was professionalized in 1924, various unwanted minority groups were excluded differently, according to Martin Weil's 1978 book, *A Pretty Good Club*. "If a black slipped through the net, he was sent to Liberia until he resigned. Women were sent to the jungles of South America. Jews could not be handled as crassly, but they were made to feel unwelcome and shut out of the better assignments."

When Herbert Hoover was Secretary of Commerce and an aspiring presidential candidate, he tried to fight the State Department diplomats' prejudice. "The diplomats had refused to cooperate with Hoover's foreign trade division because they felt he relied too heavily on Jewish economists for advice," Weil wrote. "Outraged at their snobbishness, Hoover determined to clean out the department if he became president." As the decade wound to a close, Jews succeeded in achieving more of a toehold in government service, in part because of the pervasive anti-Semitism that still raged in the private sector.



## GOODFELLAS

BY GEORGE GEDDA

Two months ago, 38 new recruits officially joined the Foreign Service in a ceremony that in many ways mirrored the previous 78 such occasions. There were the usual hugs, picture-taking, backslapping and speechmaking. But this particular graduating class was unique: It included the first crop of officers under the 1992 Foreign Service Fellows Program, one of the federal government's most pricey and far-reaching diversity initiatives. Of the 38 who took the oath, seven were fellows: three of Asian descent, three blacks and one Hispanic.

Diversity, particularly in regard to race and gender, has been an elusive goal of successive secretaries of State for almost a generation. With its largely white, male, Anglo population, State seemed to be out of step with private-sector trends to be more open to women and minorities — and had been put on the defensive by a 1976 class action lawsuit by women and a 1986 one by blacks, both charging discrimination.

The department has tried to lure blacks through advertisements in minority print media and broadcast outlets but with little success. Subsequent aggressive recruiting brought mixed results, attracting greater numbers of women recruits, but few black males. Indeed, between 1983 and 1995, the number of black male FSOs in the Foreign Service actually dropped — from 160 to 142. Meanwhile, the number of women, both minority and non-minority, leaped from 705 to 1,275 during the same period. One of the least productive minority recruiting drives occurred in what are known as the HBCUs — historically black colleges and universities. An official familiar with the program said the 20-year effort did not yield a single FSO by the end of 1990.

At one point, the State Department rigged written exam test scores, passing some minority candidates

with scores even lower than white competitors who were told they had failing grades.

One of the problems, of course, is State's difficulty in competing for talented blacks with large corporations, which routinely offer \$60,000 or more at entry level compared with the department's starting range of \$30,000 to \$40,000. Another drawback for State is the long wait, often up to two years, between recruitment and actual hiring.

Sensing that bold action was required, State adopted the fellows program four years ago, at an estimated cost of \$100,000 per fellow. Promising women and minorities are given three years of taxpayer-financed scholarships at the undergraduate and graduate levels and two summer internships, one at the department and one overseas. The department receives a four-year commitment as an FSO from each fellow. Dropouts are required to repay the funds.

In addition to the seven sworn in on Sept. 13, 31 others are due to become FSOs in the next few years. Of the total, 23 are women, 15 are men, 18 are black, 10 are Hispanic and nine are of Asian descent. One member is a white woman. A big plus for the department is that the group brings an extraordinary array of language skills, so many won't require language training, which is expensive and time-consuming.

The program showed the State Department was serious about breaking up the close-knit, mostly white male fraternity that has historically dominated the Foreign Service. Two fellows, fearing the environment at State would not be hospitable to them, said they would have gravitated toward other careers were it not for the program.

Recent court decisions already have had an impact on the program. This summer, Anthony C.E. Quainton, the director general of the Foreign Service, decided all fellows would be mandated to take written and oral exams to become FSOs, a requirement he had considered waiving when the program was launched. ■

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*George Gedda is the diplomatic correspondent for the Associated Press.*

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During the 1930s, particularly during the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, anti-Semitism became more subtle as the Foreign Service assimilated more Jewish FSOs and the Jewish cultured intelligentsia became more accepted in Washington. "The large Jewish vote in New York and Roosevelt's reliance on Jewish intellectuals and reformers for some of his programmatic innovations made it quite impossible for him to indulge the anti-Semitic predilections of the diplomats," according to Weil.

Although anti-Semitism remained a fact of life for several decades more at the State Department and other federal agencies, Jews would find themselves more assimilated into the State Department, as well as the country in general, after the civil rights movement of the 1960s ushered in the concept of equal rights for minorities.

Today the State Department is a much different place for Jews, according to Jess Hordes of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League in Washington. "We don't really have a strong sense that anti-Semitism is occurring right now in the State Department," he said. "Periodically, but not that frequently, we do get calls from Foreign Service officers who feel they've been discriminated against because they're Jewish, but I cannot say they have been at all very frequent."

**I**t would take the efforts of a white woman to set in motion a series of lawsuits that would eventually force the Foreign Service to pay attention to the way minority FSOs were recruited, hired, promoted and rewarded.

An agreement in FSO Alison Palmer's 1976 lawsuit charging sex discrimination was announced last February. During the 20 years the suit wended its way through the court system, statistics emerged during testimony that proved the Foreign Service entrance exam was culturally biased, which supported the belief of many of the pervasiveness of bias in the Foreign Service.

Following the lead of the Palmer case plaintiffs, black FSOs Walter Thomas and Bernard Johns launched a class-action suit in 1986 against the State Department, claiming racial discrimination in employment practices. *Thomas v. Christopher*, which originally named 30 plaintiffs, would later be expanded to include 358 black generalists who were in the Foreign

Service from Jan. 20, 1984, through March 22 of this year. Although a settlement among the parties was proposed in June, 17 of the plaintiffs were granted permission last month to opt out of that agreement, freeing them to file individual lawsuits in the case.

The settlement, expected to be signed by the end of the year, requires the Foreign Service to mandate diversity training for all FSOs and to create an Equality Council overseeing hiring and promotion of minorities. Individual monetary rewards to litigants range from \$2,000 to \$80,000. The settlement also provides for varied numbers of retroactive promotions, FSO reinstatements and other personnel adjustments.

The 17 litigants, who include Thomas, wanted to withdraw, claiming the court mandates are unfair and individual compensation sums are inadequate. Thomas, who would have received \$70,000, says the decree excluded him from receiving retroactive promotion pay and that the financial offer does not fairly compensate him for the \$750,000 he lost in salary and retirement benefits, according to court testimony. In an interview, Thomas also said one group of his attorneys never consulted him about the settlement, an allegation denied by one of those lawyers. The plaintiffs have 60 days after the settlement is signed to file individual cases.

**N**o one knows how much longer the specter of Walter Thomas will hover over the Foreign Service, but if he decides to pursue an individual case in the court system, attorneys say his case will be echoing in the halls of State for another decade — or maybe longer.

The seeds of the Thomas suit were planted in 1984, when the FSO filed a complaint with State's EEO office after being selected out of the Service after 10 years, having been told he was "not Foreign Service material," according to records.

His EEO complaint remained unresolved, and in 1986 he filed suit against the State Department in U.S. District Court. He alleges State repeatedly discriminated against him by failing to promote him, by restricting his assignments, by unfairly evaluating his work, by unjustly firing him, and by retaliating against him for previously filed complaints, according to court records.

Thomas, now a bilingual education consultant in Northern Virginia, has a long history of charging dis-

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*It would not be the last time in Thomas' government career that he would decide to fight back against what he perceived as racial bias, according to court records.*

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crimination in the federal workplace. After studying foreign affairs and languages at Boston University, Howard University and Georgetown University, he entered the Peace Corps in 1972, hoping his experience would help land him a job in the Foreign Service. In 1974, after serving as the corps' associate country director for Venezuela, his new boss wanted to replace him. Believing he was being subjected to racial bias, Thomas filed an administrative appeal against the agency.

While the appeal was pending in 1975, he applied for a transfer from the Peace Corps to the Foreign Service, under a new mid-level hiring program to recruit 30 minority and female employees annually. He achieved a high pass on his oral exam, was issued a medical clearance and received initial approval of a security clearance. However, shortly afterwards, his medical clearance was pulled following a bizarre series of events that the EEO office later determined served to block him from the Foreign Service. Thomas's attorneys believed State had branded their client a troublemaker for filing the EEO complaint against his boss at the Peace Corps.

He promptly filed a complaint with State's EEO office. It would not be the last time in Thomas' government career that he would decide to fight back against what he perceived as racial bias, according to court records. According to a 1977 statement published in the *Congressional Record*, U.S. Rep. Joseph Moakley (D-Mass), believed Thomas had clearly been a victim. "The ingenious bureaucrats at the State Department have figured out a method for dealing with such situations when they strongly desire not to hire an otherwise qualified person," he said in a statement on the floor of Congress, after Thomas had contacted him for support weeks earlier.

**A**s the State Department waits for the dust to settle in the Thomas suit, the results of which will likely rewrite standards for minority employ-

ment practices in the Foreign Service, other racial and ethnic groups are beginning to demand fair play as well.

The Hispanic Employees Council of the Foreign Affairs Agencies (HECFAA) is considering whether to file a class-action suit against the State Department for discriminating in the promotions of more than 200 FSOs with Hispanic names and surnames, according to HECFAA's president, Daniel Santos. The organization represents more than 1,000 Hispanics at the State Department, USAID, USIA and the Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS). Santos says a statistical study of its members showed that 100 of those with Hispanic surnames took an average of 14.9 years to move from FS-5 up to FS-1, compared to 13.2 years for 100 members with non-Hispanic surnames.

Hispanics, which make up 5.9 percent of the federal workforce, are underrepresented in 38 of the 40 federal agencies, including at 16 of the 17 independent agencies, according to the GAO report. The State Department was about mid-way down on that list, with Hispanics making up only 3.9 percent of the department's workforce in fiscal 1995, compared to 10.2 percent of the U.S. workforce in general.

A recent EEO office report claimed that Hispanics constituted 4.2 percent of the Foreign Service, 3.3 percent of its specialists, and 3.6 percent of Civil Service employees at the State Department in fiscal 1995. At USIA, Hispanics comprise only 5.5 percent of employees, and 2 percent of its Foreign Service employees.

Foreign Service employees of Asian and Pacific Island descent have been quietly but persistently fighting their own discrimination battles, according to former FSO Corazon Foley, chairwoman of the Asian Pacific American Federal Foreign Affairs Council. Since the council was founded in 1981, its leadership has advised several Foreign Service employees on how to pursue their complaints legally. She said "a number" of employees have won a variety of cash awards after

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filing racial discrimination complaints. She declined to detail the sums of those awards or which agencies were involved.

"We Asian Americans are very hardworking people and we do our job and our philosophy when something happens is just to quietly hire a lawyer and sue 'em," she said, saying that the group does not encourage class-action suits because they are slow and ineffective in addressing individuals' concerns.

An estimated 3 percent of State's generalists and 2.2 percent of its Foreign Service specialists are of Asian and Pacific Island descent, compared to 3.3 percent of the general U.S. population, according to the GAO report. With 6.3 percent of its workforce of Asian descent, USIA had the highest percentage of that minority of any federal agency.

Native Americans, who comprise 1.7 percent of the federal workforce and .5 percent of the total U.S. workforce, are also underrepresented in the federal agencies, according to the GAO report. State's per-

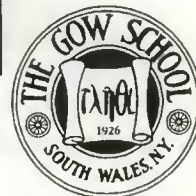
centage of that minority group was .2 percent in fiscal 1995, or nine employees — dead last of all federal agencies. USIA reported only one Native American that year; figures for USAID were unavailable.

**W**hile America's melting pot has become increasingly multiracial, it may have begun to boil over in the Foreign Service, where diversity programs have infiltrated every tier of the employment process. Government-mandated affirmative action policies at the federal and state hiring levels have been increasingly under attack.

The Civil Rights Act of 1991, which overturned a series of Supreme Court decisions between 1988 and 1991 that set more difficult standards in proving bias, helped plaintiffs bring discrimination suits. However, in a critical decision last year in *Adarand vs. Peña*, the Supreme Court ruled that federal affirmative action programs using racial and ethnic criteria to make employment decisions are subject to strict judi-

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cial scrutiny and that "any use of quotas must serve a compelling governmental interest." Civil rights advocates say that "compelling governmental interest" is found in the words of the Foreign Service Act, which recommends "members of the Foreign Service be representative of the American people."

However, even if affirmative action programs are overturned or watered down, that doesn't mean the need for them has disappeared. Racial bias is still alive and well in the federal workplace according to a 1995 report of the Merit Systems Protection Board of Civil Service Personnel Management, an independent agency tasked with verifying that federal employment practices conform with the merit-principle system mandated by law. The board found that differences in the job experiences of minorities are "due, in some measure, at least, to the influence of subtle race and sex-based biases that continue to influence subjective judgments on employment-related matters," according to the report. These dif-

ferences in perceptions between minorities and whites suggest that all sides "have great difficulty in understanding or accepting the others' perspective," it concluded. Even when differences in background and education were adjusted for equity, women and minorities still earned lower salaries than did white males, the report noted.

The State Department maintains that congressional funding cuts have increased competition for Foreign Service jobs. The suggestion is that shrinking budgets prevent State from doing more to foster diversity. Yet history has shown that equality cannot be viewed as an economic luxury when resources are scarce. It is the very argument used by supporters of slavery during the Civil War, who argued that it was a necessary evil to sustain the South's economy. Argued the man who freed those slaves, Abraham Lincoln, "In due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all ... and that all should have an equal chance." ■

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# THE ISSUE OF GENDER

**W**hen the idealistic twentysomething Alison Palmer, an African studies degree in hand, was accepted into the Foreign Service in 1960, she dreamed of being posted somewhere on the African continent as a political officer, the critical front-line diplomat who keeps Washington in the know.

But what Palmer, who would never realize her dream of becoming a political officer overseas, never considered was the nightmare her ambition would launch, giving her a place in U.S. history not for her insightful political reporting but for becoming the first woman to file a sex discrimination lawsuit against the State Department.

The Palmer case, settled in February after 20 years in the courts, has had major ramifications in the Foreign Service, prompting the most successful affirmative action program in its history, opening doors and crashing ceilings for women — particularly white women — at all foreign affairs agencies. A 1995 composite of the Foreign Service showed that 28 percent at State, which employs 80 percent of all FS employees, were female — 24 percent white and 4 percent minority. However, in the Senior

Foreign Service, the highest levels from which policymakers and ambassadors are drawn, only 10 percent were women in 1995 — 9 percent white and 1 percent minority.

Women, particularly white females, have done exceptionally well this year at the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), although specific figures were unavailable. However, in fiscal 1995 women made up 21 percent of the Foreign Service slots at that agency, despite large layoffs that have decimated its workforce by one-third in the last five years.

At the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), women have also fared well, despite recent attrition, layoffs and transfers. In 1995, women made up 36 percent of the Foreign Service pool at USIA.

Low as those numbers are, they're much better than in 1975, when women constituted only 9 percent of the Foreign Service at State and were concentrated at its lowest salary levels and in the consular cone. Comparable 1975 figures for USAID and USIA were unavailable.

FS employees can file discrimination complaints either through their respective agency's grievance counselors (with appeals to the Foreign Service Grievance Board or FSGB), or to their respective agency's Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) office (with appeals to the federal Equal



LINA CHESAK

**DESPITE PALMER CASE,  
MINORITY WOMEN HAVEN'T  
COME A LONG WAY, BABY**

*BY DAN KUBISKE*

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*The term "Palmer case" has long been State shorthand for sex discrimination, and Palmer matters have been vexing secretaries of State from Kissinger to Christopher.*

Employment Opportunity Commission or EEOC). According to State's EEO office, 34 sex-bias complaints were recorded in fiscal 1995, including 28 by women and six by men; figures were unavailable for fiscal 1996 and 1994. At USAID's EEO office, three gender-bias complaints were reported in fiscal 1996, including two by black males; two in fiscal 1995, both by white women; and three in fiscal 1994, including two by white women and one by a white male. At USIA's EEO office, three complaints were filed in fiscal 1996, two in fiscal 1995 and one in fiscal 1994. The figures represent only the number of complaints formally filed as EEO cases; an estimated 90 percent of all conflicts are resolved informally through dispute resolution or EEO negotiation. The FSGB, where more serious bias complaints tend to be filed, declined to provide recent figures, saying it does not file complaints by type, but by whether they are financial disputes or job assessment issues.

