OBAMA-BIDEN TRANSITION PROJECT

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A World of Decent Work: Labor Diplomacy for the New Century

Report of the Advisory Committee on Labor Diplomacy to the Secretary of State and the President of the United States, September 2000

PREFACE

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright established the Advisory Committee on Labor Diplomacy in May of 1999. The Advisory Committee charter provides that the Committee shall advise the Secretary of State and the President of the United States on the resources and policies necessary to implement labor diplomacy programs efficiently, effectively and in a manner that ensures U.S. leadership before the international community in promoting the objectives and ideals of U.S. labor policies in the 21st century.

The Advisory Committee has embraced its charge, holding four public meetings, including an inaugural meeting featuring presentations by the Secretaries of State and Labor. [note 1] The Advisory Committee established a policy subcommittee and an operational subcommittee, both of which also held several meetings. The Advisory Committee received briefings from a wide range of key officials with responsibilities and experience in the field. [note 2]

The Advisory Committee submits this first Report with the intention of continuing its work, and will issue additional reports as appropriate to address other labor diplomacy matters.

While this Report is submitted to the President and the Secretary of State, it provides some background information for other readers who may not be familiar with the labor diplomacy program. [note 3]

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1. Public meetings were held on September 17, 1999; December 14, 1999; March 14, 2000 and July 18, 2000.

2. These officials included: The Under Secretary for Economic, Business and Agricultural Affairs; the Special Representative for International Labor Affairs; the Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor; the Acting Assistant Secretary for Economic and Business Affairs; the Director General of the Foreign Service; staff from the Bureau of Human Resources; staff from the Office of Resources, Plans and Policy of the State Department; current and former Labor Officers; staff from the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental Scientific Affairs; officials of the Foreign Service Institute; the Director of the Center for Democracy and Governance, United States Agency for International Development; the Deputy Under Secretary, Bureau of International Labor Affairs, U.S. Department of Labor and staff from that Bureau; the Assistant Secretary and Director General of The Commercial Service, U.S. Department of Commerce; the Assistant Deputy Administrator for Foreign Agricultural Affairs, U.S. Department of Agriculture; a member of the Overseas Presence Advisory Panel; and other officials.

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3. The Advisory Committee gratefully acknowledges the assistance and cooperative support of Harold Hongju Koh, Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor; Andrew Samet, Deputy Under Secretary of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs; and Sandra Polaski, Special Representative to the Secretary of State for International Labor Affairs. The Advisory Committee also acknowledges the assistance of the staff of the State Department's International Labor Affairs Office, the Department of Labor's Office of Foreign Relations, and the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Office. In particular, it acknowledges the work of its Executive Secretary, Mark Simonoff.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

President Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright have highlighted the promotion of core worker rights -- including freedom of association, the right to organize and bargain collectively, freedom from discrimination, and the prohibition of child and forced labor -- as a key component of U.S. foreign policy. The promotion of core worker rights leads to more democratic, stable, and robust civil societies, and a stronger and more productive middle class. The U.S. Strategic Plan for International Affairs calls for the advancement of core labor standards, the strengthening of independent trade union movements and the promotion of labor and human rights. The State Department's Strategic Plan echoes this strategy.

The Secretary of State established the Advisory Committee on Labor Diplomacy to advise her and the President on the resources and policies necessary to ensure U.S. leadership on worker rights in the international community. The U.S. Government has historically taken a strong interest in labor conditions overseas, from the first labor reporting in the 1880's, to participation in the founding of the International Labor Organization in the early 20th century, to President Roosevelt's establishment of a labor attaché program, to the support of free and independent trade union movements during the Cold War. Now, with the emergence of a truly global economy, the growing importance of international trade and related trade agreements, the increasing interdependence of capital and labor markets, and intensified economic competition, international labor issues have taken on an even greater significance in U.S. foreign policy.

Unfortunately, even as the global economy has elevated the importance of core worker rights as critical U.S. foreign policy interests and goals, resources for the task fell through the 1980's and most of the 1990's. In the mid-1990's, the State Department deeply cut back on an already shrinking labor diplomacy program. The number of Labor Officers overseas decreased, and the status and authority of the highest level official handling labor issues was reduced. While much progress has been made in the past two years, with an increase in the number of Labor Officers and the creation of the position of Special Representative for International Labor Affairs, there needs to be institutional reform in the State Department to effect lasting, meaningful change. The Advisory Committee, after receiving remarks and briefings from a wide array of knowledgeable individuals, has crafted recommendations to transform the culture and institutions of the Department to accomplish the labor goals of the U.S. Government.

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The Advisory Committee's recommendations are clustered around six basic areas for reform: (1) the role of the Ambassador in labor diplomacy; (2) the role and work of Labor Officers overseas; (3) the career path of Foreign Service Officers who work on labor issues; (4) the Department of Labor's role in the labor diplomacy program; (5) Washington's labor diplomacy apparatus, particularly the Special Representative for International Labor Affairs; and (6) labor training and awareness throughout the State Department.

First, *the Advisory Committee recommends that U.S. Ambassadors be personally involved in developing the country strategy on labor diplomacy and personally committed to engaging in discussions with leaders at the highest level of the country about the U.S. Government's international labor priorities*. The President should emphasize the importance of labor issues in his letter of instruction to Ambassadors and, prior to departing for their posts, Ambassadors should engage in consultations on the U.S. Government's international labor goals and on labor issues in the host country.

Second, *the Advisory Committee recommends that the Secretary substantially increase the number of Labor Officers, including senior Labor Officers, and enhance the status of Labor Officers in overseas Missions*. The Labor Officer is the Ambassador's key advisor on labor issues. The Labor Officer of the 21st Century must be an advocate for worker rights and an expert on labor conditions in the host country; should build coalitions among business, labor, civil society, government and non-governmental organizations; should coordinate U.S. Government labor-related programmatic activity; and should serve as a resource to U.S. and in-country policymakers on labor market programs and developments and related technical assistance programs. Labor Officers should spend most of their time working on the U.S. Government's labor priorities for the Mission; those at the FS-02 level and above should report to Deputy Chiefs of Mission and not section chiefs; Labor Officers should serve on their Embassies' Country Teams; and Labor Officers should be given the tools they need to perform their work effectively.