Despite substantial progress, sex discrimination is still the second most common complaint of Foreign Service employees and the No. 2 complaint in the American workforce as well, according to EEOC, the federal agency that oversees compliance with the law. In fact, EEOC numbers indicate the number of complaints on the job across America has risen steadily since fiscal 1990, from 17,815 complaints that year to 26,181 in fiscal 1995. EEOC does not distinguish complaints between the public and private sector.

Women have been protected against employment discrimination on the basis of gender under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Equal

Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, which prohibits "discrimination in hiring, promotion, discharge, pay, fringe benefits, job training, classification, referral and other aspects of employment on the basis of ... sex." That same year, public workers were specifically protected by an executive order by President Richard M. Nixon, which not only prohibits sex discrimination on the job, but mandates "affirmative action to ensure equality of opportunity in all aspects of employment." The Equal Pay Act of 1963, which prohibits sex discrimination in payment of wages to women and men performing substantially equal work in the same place, has not been a factor in most public jobs because of the predetermined pay scales of the personnel systems of the Foreign Service and the Civil Service.

**F**or 20 years, the term "Palmer case" has been State Department shorthand for sex discrimination. Various Palmer matters have been vexing secretaries of State from Henry Kissinger — who raged whenever the case was mentioned — to Warren Christopher, State's current steward of diversity programs. The Palmer case was continually delayed by aggressive action and appeals by the U.S. Department of Justice — State's attorney — and would take a full two decades to settle — the same number of years as the average FSO's career.

Palmer's suit, which grew into a much larger class-action suit that would eventually encompass all women in the Foreign Service — an estimated 3,000 today — accused the State Department of gender bias. In her first complaint in 1971 to the Foreign Service Grievance Board (FSGB), Palmer claimed that ambassadors at two African posts had denied her assignments, saying her presence would be viewed as an insult by those countries. In a separate incident at another African post, she claimed the ambassador demoted her to protocol officer

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*Dan Kubiske, a Foreign Service spouse, is a freelance writer in the Washington, D.C., area. When Lisa Kubiske, his spouse, joined the Service in 1983, she was automatically included in the class-action lawsuit.*

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after she had arrived for an assignment as a political officer, when he discovered she was a woman. In 1976, Palmer expanded the FSGB complaint into a class action suit that addressed the entire issue of sex discrimination at the State Department.

Last Feb. 12, the final chapter in the Palmer case was written when the U.S. District Court issued its final decree ordering the State Department to mandate diversity training for all FSOs and their managers; to eliminate sex discrimination in its personnel practices; and to strengthen anti-discrimination procedures with the aid of a Council for Equality in the Workplace. The new eight-member group, which has met several times in the last nine months, includes representatives from State management and the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA), the professional association and labor union for FS employees. The council will oversee a two-year State Department review of Foreign Service job descriptions, entrance exams and work reviews to eliminate discriminatory elements. The court also mandated the automatic promotion of an unspecified number of women who had been discriminated against.

The aftershocks of the case and its agreement, which may take up to a decade to carry out, will be reverberating in the personnel policies of the five foreign affairs agencies for decades to come.

**T**he first female FSO, Lucile Atcherson, was commissioned in 1922, serving in Switzerland and Panama before resigning in 1927. Then-U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland Hugh Gibson objected to her posting to the U.S. legation in Berne, saying he didn't know where to seat her at official dinners. Patricia Field, who served in Amsterdam from 1925-1929, was also not warmly greeted at her post: When then-Consul General William Gale learned of her appointment, he cabled the State Department, "A woman would not fill the requirements here and would be worse than useless."

President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed the first female ambassador in 1933 — Ambassador to Denmark Ruth Bryan Owen, daughter of William Jennings Bryan. But it would take another 20 long years — until 1953 — for the president to name the first female career diplomat to a U.S. ambassadorship. FSO

Francis Willis became U.S. ambassador to Switzerland in 1953.

Even though women were officially allowed in the Foreign Service in 1924, with the passage of the Foreign Service Act that professionalized the diplomatic corps, it didn't mean they were welcomed. The attitude of the white men who ran the Foreign Service at its creation was summed up by the words of Wilbur J. Carr, director of the Consular Service at State in 1924, who is quoted in *Women in the Department of State: Their Role in American Foreign Affairs*, a report written by retired FSO Homer Calkins in 1978 for State. "A woman in the Foreign Service would find herself hopelessly handicapped in a sense that she would be unable to overcome the practical disabilities which her sex would impose on her in accomplishing the work of a Foreign Service officer," he said.

Carr, a member of the commission deciding Foreign Service entrance criteria after 1924, continued to argue that women, blacks and naturalized citizens should be banned from applying, although Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes would officially overrule his wishes. Nevertheless, the Foreign Service would retain the feeling of an old boys' club for decades more, as the majority of entrants continued to be male and white. Determined women would have to prove their dedication by donning the Foreign Service equivalent of the nun's veil: Only single women need apply. Indeed, until a relatively recent 1971, female FSOs were required to quit the Foreign Service when they married.

There were plenty of obvious clues that the Foreign Service didn't offer the most appealing of careers for females interested in foreign affairs. When Flora Lewis, who penned a *New York Times* column on foreign affairs for 10 years, was attending ninth grade in the 1930s in Los Angeles, she debated the merits of such a future herself. Her request to the State Department for information was promptly met with a form letter, which she recalled nearly 50 years later in a 1990 interview for an oral history project for the Washington Press Club Foundation.

Although the letter did grant her information on joining the Service, she remembered it also said something like, "We are forbidden by law to refuse to consider women, but for the following 27 reasons, we



## THE FORGOTTEN DULLES

BY ANN MILLER MORIN

**T**he world remembers Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and his brother Allen Welsh Dulles, director of the CIA, but few recall Eleanor Lansing Dulles, their tomboy sister who succeeded in the man's world of diplomacy, despite a name that proved both boon and hindrance. But would she have gone farther had she been born male?

In her autobiography, *Chances of a Lifetime*, Eleanor Dulles tells of growing up with her share of the family competitive spirit, as she attempted to keep up with older brothers who often teased her for clumsiness, owing to her poor eyesight. Educated at Bryn Mawr and the London School of Economics, she then earned a doctorate at Radcliffe.

Moving to Philadelphia after World War I, she established a career as a writer and economics professor at Wharton and Bryn Mawr, marrying renowned philologist David Blondheim in 1932. But after Blondheim's 1934 suicide, only seven months before their son was born, she decided to start over in Washington, D.C., where she accepted a job as economist. She later held various jobs at State.

But it was the fall of 1948, after she was assigned to the German-Austrian Division at State, that she would recall as one of the worst periods of her life. Male colleagues began blocking her career path; even her assistant admitted he hid cables from her, saying he'd been told not to take her seriously because she was a woman. She moved to Commerce, where her boss told her he was bothered by women who rose too high in the bureaucracy and, though she had "the best brain at the department," she'd never get any further than her GS-15 rank.

She moved back to State to head the Berlin desk, where in January 1953, a month after she began,

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*Ann Miller Morin is the author of Her Excellency, an Oral History of American Women Ambassadors, published in 1995 by Twayne Publishers.*

President Harry Truman named John Foster Dulles secretary of State. Telling his sister he didn't want to be accused of nepotism, he told her she would have to "prove herself" in a month or leave her job. She managed to stay.

But it would be her next position coordinating the political, military, cultural and economic aspects of Berlin from a Washington desk — with frequent trips to Germany — where she made her mark. During the Russian blockade and subsequent U.S. airlift, President Truman made the city a showcase as a model for resistance to communism. As the force behind the rebuilding of West Berlin, she earned the title, "Mother of Berlin."

By 1959, being a Dulles had changed from nuisance to liability. In September 1961, more than a year after the death of brother Foster, she was fired from her job at State's Intelligence and Research Bureau because Robert F. Kennedy "didn't want any more of the Dulles family around," says author Leonard Mosely. Dulles returned to her first love, teaching economics, first at Duke and then Georgetown, returning briefly to State to do consulting. She retired in 1977.

Though the world is more familiar with the work of her brothers, Eleanor's contributions may prove to be more lasting, says Marc Pachter, an authority on 20th-century political personalities. "She was fundamentally a stubborn realist who knew exactly what she could do and took it way beyond what anybody could have expected," he said. "She was the central figure in the rebirth of Berlin. Given the importance of that city as the vibrant center of a united Germany, at the heart of Europe, hers may yet turn out to be the most lasting contribution of the Dulles family."

Eleanor Dulles' life certainly lasted longer than those of her brothers. Last June, she celebrated her 101st birthday at her apartment in Washington. ■

## F O C U S

don't like women in the Foreign Service. You must understand that you have to be in the top 20 percent of the exam results to even get on the list of possible appointments, and you will automatically be marked down ... in the orals because you are a woman." Indeed, the subjective nature of the oral exam afforded one of the best opportunities to exclude applicants deemed inappropriate, particularly women, according to author Martin Weil, whose 1978 book, *A Pretty Good Club*, outlines the history of the Foreign Service. No wonder the corps admitted only four women between 1926 and 1929. It was worse the following decade: Not one woman was accepted between 1930 and 1941.

However, dire warning signs didn't discourage all interested female applicants. When Marguitta Cooper entered in 1956, fresh out of the University of Southern California with an undergraduate degree in Soviet and Eastern European studies, she had hoped to specialize in that region of the world. However, she soon learned her choice was blocked by her sex and status as a single person — women FSOs by definition were unmarried — because State refused to assign single FSOs behind the Iron Curtain, believing they could be more easily compromised than their married colleagues. "They must have also believed that a single woman would be even more susceptible to blackmail," says Cooper.

Instead of a political job in an Eastern European post, she was assigned to U.S. Consulate General Tel Aviv, where she met American ships and arranged visas and shore leaves for U.S. seamen, though the latter duties would soon be transferred to a male FSO, after the consul general decided the sailors used "too much cussing for a lady." Cooper's experience with sex discrimination would later be detailed in her own 1977 gender-bias lawsuit against State, which would be merged the next year with the Palmer case.

**T**he growing women's movement reached the State Department in 1970, when an informal ad hoc group was formed to aid Foreign Service promotion panels in understanding the need to promote more women. Its first meeting with management was held on Aug. 26 — the 50th anniversary of the pas-

sage of women's suffrage in America. After that meeting, in which management announced it would implement President Richard Nixon's order to drop the singles-only rule for female FSOs, the group became known as the Women's Action Organization (WAO).

This was the State Department of the early '70s that Alison Palmer found when she returned to Washington, D.C., after assignments in Zaire, Ghana, Guyana and Vietnam, and found that her unresolved FSGB complaint was still languishing in the bureaucracy. She took it to State's Inspector General's Office, which conducted an investigation. In 1972, the IG appeals examiner ruled her case had merit, but denied her request that the State Department pay her \$25,000 and that those managers who had discriminated against her be censured with a letter in their personnel files.

Bypassing the WAO, which she called inefficient and management-oriented, Palmer led four other female FSOs and one woman who didn't pass the oral exams in a class-action suit filed in 1976 in U.S. District Court, alleging sex discrimination at the State Department. Since many female Foreign Service employees didn't believe they had ever been discriminated against in their jobs, a handful requested their names be removed from the document, although it still remained a class action suit. Other women who requested their names be removed believed court action was too adversarial an approach and advocated more internal negotiation with State management through WAO. In total, fewer than an estimated 15 women out of a total of more than 300 in 1976, would ask not to be named in the class-action suit.

Plaintiffs in the Palmer case accused the State Department of "maintaining policies, practices, customs ... that discriminate by sex" and demanded an affirmative action program to redress the discrimination. Among other things, the plaintiffs charged that entrance exam questions were weighted with miscellaneous trivia, not questions relevant to the job of being an FSO. The court allowed plaintiffs to require State to answer questions about the status of female FS employees at the department, which painted a disturbing portrait:

■ In 1975, only 9 percent of 3,461 active FSOs, or 312 people, were women, even though females made up 44 percent of all college graduates that year.

## REVENGE OF THE ANGRY, WHITE MALES

BY SHARNA MARCUS

The sting of the legal backlash of angry, white males is being felt at workplaces across America, as reverse discrimination lawsuits filed by this increasingly vocal group trickle into the courtrooms. And it's being felt in the Foreign Service.

Discrimination complaints by white males in the public and private sector have increased steadily since 1987, the first year data was tracked, according to the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). In fiscal 1994, 1,382 complaints were filed, compared to fiscal 1987, when 1,045 white males accused their bosses of reverse discrimination.

Some 70 percent of those who take the Foreign Service exam are white males, and 56 percent of the Foreign Service employees at the State Department in 1995 were white males, according to figures provided by the director general of the Foreign Service. However, the Senior Foreign Service — the ranks from which ambassadors and policymakers are selected — is made up of 84 percent white males.

In fiscal 1995, six white males filed reverse discrimination complaints with the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) office at the State Department. That year, seven whites filed discrimination suits and six men did, but it is unclear from statistics if they are from the same employee. At the EEO office of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), in fiscal 1995, only one white male filed a complaint, alleging racial bias.

Anecdotally, however, there is plenty of evidence of resentful white males in the Foreign Service, as well as in other government sectors. "A lot of white males are discriminated against [in the federal government]," says Keith Bell of the Merit Systems Protection Board at State's Office of Policy and Evaluation, which oversees promotions for those employees at State. But the white

males who complain the loudest in court are from "the small elite who hold power at the heart of the American establishment," he said.

But FSO David Pierce, now consul general at U.S. Consulate General Cape Town, doesn't consider himself part of that American establishment elite. His 1993 EEO complaint, which is still pending, claims he was discriminated against in promotions and posting choices because women and minorities were given preference. "Hiring, promotions and assignments should be strictly based on merit and nothing else," he said in a telephone interview. "The Foreign Service Act says the secretary shall ensure all members of the Service are free from discrimination on the basis of sex, color, religion, etc. — and that includes white males."

Add to that mix the federal mandate for affirmative action in the federal workforce and the result is often confusion. "Federal employers don't understand what affirmative action requires," points out a Washington, D.C., attorney who has specialized in civil rights cases for 16 years. Federal employers are obligated "to make an affirmative action choice" only over an equally qualified white male, he said.

Legal pressure to end affirmative action has been particularly strong in California in the last 20 years, and this month citizens of the Golden State will consider a ballot question that would eliminate all state affirmative action programs. The California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI), which spearheaded the campaign, calls such diversity programs "government-sanctioned discrimination." Several other states are considering similar moves.

Next on the agenda is the federal workplace. A move to halt affirmative action programs in the public sector, led by GOP presidential candidate Robert J. Dole, is expected to resurface in 1997. The Equal Opportunity Act, introduced this year but never scheduled for a vote, already has wide support in the GOP-led Congress.

"The goal is not to make white males the victimized class," points out the civil rights attorney. "The goal is to make sure there's no discrimination in the workplace." ■

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*Sharna Marcus, a journalism student in American University's Washington Semester Program this semester, is a junior at Indiana University in Bloomington.*

## F O C U S

■ In 1974, 65 percent of the women who joined the Foreign Service were assigned to one of four cones: the consular cone, considered the least interesting of the four specialties, that also include political, economic and administrative work. Since only 10 percent of this cone was routinely promoted to FS-1s — the equivalent of the Senior Foreign Service today — it was seen as a deadend specialization by many FSOs. Women plaintiffs claimed this practice had unfairly delayed their career paths.

■ In 1974, male FSOs made up 90 percent of the FS-1s and 83 percent of FS-2s, the next highest grade, while women were concentrated at the three lowest grade levels.

As the Palmer case was winding its way through the courts, President Jimmy Carter took office in 1977 with a pledge to address affirmative action in the State Department. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance sent an open letter to State Department employees promising to “exercise personal leadership in prohibiting discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age or handicap.” He created a task force led by Lawrence Eagleburger, then-Under Secretary for management, to review State’s affirmative action policies. Not much changed, though: State management would use only one of the group’s 72 recommendations, the one that required new FSOs to be briefed on the structure of the State Department.