Third, *the Advisory Committee recommends that the Secretary develop and expand the cadre of Labor Officers and make labor tours more attractive to Foreign Service generalists*. A corps of labor experts in the Foreign Service, together with broad-based knowledge and support of labor issues throughout the Foreign Service, will result in a greater capacity to respond to the challenges of international labor diplomacy. To achieve this goal, the Secretary should restore and expand a labor promotion track and both encourage specialization in labor and recruit generalist Foreign Service Officers for one or two labor tours. The President and the Secretary of State should make it known that they will weigh labor and other global experience favorably in the ambassadorial selection process. The status of the Joint Award for Excellence in Labor Diplomacy should be enhanced. The Department should consider re-evaluating whether the "up or out" system is serving the Department's modern-day needs with respect to the development of expertise in labor and other global affairs. The Department should re-examine its practice of not hiring individuals with expertise into the Foreign Service's mid-level ranks, and should also use limited non-career appointments where special expertise is needed. The Department should place representatives from organized labor on Selection Boards. The Department should redouble its efforts to reach its goal of

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achieving a diverse Foreign Service, and, in particular, should recruit people of color for Labor Officer positions.

Fourth, *the U.S. Department of Labor should play a greater role in the State Department's labor diplomacy program*. The Department of Labor, which has such a strong interest in the implementation of new worker rights initiatives overseas, and which, along with the State Department, plays a major role in the development of international labor policy in international fora, should have an institutionalized role in the labor diplomacy program. The Advisory Committee recommends the establishment of a new Interagency Labor Diplomacy Program Committee to oversee the labor diplomacy program. In addition, the Department of Labor should have a greater role in the staffing and funding of labor positions. The Advisory Committee also recommends maintaining the Labor Department/State Department exchange program.

Fifth, *the Secretary should strengthen labor diplomacy in Washington*. The appointment of the Special Representative has been an important step in revitalizing labor diplomacy. But the position should be enhanced. The Special Representative should have more authority over Labor Officers. The position should be made permanent, and should be granted Ambassador-at-Large status. The resources of the International Labor Affairs Office should be increased to meet the expanding needs of labor diplomacy. There should be a senior Labor Officer in each Regional Bureau, as well as a designated labor advisor in the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs and the International Organizations Bureau. In addition, there should be more labor coverage in the Department's strategic planning to reflect the U.S. Government's labor priorities, particularly in the Mission Performance Plans.

Sixth, *the State Department must continue its recent efforts to sensitize the entire Foreign Service corps, from Ambassadors down to junior Foreign Service Officers, to the centrality of the mission of advocating core worker rights and strengthening independent trade union movements*. The Foreign Service Institute should include more labor instruction in its courses, after engaging in a systematic analysis of labor content. Moreover, the Department should continue holding the Worldwide Annual Labor Officers Conference.

The Advisory Committee is grateful to the Secretary of State for all that she has already done to enhance labor diplomacy, and for her continued commitment to ensure U.S. leadership in international labor affairs. It looks forward to working with the Secretary in the implementation of these recommendations to strengthen the labor diplomacy program further.

INTRODUCTION

In his 1999 address to the International Labor Organization (ILO), President Clinton hailed the new ILO Declaration on the Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work [note 4] as "a blueprint for the global economy that honors our values -- the dignity of work, an end to discrimination, an end to forced labor, freedom of association, the right of people

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to organize and bargain in a civil and peaceful way. These are not just labor rights; they're human rights. They are a charter for a truly modern economy. We must make them an everyday reality across the world." [note 5]

To help fulfill that commitment, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright created the Advisory Committee on Labor Diplomacy to advise the President of the United States and the Secretary of State on the resources and policies necessary to ensure U.S. leadership on worker rights in the international community. "Basic worker rights," Secretary Albright charged the Committee, "reflect common standards of decency, and they should be observed in every nation, regardless of its level of economic development." [note 6] A central task of the Advisory Committee is to determine how the State Department can respond more effectively to the international labor challenges of the 21st century.

The Importance of Worker Rights In U.S. Foreign Policy

The importance of worker rights -- and of active labor diplomacy -- has long been recognized. As early as 1884, the State Department instructed consular posts to report detailed information on labor conditions in their host countries. After World War I, President Wilson argued that "while we are fighting for freedom, we must see that labor is free." [note 7] American Federation of Labor President Samuel Gompers presided over the commission at the Versailles Peace Conference which established the ILO in 1919. The U.S. hosted the first meeting of the ILO in Washington in the same year, to counter injustice that creates "unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperiled." [note 8] In 1931, the Department of Labor dispatched its first representatives overseas to report on foreign labor conditions. In 1943, President Roosevelt created the labor attaché program.

These early efforts were greatly expanded after World War II as the U.S. assumed greater global responsibilities under the Marshall Plan and during the Cold War. The State Department's labor attaché program was broadened to provide the Foreign Service with an instrument to go beyond traditional diplomacy between governments in order to promote democracy and civil society. Republican and Democratic administrations alike worked closely with American labor unions to foster independent trade unions across the world as an integral part of the Cold War struggle for democracy. The United States committed itself to support independent worker movements struggling against authoritarian regimes from the shipyards of Poland to the mines of South Africa.

As concern for human rights received greater priority in U.S. foreign policy, worker rights were accorded greater attention. In 1960, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade officially recognized the relevance of labor standards in international trade. The Trade Act of 1974, signed into law by President Ford, directed the United States to seek adoption of international fair labor standards in trade agreements. Worker rights were also made a priority during the Carter Administration, and in the 1980's, during the Administration of President Reagan, Congress established worker rights as qualifying criteria for benefits under the U.S. Generalized System of Preferences. At the same time, Congress mandated an annual report on worker rights around the world.

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Now, as we move into the twenty-first century, we are witnessing the emergence of a truly global economy, the growing importance of international trade and related trade agreements, the increasing interdependence of capital and labor markets, and intensified economic competition. In the global era, international labor issues take on an even greater importance in U.S. foreign policy. Productivity and labor costs are major factors in international competition. The treatment of workers is an important political factor in fostering social stability and sustainable economic development. As Secretary of State Albright has stated, "labor . . . issues must comprise part of our strategic planning." [note 9]

Promoting core worker rights is central to the basic purpose of U.S. foreign policy, which is to create a more secure, prosperous and democratic world for the benefit of the American people. The U.S. Strategic Plan for International Affairs includes advancing core labor standards, strengthening independent trade union movements and promoting labor and human rights as a central strategy for achieving the Strategic Goal of "Democracy and Human Rights."

Promoting worker rights contributes to vital U.S. national interests, by promoting global economic prosperity and broadly-shared economic development, furthering democracy, the rule of law and human rights, and fostering stability.

Essential to international strategic planning is the coordination among U.S. government agencies of the advancement of labor issues, which includes defining goals and then pursuing these goals on many fronts. The U.S. was actively involved in the creation of the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, and the President, as already noted, termed it a blueprint for the global economy. These principles provide coherence and help define our labor objectives in multilateral institutions and bilateral relationships. The President made the case for integrating worker rights into the global economy in addresses to the IMF and World Bank, as well as the WTO. Now it is vital to ensure that U.S. leadership is consolidated and extended.

The private sector also has a crucial role to play. American overseas investors -- and the business community in general -- should have a strong interest in the promotion of worker and human rights throughout the world. Countries that do not oppress their workers are countries in which an investment is more secure. Nations with vibrant, free and independent trade unions are more stable and reliable trading partners. Businesses that invest in countries with good labor practices do not have to worry about consumer reaction to abusive labor conditions in their facilities overseas.

Economic Prosperity and Broadly-Shared Economic Development

An open and expanding trading system within the framework of transparent, fair and enforceable rules is necessary but not sufficient to ensure sustainable economic development. Many developing countries have seen their gross national products rise over the past few decades, without a significant reduction in poverty or income inequality, or without improvement in democracy and human rights.

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Enforcement of core worker rights -- including the freedom of association, the right to organize and bargain collectively, the freedom from discrimination and the prohibition of child and forced labor -- is central to development. When workers are free to exercise their right to organize and unions are free to represent their members, workers have a stake in the system and the elements of sustainable economic development are strengthened.

Core labor rights help address the legitimate concerns of people in developing as well as developed economies. They encourage competition to improve productivity instead of reducing basic labor standards; they promote a more equitable sharing of the benefits and costs of change; and they increase popular support for an open trading system.

Also, worker participation increases company efficiency and productivity. An increased worker voice tends to lead companies to make greater investments in health and safety. The increased job security that usually accompanies unionized work encourages workers to expand their skills and employers to invest in worker training. A negotiated arbitration or mediation system helps resolve disputes, decreasing the number and severity of work stoppages and strikes.

OECD studies comparing growth rates of developing countries find that growth rates tend to rise in the five years after improvements in the exercise of the right to freedom of association. [note 10] If workers can assert their voice in the workplace, they can not only improve their own jobs and pay, but can move entire economies forward on the path towards shared growth.

Free trade unions can ensure that core labor standards are respected and that worker rights to organize and bargain are institutionalized within societies. Strong trade unions produce both economic and political benefits. Independent trade unions insure that workers gain a fair share of the income their work produces. Studies show that strong unions reduce inequalities within countries. [note 11] A more equitable income distribution, along with social safety nets, contributes directly to poverty reduction. Increased equity creates greater political and social cohesion, and, by increasing demand, stimulates greater growth.

Active trade unions generally provide political support for basic social guarantees that are essential to any development strategy: minimum wages, fair labor practices, public investment in education, health care, retirement security, and safety nets for the poor or the displaced. Trade unions also provide an active external check on the administration of these programs and on governments in general.

Thus a domestic development strategy that aims for growth as well as stability, equity, poverty reduction, and social cohesion must include the protection of worker rights.

Promotion and Consolidation of Democracy

Independent unions are essential building blocks of robust democracies. Trade unions have fought in the front lines for democracy in many countries under many conditions, from Gdansk to Durban, from Seoul to Santiago. When the world's remaining

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dictatorships in China, Burma, Cuba, North Korea and elsewhere fall, unions will lead efforts to build democratic institutions from the ground up.

Trade unions have made major contributions to producing vibrant civil societies. They activate workers, helping them participate in the political debate, negotiate with other interest groups, and act as a check on government authority. Unions keep democracies accountable by insuring that the concerns of workers are represented in public debate. Trade unions often help build the social cohesion that is vital to democracy by bridging ethnic, religious and gender divisions. The experience of being a member of an independent, democratic union offers a laboratory in democracy, including voting, encouraging participation, respecting the rights of minority members, and the need to hold officials accountable.

Nobel Prize winning economist Amartya Sen defines the process of development as the expansion of freedoms that ordinary people have: freedom to take advantage of economic opportunities, to participate in the political process, and to benefit from basic social services like health and education. [note 12]

Moreover, Harvard development economist Dani Rodrik has found that democracies are better able to sustain the wrenching transformations of development than dictatorships, because they "produce less randomness and volatility [in growth rates], they are better at managing shocks, and they yield distributional outcomes that are more desirable." [note 13]

The Need for U.S. Leadership

Although worker rights and independent trade unions are vital to development and democracy, experience shows that they are not the inevitable products of open markets. Democracy, broadly shared growth, robust civil societies, and free trade unions are part of the high road to development. But in today's global economy, many countries find themselves tempted or pressured to take a low road, repressing labor rights especially in their most competitive export sectors. Several impose special restrictions on worker rights in export processing zones. Other developing countries then find themselves competing for foreign private investment, and are often under pressure to lower wages, restrict trade union activities, and lower environmental or consumer protections in a downward spiral.

The United States has a significant stake in encouraging countries to take and stay on the high road rather than the low road to growth. The low road is inherently unstable, generating rising inequality, greater social tension within countries, and beggar-thy-neighbor strategies at the international level. Low road development fosters inevitable downward pressure on wages, social supports and conditions in other developing countries, and to a lesser extent in advanced countries, including the United States. If countries suppress the sharing of gains from growth, markets for U.S. exports will be limited.

The Perils of Passivity

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Secretary Albright has warned that "the new international economy has lifted hundreds of millions out of poverty. But it has also enlarged the gap between rich and poor in many countries and left many workers without the opportunity or means to compete." [note 14] These workers begin to see themselves as "victims of globalization, rather than its potential beneficiaries." [note 15] If left unaddressed, glaring inequality and unfair treatment of workers spur resentment and anger, and eventually upheaval and rebellion.