“The Foreign Service establishment was all white males, but not just any white males,” noted Cooper in a telephone interview. “They were Ozzie and Harriet white males. They did not understand the nature of discrimination. They saw attempts by the Carter team to introduce affirmative action as political pandering and could not understand the value of an aggressive affirmative action program.”

Despite efforts to promote more women to key jobs at the State Department, the Carter administration eventually resorted to a quota system to increase the numbers; Secretary Vance’s goal was to appoint at least one woman or black deputy assistant to each bureau at State.

A subsequent Eagleburger commission won changes in how the Foreign Service exam was scored, after it found that women performed better

in the English usage section and men did better in the general background section. The scoring of the test was altered to increase the weight of English usage by 5 percent and decrease that of the general background section by 5 percent.

Senior officials believed that increasing the number of women recruits would eventually solve all the discrimination problems in the Foreign Service, arguing that as more women entered and moved up in the system, men would be naturally replaced by women through attrition. But the plaintiffs wanted real change, not just quotas, says Monica Wagner, Palmer’s attorney. She pressed department management for proportionate, representative numbers: For example, if women represented 25 percent of eligible applicants for all deputy chief of mission (DCM) positions, “we ought to see 25 percent of the DCM positions filled by women,” she said.

Meanwhile, the Palmer case dragged on, hindered by the inhospitable climate for affirmative action which was ushered in with the administration of Ronald Reagan in 1981. “The Justice Department had a practice of litigating these kinds of cases to death,” says Wagner. “There was no willingness to negotiate or settle sex discrimination cases quickly.” But despite State attorneys’ foot-dragging and repeated requests for delays, Wagner said, the women plaintiffs refused to give up.

In 1985, after nine years of litigation, the U.S. District Court dismissed the lawsuit, but did rule that the Foreign Service had discriminated against women in hiring and in distributing awards, but not in doling out promotions. The group took the case to the U.S. Court of Appeals, which overturned the lower court ruling, saying that sex discrimination in hiring and giving awards can adversely affect a woman FSO’s chances for promotion, and that discrimination in assignments could hurt her ability to compete in job performance. In 1990, the Palmer case was back on the doorstep of U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C.

Meanwhile, new research by the original litigants and their attorney showed continuing sex discrimination within the State Department, prompting the plaintiffs to win court permission to add to their suit those women FSOs who had entered the Foreign

# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association



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## Action! Campaign: Speak Out

By Leslie Lehman  
AFSA Communications Coordinator

**A**ctive and retired FS personnel who want to help educate the American public about the need for the Foreign Service can turn to the AFSA Action! packet - AFSA members should have received them in October - and search for the "Speaking Out" section. It's vital that everyone share their Foreign Service experiences with varied audiences so that more people understand that the Foreign Service is the eyes, ears and voice of the United States abroad. With that in mind, here's clarification about regulations governing public speaking:

Retirees do not need any clearances to speak or write articles. Active personnel are also being encouraged by their agencies to speak out about the Foreign Service. For example, in a recent cable, USIA Director Joseph Duffey urged USIS officers to have leave "to consider public speaking engagements and media interviews...during their stay in the U.S."

FS employees speaking in an unofficial capacity do not need clearance from their agencies. However, public affairs offices in each agency can give guidance on specific questions, arrange speaking engagements and provide background information. The Department of State's Regional Media Outreach Office, (202) 647-0793, handles radio interviews and other media interviews. Peter Knecht in the Office of Public Communications, Room 6805 in Main State, can answer questions about clearance. Ed Hinkler in USIA's External Affairs Office in Public Liaison, (202) 619-4353, will assist in arranging speaking engagements, and the Agency Ethics Office, (202) 619-6975, will answer questions about clearance. USAID's Legislative and Public Affairs Office, Room 2895 in Main State (around the corner from FARA), (202) 647-8440, will provide background materials, arrange speaking engagements and answer clearance questions.

The AFSA Public Affairs Committee has

Continued on page 6

## • AFSA Dateline •

• Following summer transfers, AFSA representatives are needed for several posts. AFSA members are urged to hold chapter meetings to appoint new representatives, who will then be accredited to management. Please report any changes to Yalonda Odunsi at AFSA headquarters via cable to AFSA Labor Management, (800) 704-2371, fax (202) 338-6820, or internet to [afsa@afsa.org](mailto:afsa@afsa.org). The following posts need representatives: Abu Dhabi, Adana, Algiers, Ankara, Ashgabat,

Baku, Bandar Seri Begawan, Bangui, Banjul, Barcelona, Barranquilla, Belfast, Berlin, Bilbao, Bann, Brazzaville, Bridgetown, Budapest, Bujumbura, Calcutta, Calgary, Cape Town, Chengdu, Chisinau, Ciudad Juarez, Catanau, Curacao, Dhahran, Doha, Dubai, Durban, Edinburgh, El Salvador, Florence, Grenada, Halifax, Hamburg, Hamilton, Hermasilla, Islamabad, Jeddah, Johannesburg, Kaduna, Karachi, Kiev, Kigali, Kalania, Karar,

Continued on page 4

STATE DEPARTMENT  
**V.P. VOICE**

• BY ALPHONSE F. LA PORTA •

## We Still Need Travel Reform

Last February, the AFSA Governing Board adopted a bold statement aimed at reforming U.S. Government official travel. Forged in the wake of the balanced budget debate and government shutdowns, the policy reflected the widely, but not unanimously, held view that official travel should be more carefully targeted, making better use of travellers' time to conduct official business and providing greater public accountability of travel expenditures. AFSA presented 14 specific recommendations for State's congressional travel management.

These prescriptions drew considerable praise from AFSA members worldwide. The reaction of the State Department leadership, while approving in some respects, was nervous. Those concerned with financial management welcomed our support for greater accountability. But apart from "pro forma" thank-you letters, little was heard from "reinventing government" reform proponents in the executive branch.

Congressional reaction has been mixed. We took to heart the principled reservations of Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), retiring former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Rep. Bob Livingston (R-La.), chairman of the House Appropriations Committee and Rep. Douglas Bereuter (R-Neb.), chairman of the House International Relations Committee responsible for East Asian affairs.

These respected leaders regretted that the reform measures were a disincentive for newer members of Congress to travel abroad. Many House freshmen and sophomores would profit from overseas trips, but the glare (and fear) of publicity prevent them from travelling.

Let AFSA's view be clearly under-

stood: We support soundly conceived travel keyed to U.S. national objectives. We encourage travel by new members of Congress and others for learning and oversight reasons. But tourism of public expense continues to be the main target of our criticism.

*"Tourism at public expense is the main target of our criticism."*

AFSA's position has drawn support. For example: Sen. Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.) has introduced the "Lame Ducks Can't Fly Act" to restrict travel by retiring members of Congress and political appointees. Sen. Bill Frist (R-Tenn.) and others have introduced the Citizen Congress Act, which would

restrict the use of military aircraft for congressional travel. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) has proposed that State's Office of International Conferences be given the responsibility of reporting on government delegations and other travel. Several congressional committees have held hearings on travel excesses. The Administration's Joint Financial Management Improvement Program (JFMIP) issued detailed new accounting guidelines which have been implemented by State, among others. The General Accounting Office (GAO) continues to propose improvements to travel procedures, many of which mirror AFSA's recommendations.

In reaction to media attention, more congressional travel is occurring "off line," that is, sponsored by host governments, intergovernmental and private organizations. Also, because of budget cuts, more U.S. embassies and consulates are looking to the private sector to arrange events for visiting delegations.

AFSA encourages members to support official travel reform and involve local American business organizations in official visits. Congressional travellers will welcome such cooperation.

## AWARDS NOMINATIONS DUE

In these budget-cutting times, it's important that we recognize excellence and integrity by nominating individuals who have made outstanding contributions to our nation for AFSA's annual awards. The awards include checks for \$2,500.

**AWARDS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE DISSENT.** Three awards recognize FSOs "who have exhibited extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent." The **Christian A. Herter Award** is given to a member of the Senior Foreign Service, the **William R. Rivkin Award** is given to a mid-career officer (FS 1-3) and the **W. Averell Harriman Award** goes to a junior officer (FS 4-6).

**AWARDS FOR EXEMPLARY PERFORMANCE AND PROFESSIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS.** The **Delavan Award** recognizes a Foreign Service secretary "who has made an extraordinary contribution to effectiveness, professionalism and morale." The **M. Juanita Guess Award** is given to a Community Liaison Officer "who has demonstrated outstanding dedication, energy and imagination in assisting the families of Americans serving at an overseas post." The **Avis Bohlen Award** recognizes the accomplishments of "a member of the family of a Foreign Service employee whose relations with the American and foreign communities of a Foreign Service post have done the most to advance the interests of the United States."

All awards nominations should include the name of the award for which a person is being nominated and be returned to AFSA by January 31 in the following format: Part I, nominee's name, grade, agency, position or family relationship; Part II, nominator's name, grade, agency, position and description of association with the nominee (limit: 200 words); Part III, narrative discussing the actions and qualities which qualify the nominee for the award, with specific examples of accomplishments that fulfill the criteria (limit: 500-700 words).

Send nominations by pouch or mail to the Awards Committee, AFSA, Room 3644 New State, or to 2101 E Street NW, Washington DC 20037, by AFSA channel cable, by fax to (202) 338-6820 or by e-mail to prof@afso.org. Questions can be answered by Richard Thompson, AFSA Coordinator for Professional Issues, at (202) 338-4045, Ext. 521 or by e-mail.

## SINCLAIRE AWARDS

The Motildo W. Sinclaire Awards are given annually to FSOs who have distinguished themselves in the study of a foreign language and its associated culture. Most nominations are submitted through the Foreign Service Institute, but nominations from posts are also encouraged.

Deadline for the awards – which come with \$1,000 checks – is January 31. For further information, contact: The School of Language Studies of FSI or Richard Thompson, AFSA's Coordinator for Professional Issues, at (202) 338-4045 Ext. 521; fax (202) 338-6820 and e-mail prof@afso.org.

## APPLY FOR AFSA COLLEGE SCHOLARSHIPS NOW!

AFSA scholarships can help undergraduate Foreign Service children get college educations with grants from \$500 to \$2,500, based on need. To qualify, students must be listed as dependents on their parents' tax returns.

In addition, AFSA gives merit-based awards to high school seniors. Students qualify by writing a two-page essay, submitting two letters of recommendation, their grades and either SAT scores or samples of artistic work. Deadline for scholarship applications is February 15. For further information, contact Lori Dec, AFSA Scholarship Administrator, at (202) 944-5504 or e-mail, scholar@afso.org.

### Heads Up: AFSA Elections

All AFSA members should begin thinking about running for office in 1997 or encouraging others to do so. The formal call for nominations will appear in the February AFSA News. Deadline for nominations is March 7; ballots will be mailed in mid-May. The newly elected AFSA Governing Board will take office July 15.

**Only AFSA members can nominate candidates or run for office.**

# USIA V.P. VOICE

• BY JESS L. BAILY •

## In Search of Workforce Diversity

Americo needs a Foreign Service that reflects the racial, ethnic and gender diversity of the country. Anything less will weaken our effectiveness as a democratic institution. Since the passage of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, which recognized the value of diversity, USIA, State and other foreign affairs agencies have tried to diversify their workforces, with varying levels of success.

Most Foreign Service professionals agree with the broad goal of diversity. How we achieve that diversity is an entirely different matter and a subject of debate. During the past three years, USIA has focused on the status of women. Now, thanks in part to a report by Dr. Allan Goodman of Georgetown University, our focus has turned to the status of minority officers within USIA. Prepared in conjunction with USIA's investigation of claims of discrimination made by African-American officers, Dr. Goodman's report illuminates the effects of promotions, assignments and award systems on minority officers.

All FSOs in USIA will benefit from reading the report carefully. Few people interviewed by Dr. Goodman – whether they were from a minority group or not – had any facts about the racial and ethnic composition of the Foreign Service. If nothing else, reading the report will add to employee's perceptions by providing them with the facts about where minorities stand in USIA's workforce. Previously, perceptions were fueled by rumor, speculation and anecdote.

The report should also stimulate an open debate on minorities in USIA. For too long – perhaps out of fear, ignorance or complacency – officers have harbored personal views about diversity without discussing the subject openly

and factually.

Based on his research, Dr.

Goodman concludes that to achieve racial and ethnic diversity USIA management needs to change aspects of the way it recruits for jobs, makes job assignments and promotes employees. USIA management shared with AFSA a draft of the report, but at the time this column went to print, we did not know what remedies USIA Director Joseph Duffey will propose. I would like, how-

ever, to suggest a framework to guide AFSA's position on the report.

First, we should recognize that American society is examining what policies and measures are most effective in diversifying a workforce. Reasonable people disagree on this subject, but we must not let such disagreement shred our shared identity as USIA Foreign Service officers. The sole beneficiary of such division will be our critics.

Second, although not acting on this explosive issue will harm USIA, we must recognize that downsizing and budgetary pressures reduce the room to launch new initiatives aimed, for example, at minority recruitment.

Finally, efforts to increase diversity should be transparent, should remedy specific imbalances and must take a long-term approach. Unstated, ad hoc policies will undermine the merit basis of our system and achieve, at best, short-lived gains. These types of policies patronize minority employees and risk challenge in the courts by non-minority employees. Short-term measures may improve appearances, but as we have seen in the past, they do little to address attitudinal or institutional issues. Only a long-term approach will diversify the service.

*"Our focus has turned to the status of minority officers within USIA."*

RETIREE  
**V.P. VOICE**  
 • BY ED ROWELL •

## Using the Budget Reprieve Wisely

The omnibus fiscal year 1997 spending bill which Congress passed September 30 holds the following items of special interest to Foreign Service alumni:

- It ends the delay of retiree cost of living adjustments (COLAs). Congress decided to treat civilian retirees the same as military ones this year. Your COLA will be in your January 1 annuity check.

- Foreign affairs funding will stay at essentially the same levels as in fiscal year 1996. Any inflation or

other built-in cost increases will have to come out of existing funding levels, so this does not signal an end to the resource crunch. All State Department services, including those of the Retirement Division, will be affected by this.

- There will be no tinkering with federal employees' and retirees' health benefits. The average health insurance premium rate increase will be 2.4 percent.

In effect, this is a one-year reprieve from the radical budget cuts of fiscal years 1994 to 1996 and those scheduled for fiscal years 1998 through 2002. We should not interpret it as a reversal in philosophy. The steep decline in funding which has been projected by both the Congress and the White House Office of Management and Budget (OMB) for 1998-2002 is an important part of the budget balancing that both major parties have endorsed.

All the most worrying issues temporarily set aside during this election year will be revisited in budget debates starting early next year. These issues include re-instituting delays in COLA adjustments, capping - which means eliminating - COLAs

for annuities above on as yet unspecified level, changing the consumer price index inflation formula and modifying Medicare.

*"This is a one-year reprieve from radical budget cuts."*

The issue of dwindling resources has already affected many of our alumni directly. I have written before about AFSA's efforts to seek improvements for retirees and about the woes of State's Retirement Division, which have included personnel cuts. Judging from the continuing calls I get, the service the Retirement Division offers still needs work despite computer-

ization and some recent re-engineering.

In addition to helping annuitants with individual retirement problems, health benefits changes and the like, the Retirement Division's workload has boomed as a result of downsizing in the foreign affairs agencies. It is vital that the Division have more resources. You can help by letting me know of any personal experiences you have had with these agencies which suggest needed changes.

As we prepare to work with the next administration and the 105th Congress on these retiree concerns and on foreign affairs issues, remember that the ultimate outcome will be determined by the newly elected members' perceptions of what the voters want. That is why AFSA urges you to call or fax the home offices of winners in your House of Representatives and U.S. Senate races right after the election.

Congratulate your legislators on their victories, and at the same time register your concern about the need for adequate resources for the foreign affairs agencies. We must be vigilant and vocal on the resource issue now, before the new lawmakers head for Washington.