There is a growing consensus that over the last two decades too little attention has been paid to increasing inequality and the absence of adequate safety nets and social supports. As a result, a rising wave of resistance to globalization has found expression in instability and upheaval. In many countries this reaction takes on an ugly, anti-democratic, xenophobic tone. The experience of recent years has forced economists and leaders to move beyond the simple focus of opening up markets to paying greater attention to the institutions and laws in which markets are embedded. In these conditions, Secretary Albright has stated, worker rights must be at "the center of our foreign policy." [note 16]

U.S. National Interest and Labor Diplomacy

"We advance [core worker] rights," President Clinton said in his ILO address, "by standing up to those who abuse them" and "by standing with those who seek to make them a reality in the workplace." [note 17] The U.S. should make core worker rights one of the central concerns in bilateral relations at the head of state level. As Secretary of Labor Alexis Herman recently stated, "Whether we speak of skilled workforces, of social safety nets, of free and democratic labor unions, or of the elimination of abusive child labor, the labor dimension must remain central to our pursuit of world growth and our vision of world progress." [note 18]

To fulfill these commitments, the State Department must imbue the entire Foreign Service, from each Ambassador down to the newest Foreign Service Officer, with a deeper understanding of the importance of these issues and must have a skilled group of men and women on the front lines as America's labor diplomats. Labor diplomacy requires the talent and dedication of experienced Foreign Service Officers and it requires full Departmental support.

Unfortunately, even as the global economy has elevated the importance of core worker rights as critical U.S. foreign policy interests and goals, resources for the task fell through the 1980's and most of the 1990's. In the mid-1990's, the State Department deeply cut back on an already shrinking labor diplomacy program. The number of Labor Officers overseas decreased, and the status and authority of the highest level official handling labor issues were reduced.

The disparity between needs and resources has been recognized, and there has been progress in the past two years, with an increase in the number of Labor Officers and the creation of the position of Special Representative for International Labor Affairs. But much remains to be done. Institutional reform within the Department is needed to effect lasting change.

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The Advisory Committee has looked for ways to transform both the culture and institutions of the Department to accomplish the heightened goals of the U.S. Government. The Recommendations which appear below propose a combination of training, incentives, structural change, shifting of authority and provision of additional resources, as ways to bring about lasting change. These recommendations -- when implemented -- will ensure that the U.S. Government is prepared to take on the labor diplomacy challenges of the 21st Century.

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4. The ILO has identified four core labor principles as fundamental principles and rights at work: freedom of association and the right to bargain collectively; the elimination of forced labor; the effective elimination of child labor; and the elimination of discrimination in employment. These core labor rights, which are fundamental human rights of workers everywhere, have been affirmed repeatedly by the international community, including at the Copenhagen Social Summit in 1995, the Singapore ministerial meeting of the WTO in 1996 and in the ILO Declaration in 1998.

5. President William J. Clinton, Remarks to the ILO Conference, Geneva, Switzerland, June 16, 1999 (President Clinton's ILO Remarks).

6. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, Opening Remarks at Inaugural Session of the Advisory Committee on Labor Diplomacy, Washington, DC, September 17, 1999 (Secretary Albright's Remarks to the Committee).

7. President Woodrow Wilson, speech to the American Federation of Labor Convention, 1917.

8. Preamble to the Constitution of the International Labor Organization.

9. "Labor Diplomacy and Foreign Policy," State Department Notice to all employees transmitting Secretary Albright's message to all diplomatic and consular posts, State Department unclassified cable, number 107760 (June 19, 1998).

10. "Trade, Employment and Labour Standards: A Study of Core Workers' Rights and International Trade," pp. 86-87, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (1996).

11. Palley, Thomas I., *Plenty of Nothing: The Downsizing of the American Dream and the Case for Structural Keynesianism*, Princeton University Press, p. 32 (1998); Birdsall, Nancy, Pinckney, Thomas, and Sabot, Richard, "Natural Resources, Human Capital and Growth," A Carnegie Endowment Working Paper, Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2000); Mishel, Lawrence, Bernstein, Jared and Schmitt, John, "The State of Working America, 1998-1999," Washington, D.C.: Economic Policy Institute (1999).

12. Sen, Amartya, *Development as Freedom*, p. 3. New York, N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf (1999).

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13. Rodrik, Dani, "Institutions for High-Quality Growth: What They Are and How to Acquire Them," p. 34. Draft paper prepared for the International Monetary Fund Conference on Second-Generation Reforms, (November 8-9, 1999).

14. Secretary Albright's Remarks to the Committee.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. President Clinton's ILO Remarks.

18. Secretary of Labor Alexis Herman, Remarks at ILO General Session, Geneva, June 7, 2000.

THE LABOR DIPLOMACY PROGRAM

Overview of the Labor Diplomacy Program

Labor Officers and Labor Reporting Officers Overseas
There are currently 49 Labor Officers deployed in 48 countries. Labor Officers undertake a broad range of activities: advocacy, investigation, reporting, and diplomacy. They must be well-versed in the political, economic and social issues of both the U.S. and the host country, and be able to advise the Ambassador and the Deputy Chief of Mission about the general labor situation, including worker rights and working conditions in the host country. Most officers, after receiving training on labor diplomacy, spend only a portion of their time on labor issues, sharing their labor responsibilities with other duties, depending on the post.

In countries where the United States has a presence and where there is no Labor Officer, a Foreign Service Officer is usually designated as the Labor Reporting Officer, normally after arriving at post. Labor Reporting Officers have many other duties, and usually receive no special training. They have limited labor-related responsibilities, consisting primarily of reporting on labor issues in the host country as needs dictate.

The Special Representative for International Labor Affairs and the International Labor Affairs Office
The Special Representative for International Labor Affairs, a position established by the Secretary in 1999, is the highest level State Department official handling labor issues. The Special Representative and the International Labor Affairs Office develop and implement policy with regard to international labor affairs; work through the interagency process to coordinate international labor work with other agencies in the federal government; and act as the central liaison between Labor Officers in the field and Washington, including both the State Department and other agencies with a need for labor information and labor diplomacy. The Special Representative and the Office are the hub in the communications wheel on labor issues. Information about labor policy flows out to the posts through cables and documents disseminated on the classified and unclassified computer networks. Reporting on labor issues flows into the International Labor Affairs Office and Regional Bureaus, as well as to the U.S. Department of Labor

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and other interested agencies. The Special Representative and the Office take a global approach to labor issues and follow trends reported from the field, coordinating guidance to posts on the Administration's international labor policies as they affect country situations.

Labor Positions Overseas

As noted, the Roosevelt Administration established the Labor Attaché program in 1943. By 1966, there were 89 full-time or essentially full-time labor positions in the Foreign Service, with 73 of these positions abroad. Over 50% of those officers had been recruited from outside the State Department for their labor background (under a program which no longer exists). Seventeen of these Labor Attaché positions were senior level and 58 were mid-level positions.