## DATELINE

*Continued from page 1*

Kuwait, Lahare, Leipzig, Libreville, Lisbon, Ljubljano, Lome, Manama, Marseille, Moseru, Medan, Melbourne, Merido, Minsk, Magodishu, Manterrey, N'Djomena, Niamey, Nauakchatt, Nueva Lareda, Panama, Perth, Peshawar, Panta Delgado, Port Maresby, Part-of-Spoin, Porto Alegre, Poznan, Proio, Puson, Quebec, Quito, Robot, Rangoon, Recife, Rio de Janeiro, St. George's, St. Petersburg, Sontigo, Sopporo, Sarajeva, Shenyang, Skapje, Stockholm, Strasbourg, Stuttgart, Suvo, Sydney, Tashkent, Tbilisi, Uloanbaatar, Vancouver, Vatican City, Victoria, Vienna (CSCE), Vientiane, Vilnius, Worrenton Training Center, Yekoterinburg, Zurich.

- The J. Kirby Siman Trust, which has been established by friends and relatives to honor the memory of an FSO who died last year while serving in Taiwan, recently announced its first request for proposals. The Trust will make grants of up to \$10,000 per year to fund diverse projects initiated by Foreign Service personnel, members of their families and other U.S. government personnel. Proposals must be submitted to the Trust by March 1, 1997. For further information, refer to State cable 190751 of Sept. 13, which was sent in the AFSA Channel, or to the ad on page 14 of the November *Foreign Service Journal*.

- The Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce of the University of Kentucky is creating an endowment in memory of FSO Barbara Schell, killed during an accidental shoot-down of a U.S. helicopter taking port in "Operation Provide Comfort" in Northern Iraq in April 1994. The Schell Scholarship, which is being administered by retired FSO John D. Stempel, director of the Patterson School, will help fund students studying for masters degrees in international relations. For further information, write: Schell Scholarship Fund, Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce, University of Kentucky, 455 Patterson Tower, Lexington, Kentucky 40506-0027.





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# CS V.P. VOICE

• BY TOM KELSEY •

## Facing Challenge and Opportunity

Life can't get much better - at least for a Foreign Service officer in Washington, D.C. As I write this in October, the Orioles have just won their first playoff game, the Redskins are 4-1 and the Senate just passed the 1997 Omnibus Spending Bill without a continuing resolution.

But that doesn't mean that the fall season will proceed uneventfully. By the time this is published, both the Orioles and the Redskins could have suffered a reversal of fortunes. Challenges faced by foreign affairs agencies will also continue, regardless of who wins the November election.

These issues are relevant not only to agencies represented by AFSA, but also to the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), the Export-Import Bank and International Development Association (IDA - the World Bank's soft loan window). At the World Bank Group, where I work, the IDA is struggling for funding, partially because the Congress has refused to authorize the one-quarter of a billion dollars the U.S. still owes the bank.

Still, we're lucky in the Commercial Service. We're funded at a reasonable level, and we may be able to increase the number of Foreign Service Nationals in our employ, fill same vacancies in our export assistance centers, and, with any luck, even hire a few Foreign Service officers this year. Still, we must document our accomplishments and identify constituencies that will continue to support us in the Congress. And we'll need every bit of our funding because when ICASS kicks in, unless State efficiently prices its administrative and operating services, we'll undoubtedly have to search for other service providers overseas.

Against this backdrop, the Commercial Service must vigorously maintain its autonomy, which includes both personnel and budget authority, if

we are to continue to be the cornerstone agency for our National Export Strategy. The current dilemma for the Commercial Service and AFSA, as its union representative, is how to steer a course which allows us to serve the business (job-creating) community and which supports our nation's foreign policy goals, and to do it at market prices.

But since this issue of the Foreign Service Journal is about diversity, which is very important in the Commercial Service, I asked management for a breakdown of who we are. We are predominately male (78%), 177 out of 225 officers. Eighteen male officers came from minority groups (8% of total officers), while 9 female officers (4% of the total) come from minority groups.

Commerce management is committed to an agency that "looks like America." By integrating our foreign and domestic services we are enhancing diversity and giving our business clients a better trained, more experienced work force. An upcoming public assessment will allow us to add new blood, assuming that we can hire an officer or two. And certainly by the time you read this article, the Commercial Service's bargaining unit members will be covered, for the first time, by a collective bargaining agreement in which management states that it is their policy not to discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation.

Finally, as you tuck into your Thanksgiving dinner, remember that we can be thankful that the Commercial Service has not yet suffered a RIF.

*"Challenges faced this year by foreign affairs agencies will continue."*



*"Something about this place  
pushes you  
in the right direction."*

His family's *moves* meant Sam had attended several different high schools.

His *grades* had been "bad" in those where there were large classes and he was lacking *self-confidence*. After he and his parents visited five local independent schools, Sam chose **Chapel Hill-Chauncy Hall School** because he liked its campus and friendly *atmosphere*. Once enrolled, his *attitude* changed. "I started getting good grades in English class, and that boosted my *confidence*." He also began to *participate* in sports. "I'd never liked sports before, but I tried soccer and became captain of the JV team." Sam made the honor roll for the first time and began writing poetry and short stories and keeping a journal in his spare time.

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## Action!: Speak Out

Continued from page 1

been working to "put a face on the Foreign Service" by placing profiles of FSOs in hometown newspapers. Editors around the country are eager to run stories about local men and women who have served in exotic locales. In addition, very few people in small town America know what diplomats really do on the job. The project gives them a chance to find out and has brought the Foreign Service to the attention of taxpayers across the country who may not have a clue what a demerche is, but who are interested in locals who make good.

FSOs who have been profiled for their hometown papers include Becky Thompson, a married FSO with two children, who is assigned to Burma. The *Baldwinsville Messenger* of Baldwinsville, New York, Thompson's hometown, described her work at postings in Nigeria and the Republic of the Congo. "In order to have peace in the year 2000, in the millennium, we have to know how to avoid conflict and learn how to understand other people," Thompson said in the interview.

Isaac Russell, a recent retiree from USA, was profiled in August in the *Morhorth's Vineyard Gazette*. Russell, who lives in the Massachusetts resort town and who served in Zimbabwe, Ethiopia and Cote d'Ivoire, told the *Gazette* that the U.S. is well-regarded in the countries he served in, "not because it's rich, but because it seems to stand for something good." Still, he said he is concerned about the dramatic cuts in the foreign affairs budget. "It seems that if you are not aggressively represented in other countries, you as a nation will lose out to countries that are." Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Russell spent 29 years practicing law.

To participate in "Putting a Face on the Foreign Service," contact Leslie Lehman, AFSA Communications Coordinator, by fax at (202) 338-6820 or e-mail, [comm@ofso.org](mailto:comm@ofso.org). Please include your name, current post of assignment, address, phone and fax numbers, your hometown name, hometown newspaper name, any contacts at the newspaper, family or hometown connections and the details of your Foreign Service career.

## WHAT THE NEW BUDGET REALLY MEANS

By Ken Nokomuro  
Director, Congressional Relations

During final rounds of voting on the appropriations bill for fiscal year 1997, President Bill Clinton held the winning hand and everyone in Congress knew it. No one wanted to avoid closing down the government again more than the Republican-led Congress, because last year it had drawn most of the public's blame for the shutdown. In addition, Republicans were well aware that polls showed the Democrats doing well in the upcoming elections, so they wanted to get the bill passed and get home to campaign.

When the game was over and the omnibus bill had passed, the President had won \$6.5 in additional funding, primarily for education and training, the environment, science and technology, law enforcement and anti-drug programs, but the foreign affairs account also got a piece of action.

A year ago when the budget fight was just beginning, it was hard to imagine this good an outcome. While less money was allocated to the foreign affairs accounts than in 1996, cuts that averaged 1 to 2 percent were for lower than originally feared. Most unusual, in many cases the final bill appropriations were above those passed by both the House and Senate.

In the long run, however, both President Clinton and the Republican-controlled Congress say they want a balanced budget by the year 2002. That means we can expect that battles over spending cuts deferred in this, an election year, will be fought in the future and that future cuts could run more deeply into the foreign affairs budget than originally anticipated.

We won a battle, but the long war over funding for foreign affairs is far from over. In two-and-a-half months, the 105th Congress will take its seats and our next round will begin.

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## F O C U S

Service after 1985. That same year Marguitte Cooper was warned away from applying for the deputy chief of mission job in New Delhi by the department's highest-ranking woman, because there was already a woman ambassador at the post. "Two women at the top would prove that India was not considered important and would 'overload the system,'" Cooper remembers being told. Her previous requests for Arabic language training had been rebuffed after she was told women were ineligible for assignment to Arabic countries; she turned down Japanese language training when she was told the only position open to her would be consular work, instead of the political or economic reporting she preferred.

**A**lison Palmer's fight for equal opportunity as a woman in the Foreign Service took 20 years, and she gained nothing from the negotiated settlement except, perhaps, a little satisfaction. After

retiring in 1981 from the Foreign Service, she moved to New England. Although she declined to be interviewed for this article, she told *The Washington Post* in 1990 that she would feel a lot better "if a senior State Department official, such as the secretary of State, would say, 'Yes, we discriminated against women diplomats.'"

Marguitte Cooper, who was involuntarily retired from the Service at age 52 in 1986, stayed in Washington a decade to work for the Dukakis and Clinton presidential campaigns, and recently moved to Los Angeles. Some Palmer plaintiffs have been scarred by lengthy litigation. "This whole issue became a consuming passion that left them bitter," said Cooper.

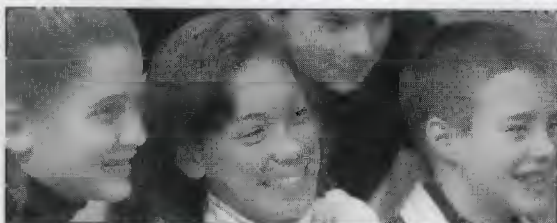
But perhaps the most angry words belong to Alison Palmer herself. In a 1980 letter to Calkin, the retired FSO who authored the report on Foreign Service women, Palmer wrote, "I always urge women not to join the Foreign Service." ■

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## THE ISSUE OF CLASS

**B**y virtue of the democratic ideals on which the United States was founded, Americans naturally disapprove of the concept of class as a factor in employment or social preferences. Indeed, today the leveling, Jacksonian spirit of America critically scans those in the public eye for the anomalies of class distinctions, those singularities that suggest a holding of oneself in an aristocratic or elitist fashion. And, at times, that spirit seems to focus disapprovingly on the men and the women of the diplomatic corps.

First, an important disclaimer: The Foreign Service of today is no longer a group of golden lads and lasses of the white Anglo-Saxon, Protestant persuasion, although WASPS did figure prominently in the composition of FSO classes before World War II.

Family income level, often reflected in the educational backgrounds of recruits, is still a leading indicator of class. A 1989 report by the Government Accounting Office (GAO) showed that 41 percent of the Senior Foreign Service that year had attended one of the eight Ivy League schools, compared to only 16 percent of those Foreign Service employees hired after 1981. While an Ivy League background may not play a key role in Foreign Service recruitment, the connection appears critical for promotion to top jobs. For example, some 45 percent of nominees for

senior-level posts between 1985-88 were Ivy Leaguers. Family income of recruits was not available.

But although the Foreign Service continues to draw recruits predominantly from the Ivy League schools, those institutions have increasingly opened their doors to non-WASPS, allowing the Foreign Service to democratize its ranks as well. Still, can it be argued that members of the Foreign Service share qualities that amount to class-like distinctions? Nearly all FSOs have gone to college and many hold graduate degrees, although no degree is required for application. It's anecdotal, but probably accurate, to conclude that their parents' income is at or above the national mean, and also that the wealth of their family circle is greater than that of the families of similarly well educated racial minorities.

However, these distinctions do not, I think, make FSOs socially distinctive. Rather FSOs are lumped together with a majority of Americans who regard themselves, too, as middle-class. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, which began collecting statistics on Americans' salaries as of 1967, an estimated 80 percent of all citizens consider themselves middle class today, compared to 50 percent in 1967.

The Foreign Service of 1996 certainly doesn't look like that of 1924, the year a professional corps was formed. In 19th-century America, the diplomatic service was not so much a profession as a way station for the privi-



LINA CHESAK

ONCE BASTION OF WEALTHY,  
FS PULLS LESS PRIVILEGED;  
ELITE IMAGE STILL PERSISTS

BY HUME HORAN

## F O C U S

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*Although the FS plucked more recruits from the Midwest and the middle class after World War II, the newcomers didn't so much democratize the FS as learn to become patricians themselves.*

---

leged sons of rich families. "American diplomacy was an upper-class avocation, the province of wealthy, eastern seaboard Brahmins with a taste for European society and the leisure to indulge it," wrote Martin Weil in his 1978 book on the history of American diplomacy, *A Pretty Good Club*. Often, overseas posts were staffed by bankers, merchants and politicians looking for something interesting to do between takeovers, deals and elections. Indeed, the memoirs of early diplomats are full of accounts of European court society in all its glory.

Two-thirds of the diplomats serving in Europe between the Spanish-American War and the outbreak of World War I attended Harvard, Yale or Princeton universities or a foreign college. Of those recruited between 1914-22, three-quarters were wealthy and attended preparatory school. "The State Department discouraged those without private income from applying," wrote Weil.

The establishment of an examination system and the merging of the consular and diplomatic services in 1924 didn't weaken the hold of the old guard on the Foreign Service. The Service adopted a uniform promotion list and was opened to new recruits, many from the Midwest and the middle class, but observers noted that instead of the newcomers democratizing the diplomatic corps, the diplomatic corps made the newcomers, at least in their mannerisms, patricians. "If you look through the Foreign Service register, you will see that a majority of the FSOs do not come from East Coast prep schools," noted journalist and social commentator I.F. Stone, who was interviewed by Weil. "But the guys from the Midwest schools soon came to conform to the East Coast preppy patterns."

Exams given during this period were designed to allow the club to pick its members and help the system fail those it deemed inferior, according to Weil. "The oral interview

before a panel of [FSOs] was really all that mattered," he wrote. "Style, grace, poise, and, above all, birth, were the key to success. The standards were similar to those of a fashionable Washington club: 'Is he our kind of person?'"

**T**he world of all-male, Caucasian junior officer classes — the stiff-collar crowd that observes the Foreign Service Club from photographs on the wall — was swept away by World War II and the GI bill, which helped thousands from that generation through college and graduate school. In 1946, an act of Congress led to the reorganization of the Foreign Service, opening it to many Civil Service employees, enlarging the Foreign Service career officer pool, streamlining the Foreign Service exam process and instituting a promotion system based on the Navy system of "promotion up or selection out," which meant that FSOs who weren't promoted from their class within 15 years were expected to leave.

During this reorganization, Foreign Service salaries were raised to make them competitive with the private sector. For example, chiefs of mission were so "grossly underpaid that they needed private means to hold such a position," write William Barnes and John Heath Morgan in their 1961 book, *The Foreign Service of the United States: Origins, Development and Functions*.

The reorganization was another democratizing factor that opened the Service to other groups. Before 1947, some 47 percent of FSOs came from 10 elite schools, including Harvard, Yale and Princeton. Of the 3,427 officers in the Service as of August 1959, only 35 percent had graduated from what could be called elite institutions — a percentage that has held steady to this day.

Though these numbers speak to a socially democratized Foreign Service, the perception of the group as an elite cadre of stuffy, preppy white males still persists. FSOs themselves are responsible for whether the Service's "elitism," simply the notion that it draws the best and brightest, is seen as favorable or negative by the public. ■

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*Hume Horan, a career minister, is teaching African area studies at FSI. He has served as U.S. ambassador to Cameroon, Sudan, Saudi Arabia and the Ivory Coast.*

# THE ISSUE OF DISABILITY

**A**

lthough the Foreign Service has handled few cases of employees charging bias on the basis of disability, this type of discrimination is the third most common complaint in the American workplace.

The federal government has been technically prohibited from discriminating against the mentally or physically handicapped on the job since 1973, with the passage of the Rehabilitation Act. However, it would be the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990, modeled on the Rehabilitation Act, which gave the disabled a more powerful tool in the courts. "Prior to the ADA, candidates for Foreign Service employment had to have perfect health," says Larry Biro, deputy director of State's Health Systems Administration. "The standard is changing, but the Foreign Service is still the most restrictive [of all federal] employer[s]."

Disability follows race and gender in the number of complaints of public and private-sector employees, according to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), the federal agency charged with enforcing the law. In fiscal 1995, about 20 percent of all charges — 17,401 cases — were filed claiming discrimination on the basis of disability. Charges by government employees have risen in the last ten years, representing 117

cases in fiscal 1995, compared to 44 in fiscal 1985. Private-sector employees' charges numbered 17,009 in fiscal 1994 compared to 14,526 in fiscal 1984.

An estimated 13 percent of Americans are disabled, according to the U.S. Census Bureau; the number of handicapped employees in the Foreign Service was not available. According to State's EEO office, nine complaints of physical discrimination and four of mental health bias were recorded in fiscal 1996; the numbers for fiscal 1994 and fiscal 1996 were unavailable. At USAID's EEO office, one disability-bias complaint was reported

in fiscal 1996; none in fiscal 1995; and two in fiscal 1994. At USIA's EEO office, three disability discrimination complaints were filed in fiscal 1996, two in fiscal 1995 and one in fiscal 1994. The figures represent only the number of formally filed EEO complaints; an estimated 90 percent of all conflicts are resolved informally through dispute resolution or EEO negotiation. The FSGB, where more serious bias complaints tend to be filed, declined to provide figures, saying it does not file complaints by type, but by whether they are financial disputes or job assessment issues.



LINA CHESAK

SINCE 1990, DISABLED  
FINDING AGENCIES  
MORE ACCOMMODATING

BY FRANCINE MODDERNO

**T**he correlation between health and handicap is itself a source of much confusion in the law, since one can have a handicap and be healthy. For instance, the absence of a limb does not mean one



## F O C U S

*Disabled FS employees have noticed their needs are being better accommodated now than before 1990, when ADA was signed. Before ADA, all FS applicants were required to be in "perfect health."*

is unhealthy, and many disabilities, such as poor eyesight, can be corrected with eyeglasses.

In fact, it was the visually handicapped, which represent 2 percent of the U.S. population, who were the first to successfully challenge the State Department's requirement that Foreign Service candidates be in "perfect health."

The National Federation of the Blind had been lobbying the State Department to accept the visually disabled since the mid-1970s, but it took until 1989 for the leadership at State to get the message. That year, Abraham Rabby, a former Fulbright scholar who speaks five languages and who is blind, filed a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) against the State Department, claiming he was being barred from entering the Foreign Service because he was blind. After a lengthy battle against State, he was accepted as an FSO in late 1990.

Since then, Foreign Service employees with various handicaps — from speech to visual and hearing problems — have been accommodated by the State Department, which means few disabled have been forced to appeal their cases to the EEOC. However, other complaints are still pending from employees claiming discrimination due to mental depression and various visual and hearing problems.

For example, the lawsuit filed by Ray Patterson, a blind Foreign Service applicant who argues he was not given "reasonable accommodation" in taking the Foreign Service exam, is still pending. The lawsuit was recently remanded from the 9th District Appeals Court for further consideration by a lower court in California.

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*Francine Moddero is a former Foreign Service spouse who is now a freelance writer in the Washington, D.C., area.*

The major barrier to disabled Foreign Service applicants had long been the State Department's requirement that FSOs be available for worldwide assignment. During a 1989 congressional hearing, the blind Rabby testified that the "principle of 'worldwide availability' was constantly advanced as the main rationale for excluding blind candidates — any blind candidates — for consideration" in the Foreign Service.

"The Department of State would like to have us believe that, with no more than a moment's notice, all Foreign Service officers are typically and routinely uprooted from their present locations and flown, willy nilly, from Brussels to Beijing and from Ouagadougou to Ottawa," said Rabby, now in his third posting as an FSO. "In reality, however, Foreign Service officers are not inanimate objects manufactured on some mythical State Department assembly line according to some fixed scientific formula, and are not perfectly interchangeable with one another."

He pointed out that the Foreign Service "theorizes glibly about worldwide availability, but in reality ... it must behave like any intelligent manager of people who recognizes that not all jobs are the same, not all work environments are identical, and most importantly, that every Foreign Service officer, blind or sighted, is an individual in the fullest sense of that term."

Accommodating employees and their geographical preferences is a big part of assigning employees in the Service, according to George Vest, a former director general of the Foreign Service. In a 1988 interview with *The New York Times*, he said that he had "to reconcile an enormous variety of preferences and Service needs. [FSOs] come to me and say, 'The wife is ill,' and 'I have a difficult kid in high school,' or 'I don't like hot weather,' or 'I've done Africa and now I want Paris.'"

After Rabby's 1989 complaint, State backtracked and agreed to consider blind applicants for the Foreign


Service. "Given the central importance of worldwide availability in managing the Foreign Service, shielding it from attack or constriction in legal process may well be worth the inconvenience of accommodating otherwise qualified blind candidates for the Foreign Service," wrote Kenneth Hunter, then a deputy assistant secretary for personnel at State, in a 1989 memo to the director general. "Also, a change in policy toward greater accommodation of the blind would be a positive step towards meeting our statutory obligation under the Foreign Service Act to be fully representative of the American people."

This August, State dropped its requirement that FS spouses be medically cleared before going overseas, "deciding that FSOs can't be discriminated against on the basis of an association with a person with a disability," according to Linda Massaro, deputy assistant secretary for Personnel at the State Department. "It's now up to the officer what he wants to do with the disabled family member. But, manage-

ment wants to make crystal clear that the FSO still needs worldwide availability."

**W**hat most worries the State Department is the term, "reasonable accommodation," used in both the Rehabilitation Act and the ADA. The Supreme Court has defined a "reasonable accommodation" as one that would not impose "undue financial and administrative burdens" on employers or require "a fundamental alteration in the nature" of the job. Since this definition is somewhat subjective, the courts so far have interpreted the term in conflicting ways.

"A job candidate or employee has to be able to perform the job even with a disability, in order to qualify for employment, as well as accommodation," says Patricia Kinney, chief of the department's Division of Work and Family Programs. Kinney oversees workplace accommodations for the handicapped in accordance with the Rehabilitation Act. "If math is

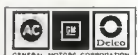


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required on the job, the candidate must be able to perform the kind of math needed, in spite of his or her handicap," she says.

Major technology advances have helped the Foreign Service give disabled FSOs overseas whatever they need to do their jobs better. "New technology offers some creative solutions to logistical problems faced by the handicapped," says Kinney. "The accommodation required for a number of needs, in many cases of medical handicap, is a very simple one, such as an inexpensive adjustment to a work station."

To date, her office has helped accommodate disabled FSOs overseas by providing speaker phones and amplified phone handsets for the hearing impaired; magnifiers, voice activated machines, braille software and high-contrast monitors for the visually impaired; and arranging to hire readers for the blind.

Yet, although the department is now accommodating the needs of the blind, it still routinely rejects

other disabled applicants, such as diabetics, and those FSOs who become diabetic are restricted to posts such as Washington, where good medical care is readily available. People who are HIV-positive or who have AIDS also are not accepted into the Service, although those FSOs who develop either overseas are subject to the same restrictions as diabetic FSOs.

And although the Foreign Service has won praise for accommodating employees who have become disabled after being hired, critics still charge that few disabled people — except for several blind FSOs — have been hired since 1990.

One particularly difficult area is the Rehabilitation Act's prohibition of discrimination against the mentally or emotionally disabled, who make up 2 percent of the general U.S. population.

Traditionally, the department has viewed an applicant's history of mental illness as a security issue, since it has always been grounds to deny the security clearance required to serve abroad. ■

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# THE ISSUE OF SEXUAL PREFERENCE

**M**ale gay FSOs stepping out of the closet are having a dramatic impact on the definition of diversity in the foreign affairs community, both in Washington, D.C., and abroad. In the State Department especially, once a bastion of the conservative, orthodox and elite whose history includes some of the U.S. government's darkest chapters of homophobia, male gay FSOs have had remarkable success since 1992 in winning guarantees of non-discrimination and altering regulations to ensure equal treatment.

Where "being exposed" as homosexual once meant losing a security clearance, being banned from government employment and suffering public embarrassment, openly gay male FSOs now serve among their straight colleagues with little apparent notice and, at a number of posts abroad, participate with their same-sex partners as couples at U.S. mission activities.

■ At U.S. Embassy Mexico City, Jene Thomas, partner of FSO Eric Nelson, serves as the post's assistant community liaison officer (CLO) and edits the embassy newsletter. Thomas and Nelson, an administrative officer, have served three tours abroad as a couple, according to Thomas, and "from day one" the pair has been accepted at post.

■ At U.S. Embassy Hanoi, political officer Bryan Dalton recalls serious

discussions of issues facing gays and lesbians in the Foreign Service at a recent embassy staff meeting. That's a far cry from 1991, when agents for State's Bureau of Diplomatic Security (DS) interrupted his parents' state-side Christmas celebration to inquire if they knew of their son's sexual preference.

■ At U.S. Consulate General Istanbul, consular officer Jan Krc brought a same-sex date to the 1994 Marine Ball. Last year, three gay male couples attended the ball and "actually slow danced," he said.

■ At U.S. Embassy Moscow, when information officer

Richard Hoagland was asked by an American reporter if he found it ironic to be gay and the chief U.S. spokesman in the heart of the former evil empire, where being arrested as a homosexual could mean a long prison sentence, he responded, "I am not a gay spokesman. I am a gay man who has a high-profile job to do and an intense commitment to do it well." Hoagland's security clearance was briefly threatened in 1989 when a disgruntled colleague denounced him as a homosexual and he was subjected to what he says was "intense, absurd and outrageous" interrogation by security at the U.S. Information Agency (USIA).

LINA CHESAK



**MALE GAY FSOs FINDING  
MORE ACCEPTANCE, FAIRNESS;  
LESBIANS STILL CLOSETED**

*BY RICHARD GILBERT*

*Though male gay officers are no longer content to hide in the diplomatic closet, it's not so true of their gay sisters. Lesbians who feel discriminated against due to gender may be unwilling to risk more bias.*

an overseas school grant. The couple is now in Vienna, where Buss serves at the U.S. mission to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

**G**ays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies (GLIFAA) was organized in 1992 to represent gay FSOs and Civil Service employees, to forward their concerns to the management of the foreign affairs agencies and to provide gays a forum to share problems and experiences. In the words of FSO and GLIFAA member John Long, "Gays are part of the composite of America and are proud to represent the United States. Our presence as Foreign Service officers should be an open presence if we are to accurately reflect America as it is today."

But although many male gay officers may no longer be content to hide in the diplomatic closet, it's not so true of their gay sisters. As in the United States in general, lesbians are less open in the workplace about their sexual preference than are male homosexuals — and that bodes doubly true in the still overwhelmingly male, heterosexual world of the Foreign Service.

One lesbian FSO, who requested anonymity, said most gay female employees she knows find GLIFAA somewhat sexist. "My friends ... won't join GLIFAA," she says, pointing out that members of its all-male leadership are publicly open about their sexual preference. "They say it only addresses male issues and turns a blind eye to the situation of [gay] women." One recent meeting drew 50 men and only four women, said the woman, who is a GLIFAA member.

Unlike male homosexuals, lesbian FSOs find themselves in a more complicated political climate. Many who already feel discriminated against because of gender are

unwilling to risk additional bias due to sexual preference. "Most lesbians think it's too difficult a lifestyle to live overseas with a partner," noted the FSO, although her own long-term partner has agreed to travel with her to post. Indeed, gay women are usually more private about their sexual preference than are male homosexuals. Only one of the handful of lesbian FS employees contacted for this piece agreed to be interviewed, but only if her name was not published.

**A**nthony C.E. Quinton, director general of the Foreign Service, is broad in his description of the Foreign Service attitude toward sexual preference. "We have undertaken an obligation to make the Foreign Service representative," he said. "Now the law doesn't define what that means. But it means to me that Americans of all kinds, colors and shapes should have the ability to compete for, compete in and rise within the Foreign Service of the United States."

To date, no discrimination complaints on sexual preference have been filed by Foreign Service employees at State's Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) office, the first step in the legal battle that may find its way to the federal agency, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). The EEOC does not track complaints charging discrimination on the basis of sexual preference in either the private or public sector, according to a spokesman.

However, no legal challenge was apparently necessary. In 1994, GLIFAA claimed its first victory when Secretary of State Warren Christopher issued a two-sentence policy statement that, for the first time, said the State Department would not discriminate on the basis of "sexual orientation."

Advocates of equal treatment for homosexuals in government service achieved another historic advance in 1995 when President Clinton, in a break with federal practice since the Eisenhower administration, eliminated

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*Richard Gilbert, a freelance writer, is a former FSO with USIA who served in Thailand, Romania, Finland, Liberia and the former Soviet Union.*

## F O C U S

"sexual perversion" as grounds for automatically denying access to classified information and terming some applicants "security risks." Clinton's order bars discrimination on the basis of "sexual orientation" and specifically states that "no inference" regarding the eligibility for access to classified information "may be raised solely on the basis of the sexual orientation of the employee."

Despite progress in ensuring equal treatment for different lifestyles in the federal workplace and polls that show overwhelming support — 85 percent of Americans — in favor of extending equal rights to gay people on the job, few gay employees believe the millennium has arrived. In their view, those gains made are too new and remain, in some quarters, too controversial to justify confidence that they won't be rolled back under different administrations or with shifts in American attitudes.





**T**oday probably few young FSOs recognize the name of Robert Walter Scott McLeod, the State Department's former chief security officer who,

following his appointment by John Foster Dulles in early 1953, created a police state atmosphere of fear in the department and the Foreign Service with his Torquemada-like quest for security risks, subversives, communists and homosexuals. At one point, McLeod controlled security, personnel, passports and visas and State Department inspections, a concentration of authority not seen before or since. The near destruction of the Foreign Service that resulted from his activities has been cited in books such as Thomas Reeves' 1982 biography, *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy*. Rarely discussed are the shattered lives of hundreds of employees dismissed as homosexuals when, after McLeod and his hired guns despaired of finding communists and security risks that he had been sent to uncover at State, he turned to the far easier target of people who were, or were accused of being, homosexuals.

In 1950, when ex-FBI agent McLeod was still on the staff of New Hampshire GOP Sen. Styles Bridges, the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments of the U.S. Senate published a report by one of its subcom-

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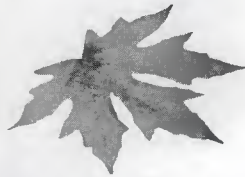
mittees titled "Employment of Homosexuals and other Sex Perverts in the Government." The authors of the report claimed to find that "the presence of a sex pervert in a Government agency tends to have a corrosive influence upon ... fellow employees. These perverts will frequently attempt to entice normal individuals to engage in perverted practices. ... It is particularly important that the thousands of young men and women who are brought into Federal jobs not be subjected to that type of influence while in the service of the Government. One homosexual can pollute a Government office." According to the report, 121 employees at State resigned or were dismissed following allegations of homosexuality between Jan. 1, 1947 and Nov. 1, 1950. The authors advocated "a thorough investigation" of all complaints of homosexuality as "the only effective way to handle sex perversion cases in a Government agency."

The roots of Scott McLeod's awesome power over the lives and careers of State employees are found in two presidential executive orders. The first, signed by President Harry Truman in 1947 during a time of heightened concern

about the communist threat, established loyalty programs for government employees and directed "a loyalty investigation" for all job candidates in the executive branch. Truman's loyalty criteria were narrowly defined as criminal acts and membership in proscribed political organizations. At the height of McCarthyism in 1953, President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Executive Order 10450 added "sexual perversion" to the reasons federal employees could be fired. This and the other notorious provisions having little to do with loyalty stood as U.S. law for more than 40 years, until President Clinton replaced them last year.