From the 1980's until 1997, the number of Labor Attachés, (redesignated as "Labor Officers,") significantly decreased. In addition, the grade level of many labor positions was lowered. This occurred in the context of an overall downsizing of the State Department and the Foreign Service. By 1997, the number of labor-designated positions abroad reached a low of 33. The total number of Foreign Service Officers in 1997 was approximately 4400.

Over the period from 1998 to 2000, the number of labor-designated positions was increased to 49. However, today it is rare for a Labor Officer to work exclusively on labor issues. Labor Officers are frequently designated "Political/Labor" or "Economic/Labor," a reflection of the fact that they are required to devote a considerable portion of their time to responsibilities not directly related to labor issues.

Labor Officers are career Foreign Service Officers, except for the Department of Labor participants in the recently established exchange program described elsewhere in this Report. Well over half of the Labor Officers presently in the field are on their first tour as Labor Officers.

Currently, there are only seven senior-level Labor Officer positions in the State Department (grade FE-OC and above). [note 19]

Labor-Related Positions at the State Department

Special Representative for International Labor Affairs
The Special Representative for International Labor Affairs is the highest ranking State Department official dedicated exclusively to international labor affairs.

In 1962, the position of Special Assistant to the Secretary of State and Coordinator of International Labor Affairs was created. In 1993, the office of the Special Assistant was merged with the Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs Bureau, which was renamed the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor ("DRL"). The Special Assistant's position was converted to that of a Deputy Assistant Secretary in the new DRL Bureau and eventually was assigned democracy and human rights responsibilities, as well as labor. This change was justified as "mainstreaming" labor issues at the State Department, but it was perceived as a downgrading of the top labor position in the Department.

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In 1999, in a move to revitalize the labor function at the Department, the Secretary of State established the position of Special Representative for International Labor Affairs. The Special Representative has direct access to the Secretary of State, but normally reports through the Assistant Secretary for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor on routine matters.

The Special Representative is currently serving as a fixed-term Schedule B appointment. A request by the State Department to the Office of Personnel Management for classification of the position as a limited term Senior Executive Service position, for a maximum of three years, was recently turned down, because the State Department currently exceeds its quota for such positions.

The Special Representative is supported by the International Labor Affairs Office. The office consists of a Director (Foreign Service), Deputy Director (Civil Service), two Foreign Service Officers, one Civil Service Officer, two Department of Labor detailees, one Presidential Management Intern and two support staff.

Regional Labor Advisors
Historically, each of the State Department Regional Bureaus had a "Regional Labor Advisor." The Regional Labor Advisor served as an expert on labor issues in the region and as a liaison between the Regional Bureau and the Department's top labor advisor in the Secretary's office. Work assignments for Foreign Service Officers abroad generally passed, as they do now, through the Regional Bureaus, and the Labor Advisor in each bureau facilitated the process of clearing and monitoring the taskings. The Regional Labor Advisor was well-situated to convey to posts the labor interests of the United States affecting countries in the region and to convey to the Secretary's labor advisor the diplomatic context affecting labor issues in each country in the region.

Over time, most Regional Labor Advisor positions have been abolished by the Regional Bureaus. At present, there are only two Regional Labor Advisor positions. One is a senior position in the Western Hemisphere Affairs Bureau, occupied by a senior Labor Counselor. A second position, in the African Affairs Bureau, was vacant for over a year, but is in the process of being filled by a Department of Labor detailee.

International Organization Affairs Bureau
One officer in the International Organization Affairs Bureau spends the major part of his time following United States participation in the International Labor Organization (ILO). The position is not formally designated as a Labor Officer position, but most recent incumbents have received Labor Officer training if they have not previously served as Labor Officers.

Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs
The Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs has the lead in the State Department on trade, investment and other economic and business-related issues, although not on the labor-related aspects of those issues, which reside with the Special Representative for International Labor Affairs. The Economic and Business Affairs Bureau is the State Department's formal liaison with the U.S. Trade Representative, the Department of Commerce and the Treasury Department. The Bureau has one officer who covers labor

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and trade issues (in addition to environment and trade issues) and several officers who occasionally handle labor issues as they come up in areas for which they have some responsibility, such as the OECD and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

FY 2001 Budget Request

The FY 2001 Administration budget request contains a proposal for 22 new international labor positions as follows:

- Twelve overseas positions in Embassies in developing countries to monitor the enforcement of domestic labor laws and to support core labor rights, to be funded through the Department of Labor;
- Five positions at the State Department, to be funded through the State Department;
- Five positions at the Department of Labor's Bureau of International Labor Affairs, to be funded through the Department of Labor.

Authority Over Labor Officers

Regional Bureau Authority Over Labor Officers

The Regional Bureaus generally have authority over the Foreign Service Officers who serve in overseas Missions within each region, an authority shared with the Ambassador or Chief of Mission. Thus, Regional Bureaus and Missions currently have primary authority with respect to Labor Officers and the work they perform, although the International Labor Affairs Office plays a consultative role. This authority includes:

- Establishment or elimination of Labor Officer positions (shared with the Bureau of Human Resources in consultation with the International Labor Affairs Office) and the percentage of time spent by a Labor Officer on labor work.
- Authority to "task" Labor Officers with reporting and other responsibilities. (The International Labor Office also tasks Labor Officers, subject to the approval of the Regional Bureaus.)
- Approval and funding of travel and other administrative expenses involving Labor Officers.

The Regional Bureaus assume administrative and budgetary responsibility for all Foreign Service Officers in the region, including Labor Officers.

Role of the International Labor Affairs Office in Labor Assignments, Tasking and Orientation

The International Labor Affairs Office plays a consultative role in the process of assigning Labor Officers and determining where Labor Officer positions will be located. All Foreign Service Officers engage in a "bid" process for their onward assignments. The International Labor Affairs Office actively recruits Foreign Service Officers for available Labor Officer positions. Assignment panels (subject to review by the Bureau of Human Resources) have ultimate decision-making authority in the assignment of all Foreign Service Officers. In recruiting Labor Officer candidates and making its recommendations on location of Labor Officer positions, the International Labor Affairs Office consults

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closely with the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs, and takes its views into account.

As noted, the International Labor Affairs Office also initiates taskings for Labor Officers and Labor Reporting Officers, including requests for investigation, reporting and delivering official U.S. positions to host governments, subject to the approval of the Regional Bureaus. For the past three years, the Office has also convened an annual Worldwide Labor Officers Conference, which provides a focal point for Labor Officer orientation, enrichment and sharing of best practices.