In 1952, however, after only three weeks on the job at the State Department, McLeod was boasting to friendly journalists that he had already fired 21 employees for alleged homosexuality. By 1957, when he appeared at confirmation hearings on his nomination as U.S. ambassador to Ireland, McLeod claimed that, under his tenure since 1953, 213 people had left the State Department after being charged with "sexual perversion." It is a matter of conjecture just how many others left during McLeod's tenure —

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and earlier — out of fear or a desire to cloak their sexual preference. What is clear is that the door of an oppressive closet had been nailed tightly shut.

Until 1975, federal agencies could refuse to hire homosexual men and women because of their sexual orientation. After several court decisions, this practice was prohibited by the Civil Service Commission. It was not until 1980 that the Office of Personnel Management, successor to the Civil Service Commission, issued a memorandum to heads of departments and independent agencies prohibiting personnel decisions based on employees' sexual orientation. Referring to the commission's 1975 guidelines, a report prepared last year by the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) on sexual orientation and the clearance process explains that "although the public policy change resulted in the restrictions against employment of homosexuals being lifted, the guidance for granting security clearances to homosexuals remained generally vague or restrictive until the early 1990s." In other

words, in the "national security" agencies and at defense contractors, the number of which had expanded greatly since Eisenhower's time, the requirement for "security clearances" continued to be used to deny employment to or to fire homosexuals.

Indeed, until about 1991 there were a number of cases, documented in court records, of government or civilian employees whose security clearances were revoked because of sexual orientation. Undocumented, at least for the public, were the many other cases of employees including FSOs who, following often unattributed allegations of homosexual behavior, continued to be investigated by security offices after 1975 and who, threatened with dismissal, resigned.

But there was, apparently, little consistency in the diligence with which homosexuals were ferreted out of the foreign affairs agencies in those years. In 1973, Tom Gallagher was the first FSO to come out publicly. From U.S. Embassy Madrid, where he is a consular officer, Gallagher remembers working hard to hide his homosexuality in the years before 1973. "Protecting the closet was exhausting," he said.



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## F O C U S

"I had to constantly worry about my wrist going limp, or how I walked or talked. I had to sound tough on everything, lest people think I was soft. Perhaps worst, I had to suppress my really good camp sense of humor."

He made a point of "avoiding large, sophisticated cities" as potential assignments, but after his first tour in Jidda, he was assigned to Paris. "I knew I could never maintain my closet there, so I begged for an assignment to Africa," he said. Following an assignment at U.S. Consulate Kaduna, Gallagher returned to a job in State's Cultural Affairs Bureau in 1969, the year the Stonewall riots in Greenwich Village erupted and forced gay liberation into the American consciousness. He remembers gay discos opening in the summer of 1970 in Washington. "I was not ready to be public at work, but in those discos I began to see faces that I recognized from the department," he recalled. "For the most part we were too frightened to admit that we knew each other, but eventually I made two or three State Department gay friends."

By 1973, Gallagher heard that the Gay Activists Alliance

was organizing a conference that would include a panel discussion on gay employment with the federal government. Before volunteering for the panel, Gallagher contacted the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to solicit its help if needed. The ACLU representative, who spoke with him by phone, said, "Your secret is already out because the FBI is bugging us, and they will surely tell State security what you just told us." That, of course, included my name," recalls Gallagher.

*The Washington Post* ran a story on the conference, in which Gallagher was identified as an FSO. Afterwards, he remembers, "I was sure the long arm of DS would reach out for me, but [it] never did." On the contrary, shortly thereafter and only 14 months after his last promotion, he was promoted again to the next grade, a response he never expected.

Still, Gallagher believed his Foreign Service career would be limited and in 1976, he left the Service and headed for California where, for nearly 20 years, he directed a private-sector AIDS program. He returned to the department in 1994. "There is a different atmosphere now," he

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says. "It's amazing to me that GLIFAA concerns itself with issues like benefits for gay [partners]," he said. "Such a thought never occurred to me when I was fighting just for the right to work for the federal government."

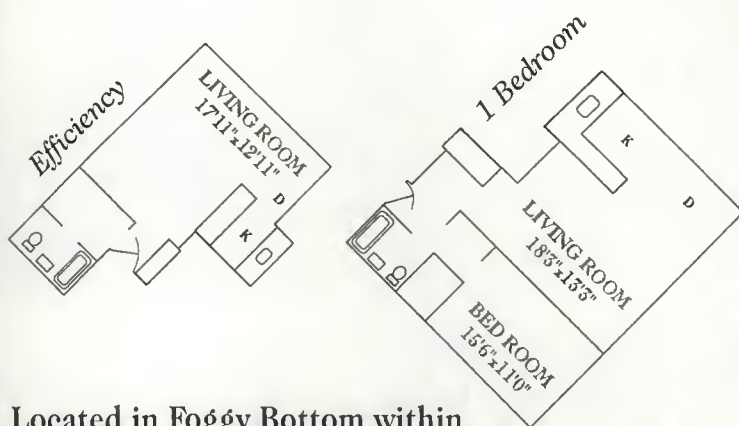
In 1984 the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) attempted to fire Jan Krc, another openly gay FSO, after he was accused of having an intimate relationship with a Yugoslav citizen against supposed embassy policy on "fraternization," during a tour at U.S. Embassy Belgrade. Krc was able to satisfy USIA personnel that no rule specifically proscribed the behavior of single officers with Yugoslav nationals, yet when he received another overseas assignment, USIA security refused to approve it, saying his homosexuality made him "an extremely likely target for hostile intelligence approaches." Fired a second time from the Foreign Service and saddled with a "geographically limited security clearance," Krc transferred to USIA's Civil Service and took his case to the Foreign Service Grievance Board (FSGB). After two years, the board instructed USIA to reinstate him as an FSO, which the agency refused to do. He took the case to

U.S. District Court, which ruled that the FSGB lacked jurisdiction to overturn the agency's initial decision. Finally, in 1994, the Supreme Court refused to hear the case and it ended, which meant the district court's decision still stands.

Meanwhile, under a provision of the Foreign Service Act of 1950 that allowed employees whose dismissal had been ruled invalid by the FSGB to reapply to the Service, the determined Krc reapplied, this time as an applicant for the Department of State. He passed the written and oral exams. In mid-1992, Krc endured an intrusive pre-clearance investigation into his homosexuality by State's DS and also submitted to two FBI polygraph tests in connection with the old USIA charges. By mid-1993, his security clearance fully restored, he joined the State Department as a junior FSO and is now serving as a consular officer at U.S. Consulate General Frankfurt.

**T**he United States is not the only country facing new issues raised by gay diplomats and their partners. In Washington, D.C., last fall the embassy of Australia

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## F O C U S

requested that the State Department grant family member diplomatic privileges and immunities for the same-sex partner of a gay embassy attaché and recently the embassy of Canada made two similar requests. Neither embassy has received a reply from the State Department, but the Australian request generated a cable from State to American embassies in more than 20 countries soliciting information about other countries' policies on the issue. In the cable, the department said no such request had been received before and that the department "does not have a policy regarding acceptance of same-sex partners."

In an interview in his seventh-floor office, Director General Quainton confirmed that the State Department is studying the extension of diplomatic privileges and immunities to homosexual partners and unmarried heterosexual partners, though he admits current practice will probably continue "for some time to come." According to Quainton, the dependent relationship is key. "If you have a dependent, legally certified, we will give appropriate privileges and allowances," he said. "All I can say at this

time is that this whole range of issues is being looked at recognizing the fact that other governments have taken a position that is different from that taken by the U.S."

Quainton headed DS from 1992-95 and was responsible for implementing new security procedures. The issue of how to handle security clearances and investigations for gay employees, he recalled, "was on my agenda from the very moment of my confirmation." Referring to Christopher's 1994 memorandum, he said, "We made it absolutely clear [to DS investigators] what the rules are, that if someone acknowledges homosexual behavior, there would be no follow-up question on the basis of that. We're not asking, 'Does your mother know?'"

Embassy personnel abroad occasionally solicit advice from Quainton on decisions concerning homosexual relationships at posts overseas. "The answer is the same," says Quainton. "If there is a question of public scandal, promiscuous behavior that reflects on the embassy, then you must take it seriously, whether homosexual or heterosexual. But the fact that someone has developed a consensual, private

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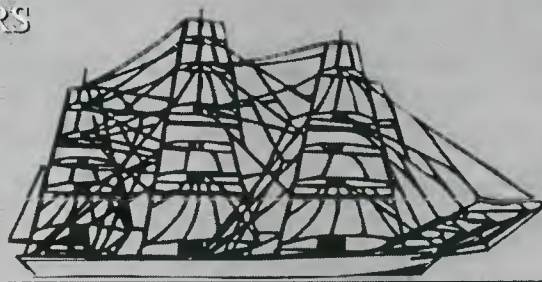
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## F O C U S

relationship overseas is not something that we pursue as a security matter."

Caron McConnon, who evaluates the results of security investigations in the DS bureau, says the department focuses on misconduct, not bad behavior. "Anything done between two consenting adults in private is their business," she said in a telephone interview. "A person's sexual preferences are not our business. But it is our job to assess a person's vulnerability to coercion, to approaches from foreign intelligence services."

GLIFAA is quick to pronounce its agenda with DS "basically accomplished" and to credit Quainton for "doing what was right." Now, interim GLIFAA President John F. Guerra explained, "we are working on a two-track approach. On one hand is the benefits question. Just as important to us, on the other hand, are visibility and barrier issues in the workplace."

Now an officially recognized organization in the department, GLIFAA has won requests for public meetings with management, access to e-mail, and permission

to publicize its activities on B-net, State's internal television broadcast service. "We're encouraging gay officers to put photos of their partners on their desks," he said. "All this is a way of raising the comfort level for gays to force the closet door further open for everyone."

He said gay FSOs remain concerned, however, about "invisible discrimination and cloaked homophobia" in the workplace and are also concerned the newly developed "patina of protection" may be thin. Many believe their behavior is held to higher standards than that of heterosexuals. Others look for more to be done to educate managers and note that not all foreign affairs agencies have followed State's lead in issuing non-discrimination statements bringing sexual orientation under the umbrella of diversity protection.

**T**he issue of extending spousal benefits to gay domestic partners is an especially vexing one for management, one that Quainton admits is "a very difficult legal issue, an issue that raises all sort of reciproc-

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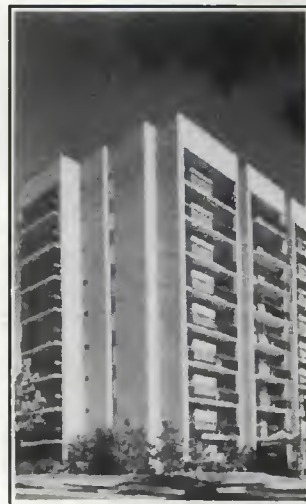
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## F O C U S

ity concerns with other governments and is a highly political issue here in Washington." He was quoted as having said that, "the Department of State is not a social laboratory," a statement he doesn't dispute. In GLIFAA's view, however, there are "no-cost or marginal-cost" steps that the Department and other agencies in the foreign affairs community should take now to provide equality to same-sex partners involved in lifetime relationships with FSOs, Guerra said. These include receiving diplomatic passports, privileges and immunities abroad; being issued embassy and commissary ID cards; being eligible to compete for embassy jobs as American family members; having access to government contract air fares and medical services on a reimbursable basis; including partners in the emergency notification system; allowing partners and their dependents to be included in calculations for post housing; and having training opportunities.

According to John Long, GLIFAA's point man on partnership benefits, "Our partners play the same role in our lives as do spouses in heterosexual unions. ... We're

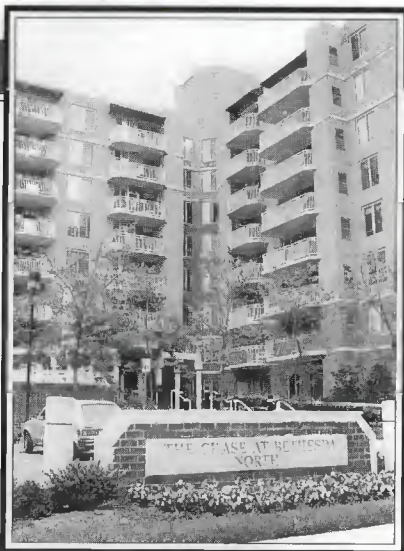
not seeking preferential treatment, only equality."

Can an openly gay FS employee have a fast-track career and rise to the senior levels of the Foreign Service? "Absolutely," countered Quainton. "There are a number who are at very senior levels — the minister-counselor level — and their acknowledged homosexuality has not impeded their advancement." For Quainton, being gay and successful in the Foreign Service are no longer mutually exclusive. "We can proclaim that we are color, racial, gender and sexual-orientation blind but if, by what we do, we do not demonstrate that, then the words do not have credibility." Richard Hoagland also believes that "you can be honest about who you are and succeed in our profession." Recalling the question of the U.S. journalist in Moscow, Hoagland observes that gay male FSOs are "truly in a different and decidedly better and more just world than ... five years ago. ... Who I am and what I'm doing is not ironic, because that implies a raised eyebrow. It's important and it's quietly revolutionary." ■

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## THE ISSUE OF AGE

**W**hen budget cutbacks forced the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to lay off 97 Foreign Service employees last June, 96 were over the age of 40. Now nearly a third of that older group is filing a class-action lawsuit, charging age discrimination.

In a two-page brief filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) on Oct. 25, the plaintiffs claimed "the reasons stated for the selection of the older employees for reduction are mere pretexts for age discrimination." The "notice of intent to file civil action" was filed against USAID and Administrator J. Brian Atwood by Washington attorney Raymond C. Fay of Bell, Boyd & Lloyd and Burton D. Fretz of the National Senior Citizens Law Center.

Specifically, the suit alleges the agency reduction in force (RIF) targeted senior grade levels containing a disproportionate number of older employees; selected older employees for separation within specific skill codes; protected younger employees in intern grades from separation; and failed to apply federal law and its own rules governing RIF in "a fair and nondiscriminatory manner."

USAID denied any of the dismissed employees received the June

26 pink slips because of their age. "It was not personal, and it was certainly not based on any kind of age discrimination," said a USAID spokeswoman in a telephone interview.

However, on April 26 Atwood testified before the House International Relations Committee that the agency "took extraordinary steps ... to protect ... the new people. ... So I believe those new people that are our new professionals — and our agency needs that new blood — will be protected in this process." The USAID spokeswoman later dismissed the "new blood" comment, saying the term does not

necessary mean "young" employees, but new ones. An employee report of a May 1 USAID meeting quoted agency representatives as saying that "although [USAID management] couldn't ask older people to leave, they wanted to encourage early retirements."

The intent of the RIF, say attorneys for the plaintiffs, could be traced back to public comments by Atwood in September 1993. In reference to an "involuntary retirement" that year at USAID that included 48 Foreign Service employees over the age of 50,

LINA CHESSAK

Atwood told *The Washington Post* that the majority were "over 50 years old with more than 20 years of service, and therefore eligible for retirement benefits. I think a lot of the people on that list were very good people, but we just had to move them out so



**WITH MORE EMPLOYEES OVER 40, AGE-BIAS SUITS SEEN AS GROWING TREND**

*BY SHARNA MARCUS*

## F O C U S

*One of the growing courtroom trends is that judges and juries are finding it legal for companies to lay off older people in the private sector to save money.*

that we could move other, younger people through the system." In an Oct. 8, 1993, letter, the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) criticized Atwood, warning that his comments in the *Post* may mean the agency is "engaging in a policy of bias against older agency employees."

Two of the plaintiffs' attorneys declined to discuss specifics of the case. However, Raymond Fay said the plaintiffs' request for legal assistance "certainly indicates to us that the agency has good cause to be defensive. They are well aware that it is a fair ground for dispute whether people's rights were violated."

**T**he 1967 Age Discrimination in Employment Act (ADEA), as amended in 1986, forbids job discrimination against employees over the age of 40 in both the private and public sectors. If plaintiffs can prove they were subject to disparate treatment, the legal burden of proof is shifted to the employer. However, public employees could not legally sue until 1974. The law is enforced by the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

According to advocates for older Americans, the case is but a ripple in a growing wave of similar litigation by private and public employees across America, as the Baby Boom generation enters middle age. The trend toward laying off older employees during corporate downsizing has picked up speed in recent years and civil rights attorneys predict it will become worse before it becomes better. "As the population gets older, we can expect a lot more age discrimination nationwide just because of demographics," according to Chicago civil rights attorney L. Steven Platt, who has represented many plaintiffs in age dis-

crimination suits. "Now we see folks who are 39 and 40 getting pushed out of their jobs because companies are looking to get rid of people before they reach that protect[ed] age of 40 and above."

Platt said he found that the government, as an employer, tends to be worse than the private sector because no one is held accountable in the public sector. "They don't spend the money to do (RIFs) right because they don't have the proper, sufficient budget," he said. "In private business, they're more inclined to do it right because litigation is a threat and that affects the bottom line."

According to the EEOC, in fiscal 1995, about 20 percent of all charges — 17,401 cases — were filed charging age discrimination, the fourth leading cause of public and private employment discrimination after race, gender and disability. Charges by government employees have risen in the last eight years, representing 117 cases in fiscal 1995 compared to 44 in fiscal 1985.

Platt pointed out that more judges and juries are finding it legal for companies in the private sector to lay off more expensive employees to save money — a trend not seen in the public sector. Public sector management is bound by RIF rules that differ by agency. "A trend encouraged by the federal courts and the Supreme Court is a company that wants to get rid of people because they cost too much — it's OK," he said. "There is a tendency for juries to believe intuitively that companies are downsizing for economic reasons."

However, it would be difficult for USAID officials to argue they were trying to cut costs when not one person who was laid off was at the career-minister or minister-counselor level of the Foreign Service, the two highest salary grades, according to the list of RIFed employees. Moreover, not one of the more than 100 Civil Service employees who lost their jobs was from the Senior Executive ranks. ■

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*Sharna Marcus, a journalism student in American University's Washington Semester Program this semester, is a junior at Indiana University in Bloomington.*

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# BLOODSHED IN BURUNDI

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HAUNTED BY SPECTER OF '94 MASSACRE  
IN RWANDA, US KEEPS AN EERIE SILENCE

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By MICHAEL P.E. HOYT

While the world is focused on U.S.-led efforts to negotiate an end to ethnic conflict in the former Yugoslavia, it has all but ignored escalating tribal warfare in the Central African nation of Burundi, which the U.N. Commission on Human Rights says is the site of "genocide by attrition."

Since 1993, more than 150,000 of the country's 6 million have been killed in clashes between the Tutsi and majority Hutu tribes in a country the size of the state of Michigan. By contrast, some 263,000 people have been killed in ethnic violence since 1992 in the former Yugoslavia. However, human rights activists say Tutsi-Hutu warfare in Burundi, Rwanda, Zaire and Tanzania has killed more than 1.5 million Africans in less than two years.

If the violence is left unchecked in Burundi, activists worry it will surpass the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, where more than 500,000 people were massacred in clashes between majority Hutus and ruling Tutsis. Some 85,000 of the 2 million Rwandan

Hutu refugees who fled two years ago now live in northern Burundi and many fear returning home, where 80,000 Hutu prisoners are being held on criminal charges of genocide.

International human rights activists say the opportunity to broker peace between the two tribes, which have been fighting for more than two decades, may now be at hand — with the help of Burundi's newly reinstated president, Pierre Buyoya. A Tutsi military leader who became chief of state after the military coup in July, Buyoya is well positioned to deal with the country's most murderous element — the extremist Hima, a Tutsi clan blamed for the majority of massacres that have ravaged the country in the 35 years since its independence.

Ousted President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, a Hutu, is now ensconced in the U.S. embassy, where only 23 American employees remain. Ambassador Morris N. Hughes, a career diplomat who arrived in June, has been quietly active behind the scenes to urge the two sides to come to the bargaining table.

Although the Clinton administration has dispatched several unsuccessful diplomatic missions to Burundi since 1993, the United States has made it clear in the last year that Africans themselves need to take the lead in solving the region's problems. This is a major policy change from 1994, when the U.S.-led relief effort thrust the Rwanda genocide into the global spotlight and America poured \$850 million in humanitarian aid into the region, mainly to set up refugee camps in Zaire and Tanzania. The last U.S.

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*Michael P.E. Hoyt is a retired FSO who was charge d'affaires at U.S. Embassy Bujumbura during the 1972 massacres and U.S. counselor for human rights to the United Nations in Geneva from 1978-80. During his 25-year career, he also served in Ibadan, Nigeria and Douala, Cameroon and in Washington, D.C. He now lives in Las Cruces, N.M.*



ambassador to Burundi, Robert Krueger, a former U.S. senator from Texas, was transferred out in September 1995 after a foiled ambush attempt against him. From the United States, and earlier from Burundi, he launched an extraordinary publicity campaign — at considerable risk to himself — to spread knowledge of the slaughter. Krueger has been reassigned as U.S. ambassador to Botswana.

The international community has also been active, trying to coax Burundi toward peace by offering U.N. financial aid and threatening intervention, although France and the United States have offered funds but not troops. France followed up by cutting off military support and the European Union halted its aid, which had provided 23 percent of GNP. Burundi's neighbors, led by former Tanzania president Julius K. Nyerere, promptly called an economic embargo to force Buyoya to restore the constitution and begin peace talks. There has been some progress: In September, Buyoya lifted restrictions on the parliament and political parties, but has refused to reinstate the constitution or to schedule talks with Hutus.

However, the embargo seems to have had little effect except to fuel new violence. Hutu rebels stepped up attacks, most notably in the Sept. 16 assassination of Catholic Archbishop Joaquin Ruhima, a Tutsi who has been outspoken against the continued killings. Unlike in Rwanda, where Catholic priests and nuns have led massacres themselves, church leaders in Burundi have used their pulpits to call for an end to the bloodshed. More than 85 percent of the Rwandan and Burundian populations are Catholic.

However, as a U.N. tribunal prepares to prosecute the Hutus accused in the Rwanda massacres of 1994, there is no talk of charging anyone with the genocide that has haunted Burundi for 23 years.

**A**n understanding of the violence in Burundi today can be traced to its complex history. How did the region become so polarized between the Hutu and Tutsi tribes?

Most scholars reject the long-held theory that Nilotic invaders from Ethiopia conquered the region's Bantu settlers a thousand years ago, thus forming the Tutsi and the Hutu ethnic components of the king-

dom. Historian Jan Vansina says the Burundians are a mixture of the local Bantu farmers and the immigrant cattle owners and hunters, also Bantus, who migrated in the last 500 years from northern Tanzania. Although they share the same racial origins and share racial characteristics, the groups soon developed different social castes that were the precursors of the ethnic divisions today in Burundi and the neighboring region. These economic and social castes were handed down to descendants, an example of an African myth becoming "reality."

In Burundi, a loosely organized kingdom emerged about 800 years ago, several hundred years later than did the more centralized and socially differentiated kingdom in Rwanda. During the 19th century, Burundi evolved into a kingdom whose king roamed the region, holding ritual ceremonies. The king, known as Mwami, came from the dynasty of Gwira.

How the terms "Hutu" and "Tutsi" evolved has also been peculiar, evolving not so much out of ethnic division as a social and economic caste system that developed over centuries. Inhabitants of the northeastern region, later renamed Banyaruguru, were labeled Tutsis. The region also was home to the Hima tribe, who lived predominantly in the southern and eastern areas of modern-day Burundi and were considered of a lower rank than the Tutsi; the Hutu tribe; and the Twa pigmies. Although the term "Hutu" would later be applied generically to household servants and the term "Tutsi" to people of the professional level, intermarriage was widespread among all groups — except for with the Twa. The children's lineage came from the mother; if a Hutu woman married a Tutsi man, their children became Hutus, and vice versa.

When the Germans and Belgians arrived in the mid-19th century, they exploited the society's caste distinctions in setting up a ruling government. Burundi has remained a well-integrated, almost

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### *Human rights*

*activists say Tutsi-*

*Hutu warfare has*

*claimed the lives of*

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*Africans since 1992*

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exclusively rural society, except for several urban areas such as Bujumbura.

Although Hutus and Tutsis have coexisted for centuries, violence erupted anew in Burundi after its independence in 1961.

According to academic Rene Lemarchand, the ethnic polarization that dominated Burundi in the mid-1960s was prompted by three crises: a crisis of "confidence of Hutu and Tutsi elites;" a crisis of authority within the ruling party, which caused a bitter struggle between Hutu and Tutsi factions; and most importantly, "a crisis of legitimacy culminating in the abolition of the monarchy in 1966 following a Tutsi-led coup within the army."

In 1966, Himi Michel Micombero seized power, abolished the monarchy and proclaimed himself president. In 1969, most remaining Hutu leaders in the government and military were arrested, accused of plotting a coup. In 1971, several leading Banyaruguru Tutsis were arrested and charged with treason, and as a result, the group lost influence in the government. An invasion and uprising in southern Burundi in 1972, supported by former Simba rebels from Zaire, resulted in the slaughter of an undetermined number of Tutsis in the region, which sparked a vengeful massacre by Burundi soldiers that left hundreds of thousands of Hutu dead in the countryside and virtually wiped out the Hutu elite. In charge of the American embassy at the time, I reported extensively on the unfolding event. On June 9, I cabled Washington, "In area after area, no educated male Hutu is believed alive. This is particularly true in the south where we have word from a growing number of villages that no Hutu males remain at all."

Extremists of the Hima, a Tutsi clan, would dominate the Burundi

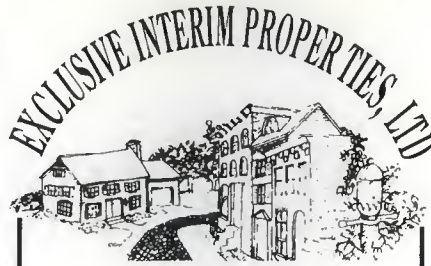
scene in the name of Tutsi survival for the following three decades, leading several Hutu massacres that were repaid with Hutu-led attacks on Tutsis. The tribe remains willing to act brutally when the Tutsi is threatened.

It was Hima extremists, in fact, who led the massacre of thousands of Hutu in 1973 in attacking an army unit in the south; they staged the 1976 coup installing Bagaza as president; they staged the 1987 coup that brought Buyoya to power; and they organized the 1988 massacre of some 20,000 Hutu. The Hima are also believed to have assassinated the new Hutu president in October 1993 and led a failed coup in April 1994.

**R**everberations of ethnic conflict in one country cannot help but be felt in neighboring nations, even if the conflicts are driven by differing dynamics. This is why the 1994 massacres in Rwanda, sparked by a power vacuum left when both countries' presidents died in a plane crash, intensified ethnic tensions in Burundi as well, laying the groundwork for this current wave of genocide.

Reconciliation may yet be possible under President Buyoya, who once before led his nation down the road to peace. International pressure may finally force him to welcome valid Hutu representation into the government, to bring the factious army under control, and to bring assassins to trial at the U.N. International Criminal Court.

The solution does not lie in the separation of Tutsi and Hutu, but in the isolation of the Hima extremists, a feat that U.S. diplomats and the international community can press the Burundian leadership to achieve. Meanwhile, the cycle of violence continues, with an estimated 1,000 Burundians slaughtered every month. ■



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# THE REAL COLD WAR

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AN FSO FAMILY'S WARM TALE  
OF ITS ST. PETERSBURG TAIL

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BY FRANCESCA KELLY

**I**t is one of the most charming cities on earth, although its beauty has admittedly, but not irreversibly, faded. It has reclaimed its old glorious title of St. Petersburg, but for more than half a century it was known as Leningrad, a name that conjures up all the woeful, sodden hues of gray that go along with that Soviet epithet. We lived there in 1983-84 as students and again as diplomats in 1987, 70 years after Lenin's triumph of communism.

We arrived late on the night of Jan. 9, 1987, the coldest night since the worst days of World War II. The temperature had fallen to minus 40 degrees. That marking is, coincidentally, the number where Celsius and Fahrenheit temperatures are the same. So, minus 40 is minus 40, wherever you are on this earth. And if you happen to be in a place that's at minus 40, you usually don't like it much.

My husband, Ian, and I, a slightly less enthusiastic drag-along, brought our 3-month-old baby and our very wimpy terrier to this dark, freezing place so that we could work and live at the U.S. consulate. As we stepped off the plane, the cold air hit our lungs hard. We arrived at our temporary apartment, shlepping all our bags up four flights of dingy stairs and being told

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*Francesca Kelly, the founder and managing editor of SUN, the Spouses' Underground Newsletter, is the spouse of Ian Kelly, a FSO at the U.S. Information Agency who has been posted to Milan, Leningrad, Moscow, Belgrade and Vienna.*

that my husband's first duty would be to escort the local garbage collectors into the compound the next morning. Oh, and, hey, welcome to post.

**T**here were 28 people at the consulate, including dependents, and no one was happy about a record-setting low temperature that made your eyelids feel as if they were frozen to your eyeballs. Even my dog, usually enthusiastic about going for a walk, had to be carried across the frozen ground to a tree to relieve himself, then carried back inside again to collapse in a miserable heap. To further destroy consulate morale, diplomatic battles between our two nations had resulted in the Soviets pulling out each of the local Foreign Service nationals, so that the American diplomats, rather than dealing with American-Soviet policy questions, were preoccupied with dividing the more mundane but necessary duties of keeping an old building running in the cold: elevator maintenance, refuse removal, interior housekeeping, errands and driving. Most of the vehicles held up relatively well, which was a good thing since there was no one to fix them nor any easy way to ship them out of the country for repairs. However, you could hire a tow truck to drive from Finland and haul the car out, for a mere \$1,000, then journey yourself to Finland to pick it up and drive it back when it was fixed. So we made do, sharing rides and getting out auto repair manuals, besieging the few people who traveled abroad with orders for spare parts.

The cold and hardship were matched with an equally compelling sense of paranoia about being Americans on enemy soil. The main Communist Party newspaper, *Pravda*, which ironically, means "The Truth," fired anti-American propaganda at citizens daily. We Americans were briefed about how to act normally while being "tailed" and to expect someone to follow us everywhere. We were frequently reminded about editing our conversations with each other: We were not to mention Russian friends' names, nor talk about which American worked for which agency, nor, of course, discuss anything classified. Being bugged was a fact of life. Some of us got to the point where we felt unable to discuss anything sensitive even when we were thousands of miles away from Soviet soil.

One freezing night soon after our arrival, a consulate friend and I embarked on a grocery shopping trip at the diplomatic store, the only place in the city where you could count on a relatively consistent selection. But it was located 20 minutes away. We set off in my friend's Volvo, my tiny daughter bundled up and strapped tightly into her carseat. What little light there is fades very early here in the winter, and by 3:30 p.m. it was completely dark. By 5 p.m., our shopping mission accomplished, we went to pick up my husband from a nearby exhibit of underground artists.

It was then that my friend's Volvo, usually so reliable, began to stall each time we stopped at a light. The third time it didn't start at all, and we sat for a moment in ominous silence, pondering the next step and fighting down panic. I would have to stay in the car with the baby while my friend searched for a working telephonic to call the consulate, inform employees of our plight and hope like hell they could not only arrange for a taxi to get us, but that the taxi would actually come. But we had hardly unbuckled our seatbelts when a black Volga pulled up to the curb behind us and its fur-hatted driver jumped out. He was a slight man with a weathered complexion and missing teeth who, like many Russians, was probably younger than he looked. He smiled at us.

We got out of the car, and with our limited Russian, we were barely able to communicate. But

he didn't seem to need us anyway. He just lifted the hood and pointed at something. We could understand the words for "ice" and for "gasoline." Then, to my horror — since the baby was still inside the car in her carseat — he withdrew a cigarette lighter from his pocket, lit it, and held it under the apparently frozen gas line. I found myself smiling politely at him while inwardly praying that the car wouldn't explode into a fireball. After a moment he closed the lighter and motioned for us to try the ignition once more. I let out my breath in a cloud of steam as my friend turned the key. The car started. He never stopped smiling as he tipped his hat and got in his car.

Flooded by relief, we chatted excitedly as we drove to the exhibit hall: "Wasn't he the nicest man?"

"Aren't the Russians terrific people?"