Organization and Career Path of Foreign Service Officers and of Labor Officers

The Promotion System

Foreign Service Officers enter the Service as Junior Officers at grade FS-05 or 06, and must compete for promotions to succeeding grades after achieving tenure at the FS-04 level. The divide between FS-01 and FE-OC (or "Counselor") is known as the "senior threshold," and a Foreign Service Officer in the FE-OC through FE-CM ("Career Minister") level, is said to be in the Senior Foreign Service, equivalent to the Civil Service's Senior Executive Service.

The Foreign Service promotion system operates on an "up or out" basis. An officer may spend no more than a fixed number of years in a grade and, if not promoted during that period, must leave the Foreign Service. Generally, the more senior the grade, the fewer promotion opportunities available in that grade. In addition, there is a maximum of 27 years after entry into the Foreign Service before an officer must either be selected for the Senior Foreign Service or be required to retire.

Each year, Selection Boards, composed of Foreign Service Officers, a U.S. Government official from another agency, and at least one member of the public, evaluate all candidates for promotion. It has been a longstanding practice of the U.S. Department of Labor to have a representative sit on the senior threshold Board and usually also on an FS-02 to FS-01 Board. The Selection Boards evaluate the candidates on the basis of Employee Evaluation Reports ("EERs"). These EERs are drafted in accordance with "promotion precepts," which set forth the criteria for evaluation of Foreign Service Officers. The promotion precepts do not describe substantive content, but rather focus on qualitative attributes, such as "leadership skills", "managerial skills", and "interpersonal skills." Each year, the selection boards receive a "Supplement to Core Precepts" which describes the functions of Labor Officers, as well as other specialized positions. Selection Boards are required to low-rank 5% of all candidates. Two low-rankings in a five-year period result in a referral to another board for possible removal from the Foreign Service.

The Labor Promotion Track

In 1983, the State Department established a special promotion track to the Senior Foreign Service for Labor Officers who chose to compete as Labor Officers. This track was created due to a concern that those who specialized in labor work were disadvantaged in competition with other Foreign Service Officers, and to address the shortage of senior Labor Officers to staff the 16 Senior Labor Officer positions that existed at the time. The track allowed Labor Officers to be considered separately for promotions over the senior threshold. Several Labor Officers were promoted on this track during each of the first two years after it was created. Subsequent promotions on the labor promotion track averaged about one a year (with none in some years) and depended in part on the availability of

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both qualified candidates and vacant Senior Foreign Service labor positions. Moreover, there have been no promotions of Labor Officers on the labor track within the Senior Foreign Service to FE-MC (Minister Counselor) since 1991. Other special promotion tracks for Science and Narcotics Officers were also offered. In 1997, the State Department decided that these specializations should be "mainstreamed" and abolished the three special promotion tracks.

Concurrent with the abolition of the labor promotion track, the Department broadened opportunities for Labor Officers to compete for promotion in a "multi-functional" competition. Any Foreign Service Officer, regardless of cone, who serves a tour as a Labor, Science or Narcotics officer (as well as officers who serve "out of cone" in a variety of other assignments) is now eligible to compete both in cone and in a special multi-functional competition. Because so many Foreign Service Officers are eligible to compete multi-functionally, the multi-functional competition cannot be considered to be an adequate substitute for the labor promotion track, and it is unclear whether Labor Officers will see significant benefits from this program to compensate for an institutional disposition disfavoring specialization.

The Labor Department/State Department Exchange Program

In 1999, the State Department and the Labor Department implemented an exchange program, through which employees of each Department may be detailed to the other. That year, five Department of Labor officials were assigned to Embassies overseas to function as Labor Officers, and four Department of Labor officials were detailed for one year to the State Department to work on labor issues in the International Labor Affairs Office and other offices. For the fall of 2000, two additional Department of Labor detailees have been selected for overseas assignments and four detailees will be placed in Washington-based assignments. The Department of Labor pays the salaries and benefits of these detailees, while the cost of overseas assignments are borne by the State Department. The overseas employees serve in "limited non-career assignments" within the State Department.

A State Department senior Labor Officer will begin working at the Department of Labor, in the Bureau of International Labor Affairs, in September of 2000. Thus far, he is the only State Department officer participating in the exchange. His salary and benefits during this assignment will be paid by the State Department.

Labor Training at the State Department

The Labor Officer Course

Every year, the Foreign Service Institute ("the Institute") conducts a Labor Officer course for officers embarking on their first tour as Labor Officers. This three-week course, run in collaboration with the International Labor Affairs Office and the Department of Labor, provides an overview of the American labor movement and labor market; the responsibilities of the International Labor Affairs Office and the Department of Labor; the work of Labor Officers overseas; international labor institutions, including the International Labor Organization and its Conventions; U.S. law related to international labor conditions; and various other substantive international labor issues.

In the 1960's and 1970's, most new Labor Officers had eight weeks of training at the Institute, and frequently were assigned to a semester of labor studies at Georgetown or Harvard. In the 1980's, academic labor training was phased out, largely for budgetary

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reasons, and the Institute's Labor Officer course was reduced to six weeks, and in the 1990's, to the current three weeks.

Labor Content in Other Courses

The Institute includes labor content in some courses other than the Labor Officer course. For example, some courses treating regional issues have recently included presentations by the International Labor Affairs Office on labor issues in those regions. The basic political course now routinely includes one or more sessions on labor issues.

The inclusion of labor content in courses at the Institute, however, has not been institutionalized. The Institute is decentralized, and the curriculum of each course generally depends on the course director. Addition or deletion of labor content usually occurs on an ad hoc basis. There has been no systematic evaluation of the labor content in the Institute's courses to determine its adequacy to meet the needs of labor diplomacy.

Ambassadorial and DCM Labor Consultations

New Ambassadors attend a two week Ambassadorial Seminar prior to departing for their posts. This training is largely oriented to the special responsibilities of the job and does not include much policy material. New Deputy Chiefs of Mission attend a similar seminar.

Ambassadors and Deputy Chiefs of Mission engage in consultations with U.S. Government officials and non-governmental organizations prior to heading out to their posts. These consultations sometimes include the International Labor Affairs Office and the U.S. Department of Labor.