"Look, there he is behind us! He's making sure we get to where we're going with no more trouble."

Sure enough, he appeared again when we pulled up at the exhibit hall parking lot. He got out of his car and exchanged a few cordial words with my husband, explaining what had happened. That friendly grin never left his face.

When we drove home a short time later, our protector turned up again in the rearview mirror. As we crossed the bridge over the icy Neva River, a small, slow light — what you even might call a dim bulb — began to glow feebly in my head.

"You know, he's still there," I stammered. "Uh, you don't suppose —"

My husband looked back at me with something disturbingly close to contempt. "Didn't you figure that out already? He's our KGB tail."

Naturally we groaned all the way home at our naivete. Just before we got back, he flashed his lights and turned off. We laughed for weeks afterward.

I still remember his smile, and wonder if he tells that story himself. They say being in the right place at the right time is no accident. Ain't it *pravda*? ■

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*As we crossed the  
bridge over the icy  
Neva River, a small,  
slow light — what you  
even might call a dim  
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feebly in my head.*

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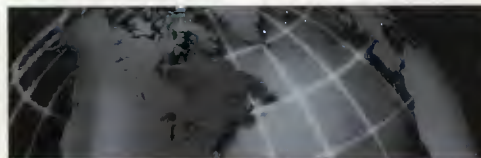
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# BOOKS

## AN FSO LOOKS BACK 50 YEARS AT RUSSIA

### **Closing the Circle: A Buckalino Journey Around Our Time**

*Isaac Patch, Wellesley College,  
1996, softcover, \$15.95, 367 pages.*

BY R. T. DAVIES

Diplomat, deep sea sailor and Navy man, diplomat, victim of McCarthy era hysteria, CIA operative, politician and Democratic Party organizer, civil rights activist, philanthropist, cellist and lithophile, liberal and proud of it, transcendentalist and, above all, raconteur. That is Ike Patch, who knew the top minds in U.S.-Soviet relations, from Aleksandr F. Kerensky and Robert F. Kelley to George F. Kennan and Svetlana I. Alliluyeva.

Patch is a Renaissance man from New England. Looking back at age 84 in this autobiography, he likens his life's journey to the game he and his friends played 70 years ago, which they called "buckalinos," which entailed leaping from floe to floe in Gloucester harbor as the ice broke up in spring. The young FSO began serving at U.S. Embassy Moscow in 1943, staying long enough to see statesman George Kennan cheered by the Russians on V-E Day in 1945. Last year, he returned as a guest of the Russian Foreign Ministry to celebrate the 50th anniversary of that day. After Moscow, he served at U.S. Consulate Dairen, in Manchuria, shortly after that city had

been turned over to the Chinese communists by their uncordial allies, the Soviets. He was in Prague for nine months during the early years of the Cold War, when U.S. Embassy Prague's local employees were being imprisoned and its contacts hanged for treason. Expelled in 1949 on a trumped-up charge of espionage, he returned to Prague last year, 45 years later, to be honored by President Vaclav Havel.

Even a Gloucesterman is lucky to be able to land again on the same buckalino, and to perform that trick twice, at intervals of 45 and 50 years, must be unprecedented.

Intimidated by the campaign against the "more than 200 known Communists" at the State Department alleged by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, State in 1952 turned down Patch's application for reappointment. The CIA was not so timorous, with the result that Patch was enabled to strike many a blow against Soviet totalitarianism.

In public or private life, Ike Patch rarely met an underdog or a lost cause he could resist supporting. He worked 11 years to integrate the black citizens of his adopted hometown of Englewood, N.J., into the city's political spectrum. He spent vacations in Georgia and Mississippi helping his daughter, Penny, to register black voters in campaigns organized by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

For Foreign Service people, the descriptions of life in wartime Moscow, post-revolutionary Dairen, Cold-War Prague and the Munich of the emigres alone are well worth this volume's

price. Without meaning or trying to, Ike Patch indicates how much difference one person can make. No stone he raised on Terrible Mountain stands so straight and solid as the life he describes in his autobiography.

*An FSO who retired in 1980, R.T. Davies spent more than 25 years working on U.S.-Soviet and U.S.-Polish relations in Moscow, Warsaw, Paris, Kabul and Washington, D.C.*

## US-SINO RELATIONS SEEN AS UNFOCUSED

### **Shaping China's Future in World Affairs: The Role of the United States**

*Robert G. Sutter, Worldview Press,  
1996, hardcover, \$39.85, 194 pages.*

BY DAVID REUTHER

The four-year presidential election cycle provides a convenient opportunity for American political leaders to review foreign policy trends. Those leaders should read this book, which encapsulates the dilemma of U.S.-China policy in one slim volume. It also includes an excellent chronology of bilateral relations and a useful bibliography.

Sutter, the senior China analyst at the Congressional Research Service in Washington, D.C., argues that the United States will have a major impact on China's future, but warns that the mixed signals it is sending have made

## BOOKS

its China policy too unpredictable. "The most important and most uncertain element determining China's future in world affairs could be the United States, specifically U.S. policy on issues sensitive to China's interests," he wrote. American policy appears to be run without a strong vision of what the bilateral relationship should be and where it fits into the larger scheme of the post-Cold War world.

He catalogues three main American versions of China's future: the transformation school that argues historical and economic trends will point Beijing in the same direction as Taiwan; the degeneration school, which argues China won't make the political adjustments necessary for economic reform and will spiral into corruption and authoritarianism; and the economically powerful but authoritari-

an school, which rejects democratization theory and argues that China will modernize, yet remain politically repressive.

Sutter suggests that each of the above paradigms stimulated associated policy perspectives among China watchers: moderation, firmness and compelled compliance. When two major continental powers with long histories and multiple interests meet, inevitably there will be friction. The issue then is how to prioritize the issues, moderate the tensions and learn to live together. The United States treats each point of friction with equal priority, whether it is non-proliferation or orphanages.

And although the Chinese foreign policy apparatus has shifted from totalitarianism to authoritarianism, the author concludes that the United

States "has little specific, concrete information on how senior Chinese leaders reach decisions."

The author's premise that Chinese-American relations are likely to be more hampered than helped by partisan jockeying within the domestic politics of each country appears to be an accurate one. The challenge now before the next administration is to develop a single U.S. policy toward China that is able to find priorities in the levels of friction; that is deemed domestically acceptable; and that is adopted by a Chinese leadership that still has an enormous ignorance of the outside world.

*David E. Reuther is an FSO assigned to Washington, D.C. He has more than 20 years' experience in Asia, having served in Beijing, Taipei and Bangkok.*

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## PORTRAIT OF NATION ON EDGE OF CHAOS

### Czechoslovakia Between Stalin and Hitler: The Diplomacy of Edvard Benes in the 1930s

Igor Lukes, Oxford University Press,  
1996, paperback, 318 pages, \$29.95

BY PETER BRIDGES

Igor Lukes, professor of European history at Boston University, draws on official archives in Prague to write the best account yet of how Czechoslovakia sought to deal with Hitler's threat before catastrophe came at Munich in 1938.

The Czechoslovak Republic that President Tomas G. Masaryk created in 1918 had by the 1930s become the 10th largest industrialized economy, a pros-

perous and happy democracy that seemed to have guaranteed its external security through treaties with both France and the Soviet Union.

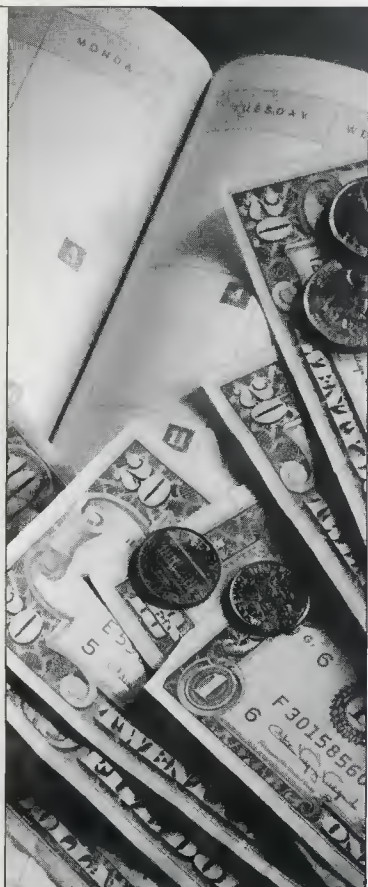
Today's Czech Republic is also a success story. The Czechs let the Slovaks create their own nation in 1993, and found themselves to be well rid of their cousins. The largely privatized economy is growing 5 percent a year; the budget is in balance; inflation and unemployment are moderate; the recent election shows democracy works. But the Czechs, in the heart of Europe, still lack guaranteed security.

The destruction of the first Czech Republic can only in part be blamed on Edvard Benes. Certainly it was not due to lack of experience on his part, or failure to see the Nazi threat. Benes had been foreign minister from the Republic's first days, and when Masaryk

finally resigned the presidency in 1935 at the age of 85, the Parliament honored his wish that Benes succeed him.

Lukes highlights both the British unwillingness to get involved in a war in Central Europe and "their dislike of President Benes and his fellow countrymen." When London sent Lord Runciman to Prague in 1938 to promote a settlement between the Czech government and the Sudeten German minority leagued with Adolf Hitler, Runciman spent much time socializing with the Germans and he favored meeting their demands. ■

*Peter Bridges, an FSO for 29 years before retiring in 1985, served in Panama City; Oberammergau, Germany; Moscow, Rome, Prague and Mogadishu. He was ambassador to Somalia from 1984-86.*



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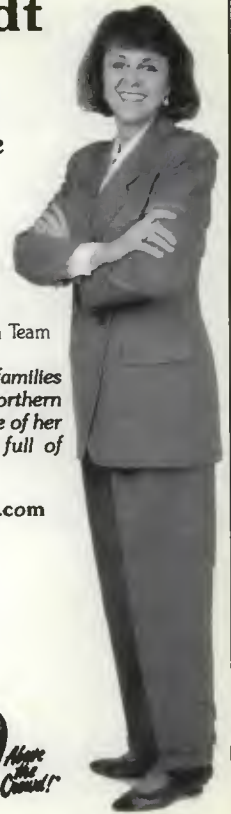
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# POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

## *Roivings of a Diplomatic Courier*

BY JAMES B. ANGELL

The world may be getting smaller on television, where instantaneous news from around the world gives the impression it is decreasing in size, but it's not. As a diplomatic courier who has visited 90 countries — in regions as different as Central America, South America, the Caribbean, Africa and Asia — I think I'm qualified to vouch for the immense complexity of the world.

As Foreign Service families know all too well, it still takes forever to get to most posts — even at a plane's 500 mph — and life is often less than glamorous upon arrival. It's only in the world's major urban areas where one obtains the false impression that the world is shrinking, especially with CNN found at most hotels and the *International Herald Tribune* sold at most airports.

But the information highway ends at these First World haunts. Step out of your hotel after watching Crossfire in La Paz, Bangui or Kathmandu, and you're still in a world as vast and mysterious as ever, with little to do with inside-the-Beltway politics and not a McDonald's in sight. From watching bowler-hatted Aimara Indians sell dried llama fetuses in the world's highest capital to staring at a smoky Pashupatinath Temple licking back the funeral pyre corpses, travelers know

*Now based in Bangkok, James B. Angell has been a diplomatic courier for the U.S. Department of State for four years. The emblem reproduced above is the stamp on diplomatic manifests that accompany cargo.*

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that the majority of places on the planet are still closer to the world of Joseph Conrad than to that of Alvin Toffler.

The current political climate of ignoring diplomacy, America's first line of defense, while funding military and intelligence agencies at levels exceeding those requested, is influenced by the media-perpetuated idea that the world is becoming smaller and thus more manageable. This is a dangerous illusion. Critics of the international affairs account, which represents only 1 percent of the U.S. budget, respond that it is precisely in these remote, powerless countries where the United States spends so wastefully. But if America had not been in these obscure places during the post-war years, would there be thriving democracies through-

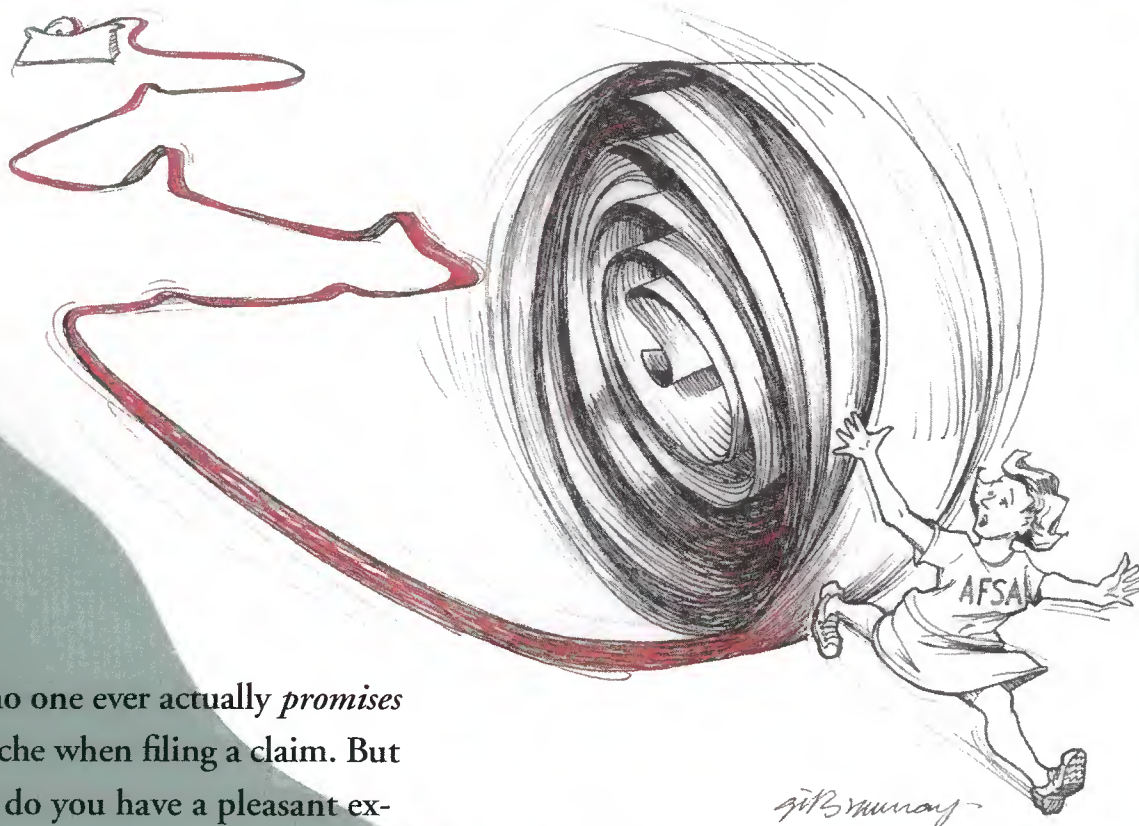
out South America today? Would South Africa be free? Would the Middle East be on the road to peace?

U.S. diplomacy was the key to making these successes happen, as it did more recently in Haiti and, so far, in Bosnia. As the world heads into the next century, it is clear that America still needs to be represented in these remote corners of the globe, such as Kyrgyzstan, where nurturing a nascent democracy might lure other post-Soviet states into following its example.

Traveling from Karachi to Khartoum, from Phnom Pehn to Rangoon, I have become more patriotic simply by traveling outside my own country. By representing the U.S. government in distant regions of the globe, U.S. diplomatic employees grasp more clearly how America is seen by other countries. This is the irony of the debate over funding the foreign-affairs budget. To risk losing U.S. diplomats, such irreplaceable human resources, in these parts of the world, is irresponsible. U.S. government employees are the eyes and ears of America, monitoring the unpredictability of the Earth's people.

Having seen the human and geographical spectrum of this vast and beautiful globe, I have gained rare insight into its oceans, continents, wildlife, weather — and its humanity. Let me remind all legislators willing to jeopardize America's security by slashing diplomatic missions throughout the world: The earth is as immense and enigmatic as it has always been. Don't let the electronic illusion of its smallness fool you. ■

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