Strategic Planning at the State Department

The U.S. Strategic Plan for International Affairs includes the strategic goal of "Democracy and Human Rights" and calls for the following: "Advance core labor standards, strengthen independent trade union movements, and promote labor [and] human rights." It also includes, for the same goal, the building of "representative labor movements" to advance democracy.

The most recent State Department Strategic Plan, issued in 1997, contains several references to labor. For example, a Strategy related to the National Interest of Economic Prosperity includes extending international rules and agreements to areas such as core labor standards. In addition, a Strategy related to the national interest of Democracy includes building, strengthening and employing international fora to secure democratic transitions, prevent conflict and promote human rights, including labor rights. Indicators as to whether the Department is meeting Democracy goals include adherence to international standards as measured by conformity to labor conventions. [note 20]

The Bureau Performance Plan for the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor includes a detailed section concerning the State Department's international labor rights goals.

The Mission Performance Plan review process allows for input from the International Labor Affairs Office and the Department of Labor. However, the Mission Performance Plans do not always include full coverage of the labor issues of importance in each country.

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19. They are: Director of the Office of International Labor Affairs (FE-OC); Labor Counselor, Mexico City, Mexico (FE-OC); Labor Counselor, Tokyo, Japan (FE-OC); Labor Advisor, Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs (FE-OC); Labor Minister

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Counselor, Berlin, Germany (FE-MC); Labor Minister Counselor, London, UK (FE-MC); and Labor Minister Counselor, Rome, Italy (FE-MC). Each of these senior positions, except for the Director of the International Labor Affairs Office, was recommended for downgrading or elimination in the past four years, although none has actually been downgraded or eliminated.

20. The State Department Strategic Plan is in the process of being redrafted, and is scheduled for release later this year.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EFFECTIVE LABOR DIPLOMACY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

The Advisory Committee on Labor Diplomacy considers the following steps to be essential to reform the State Department's Labor Diplomacy program to meet the challenges of the 21st Century:

- The State Department must continue its recent efforts to sensitize the entire Foreign Service corps, from Ambassadors down to junior Foreign Service Officers, to the centrality of the mission of advocating core labor standards, strengthening independent trade union movements and promoting labor and human rights.
- Ambassadors must be fully engaged in labor diplomacy to achieve the U.S. Government's international labor goals.
- The State Department should develop and expand the cadre of experienced Labor Officers.
- The number of Labor Officer positions should be substantially increased and the status of Labor Officers in overseas Missions should be enhanced.
- The Labor Department's role in the State Department's labor diplomacy program should be substantially increased.
- The State Department should enhance the authority of the Special Representative for International Labor Affairs over labor diplomacy.

The Advisory Committee's recommendations are clustered around six basic areas for reform: (1) the role of the Ambassador in labor diplomacy; (2) the role and work of Labor Officers overseas; (3) the career path of Foreign Service Officers who work on labor issues; (4) the Labor Department's role in the labor diplomacy program; (5) Washington's labor diplomacy apparatus, particularly the Special Representative for International Labor Affairs; and (6) labor training and awareness throughout the State Department.[note 21]

Recommendation 1: The Role of the Ambassador in Labor Diplomacy

This group of recommendations emphasizes the Ambassador's role as the leading proponent of the U.S. labor agenda overseas.

Ambassadors abroad should represent the values, concerns and interests of the American people. The worker rights situation of any country is closely tied to the economic and political power structure of that country. In many countries, meaningful improvement, if it were to take place, would have to overcome the powerful opposition of entrenched interests and could well require fundamental changes in the country's economic and

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political order. American workers would be more inclined to accept the perils of economic globalization and the sense of insecurity it breeds concerning their own jobs and financial future if there were a corresponding commitment on the part of the countries which trade with the U.S. that workers in those countries will get their fair share of the benefits of global free trade and financial flows. But the U.S. failed to get a new Trade Round begun at Seattle last December, at least in part, because of the adamant opposition of developing countries to linking trade discussions in any way with these countries' performance in terms of respect for basic worker rights. The U.S. cannot hope to engage in a policy dialogue with its trading partners about such a sensitive subject unless its entire diplomatic apparatus abroad, beginning with its Ambassadors, is fully committed to this goal.

In the Advisory Committee's view, Labor Officers are assigned to the Embassies to assist the Ambassadors in developing the plans for promoting this objective and to play an extraordinarily active role themselves in coordinating and carrying them out. But the promotion of worker rights cannot be left only to the officer in the Embassy assigned to labor affairs. If the U.S. is serious about effecting real change in the human rights and worker rights behavior of the countries with which it maintains diplomatic and economic relations, the U.S. Ambassador must be personally involved in developing the country strategy and personally committed to engaging his or her own diplomatic skills in discussions with the leaders at the highest levels of the country about these sensitive matters.

Recommendation 1.1: President's Letter of Instruction to Ambassadors

Ambassadors are the President's personal representatives overseas and have vast authority over the work of the U.S. Missions. It is vital that they recognize the importance of America's international labor diplomacy priorities and the particular labor issues in the host country, and that they remain personally engaged in achieving the U.S. Government's international labor goals. The President should emphasize in his letter of instruction to Ambassadors the importance of labor issues in American foreign policy.

Recommendation 1.2: Consultations

Ambassadors and Deputy Chiefs of Mission should be familiar with both the U.S. Government's international labor priorities and the major labor issues in the host country. New Ambassadors and Deputy Chiefs of Mission, during their consultation periods, prior to departing for their posts, should meet with U.S. Government labor officials, labor leaders and others. The International Labor Affairs Office should systemically coordinate with other relevant offices to ensure that these consultations occur.

Recommendation 2: The Role of Labor Officers in the Missions and the Number of Labor Officers

The following group of recommendations focuses on the crucial role of the Labor Officer in overseas Missions.

The Labor Officer is the Ambassador's advisor on a broad range of issues that cut across all sectors of society, including both the organized, industrial sectors, and the informal economy. These issues include collective bargaining, wages, health and safety, education, pension protection and other areas that have a major impact on the working population. This multifaceted officer must interact with both workers and employers, visiting shop floors to examine working conditions, assessing the nature of the host country's trade unions, and meeting with corporate executives to discuss the implementation of codes of

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conduct. The Labor Officer keeps track of the development and enforcement of host country labor law, and interprets this information in the international labor context. In short, the Labor Officer is on the cutting edge of globalization, tracking the political and economic repercussions of the fast-changing world of work.

Labor Officers, like all effective Foreign Service Officers, must take the initiative on a regular basis to translate U.S. policy goals into practical programs and operations. By tapping available resources, building coalitions and advocating on behalf of worker rights, the Labor Officer can effectively promote the goals of the U.S. Strategic Plan.

The role of the Labor Officer in the developed world differs substantially from his or her counterparts in the developing world, but that officer is no less important to U.S. labor diplomacy. The Labor Officer in developed countries advocates for support of U.S. labor-related goals in multilateral fora and provides information to the U.S. on labor market issues and a host of technical matters, including occupational safety and health, labor statistics and labor-management, from which the U.S. Government can draw in developing its own domestic labor policies.

In sum, the Labor Officer should act as:

- Expert and advisor on labor conditions in the host country
- Coordinator of labor-related programmatic activity
- Worker rights advocate and advisor
- Reporting officer on the worker rights situation and investigator of allegations of worker rights violations
- Labor expert for U.S. business overseas
- Coalition builder among business, labor, civil society, government and non-governmental organizations
- Resource to U.S. and in-country policymakers on labor market programs and developments and related technical assistance programs
- Source of information on U.S. labor policies and market conditions for host country's governmental and non-governmental officials

Recommendation 2.1: New Labor Officer Positions

The Secretary should substantially increase the number of new Labor Officer positions. The need for Labor Officers in this age of globalization is more compelling than ever. But the Department is not deploying sufficient human resources to meet this vital need. Many of the 49 Labor Officers in the field engage in labor work on a part-time basis, so that the resources dedicated to labor issues actually represent the equivalent of only about 20 to 25 full-time positions.

As promotion of worker rights plays a greater role in American foreign policy, so the need for additional Labor Officers in the field increases. As worker rights provisions are increasingly incorporated into new trade legislation, such as the African Growth and Opportunity Act, and the Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership Act, and new legislation requires reporting on the worst forms of child labor, there is an ever-greater need for resources in the field, particularly in developing countries. In determining where new

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positions should be located, the Secretary should consider, with the advice of the new Interagency Committee recommended at 4.1 below, countries where there is an emerging independent labor movement and countries where labor rights problems have occurred.
The Secretary and the Interagency Committee should consider the creation of more regional Labor Officer positions. Region-wide Labor Officers now serve in the Eastern Caribbean, Southern Africa and in East Africa. A Regional Officer can multiply the benefits of a Labor Officer region-wide. Such positions require support of the Mission in which the Officer is based, with sufficient travel funds and full administrative support.

Recommendation 2.2: Key Senior Labor Officer Positions

Certain critical Labor Officer positions should remain at or be upgraded to senior status. These labor positions require the experience and expertise of a senior Foreign Service Officer.
The new Interagency Committee, recommended below, should study and recommend the appropriate grade levels of key labor positions. The Advisory Committee believes approximately sixteen senior positions (the number of senior positions in 1983) to be an appropriate number, and recommends that the Interagency Committee determine where the most pressing needs exist.
Particular attention should be paid to creating additional senior Labor Advisor positions in the Regional Bureaus in Washington, as discussed in Recommendation 5.5, to give those bureaus senior labor expertise.

Recommendation 2.3: Labor Officers' Time Spent on Labor Issues

The Advisory Committee has been disturbed to learn that a number of Labor Officers only spend a small proportion of their time on labor issues. For example, the senior Labor Counselor in London spends only about 20% of his time on labor issues. The Advisory Committee recommends that the Secretary ensure that Labor Officers spend most of their time on labor work. The Secretary should emphasize to Ambassadors that Labor Officers are trained and assigned overseas to fulfill the labor objectives of the United States, and that this work will need full attention to be done properly.

Recommendation 2.4: Labor Officer Placement and the Embassy "Country Team"

Labor work involves the interrelationship between political and economic issues and does not always fit neatly into either the economic or political sections of Embassies. Yet the Labor Officer's voice needs to be heard by the Ambassador and the Deputy Chief of Mission.
The Advisory Committee recommends that Missions seriously consider having Labor Officers at the FS-02 level and above report directly to the Deputy Chiefs of Mission, with appropriate administrative support provided. In addition, the Advisory Committee recommends that Labor Officers be members of the Country Team. The Secretary of State should issue a circular strongly urging Chiefs of Mission to include the Labor Officer on their Country Teams. These measures will help ensure that the Embassies accord labor issues the priority attention they require, and that Labor Officers spend the bulk of their time on labor work.
For those Labor Officers below the FS-02 level, Missions should consider whether it would be more appropriate to place them in economic sections, if they do not sit in those sections already.

Recommendation 2.5: Support for Labor Officers

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Information Technology

Many Labor Officers work in Missions that do not have ready access to the Internet or unclassified e-mail, or whose unclassified Internet connection is antiquated and unreliable. Labor Officers have the need for an unclassified computer on their desks, because there is a rich trove of labor-related information on the Internet. We note that the Overseas Presence Advisory Panel also recommended that the Department immediately upgrade the U.S. overseas information technology (Recommendation 5). Labor Officers must have the information technology to function in the 21st century.

A Labor Travel Fund

Labor Officers, who have a special need to meet with people at the grassroots, must have the ability to visit work sites, unions and other contacts across the host country. The Department should establish a dedicated fund for Labor Officers to support their travel needs. This resource is particularly important where Labor Officers have regional responsibilities.

Human Resource Support at Missions

Labor Officers need sufficient Foreign Service National and secretarial support to assist them in performing their duties effectively. Foreign Service Nationals are not a substitute for Labor Officers themselves, but they can provide key support and host country knowledge to help Labor Officers do their job well.

Recommendation 3: Expansion and Development of the Cadre of Labor Officers and Recruitment of Foreign Service Generalists

This group of recommendations focuses on the career path of Foreign Service Officers who work on labor issues.

The Department should provide a career path that encourages talented Foreign Service Officers to elect labor tours and for some to specialize in labor work.

Many talented Foreign Service Officers are attracted to Labor Officer positions. But there are some officials in influential positions in the State Department who consider Labor Officers to be "too narrow" in their scope. Thus, at a time when the importance of labor diplomacy is growing, an attitude persists in some quarters of the Department that hinders the necessary expansion of labor diplomacy. The persistence of this attitude, combined with certain institutional constraints, the discouragement of specialization and the current tension between the historic emphasis on bilateral relationships and the recent globalization of so many issues, lead the Advisory Committee to conclude that special incentives and protections are necessary to ensure the development of a cadre of experienced Labor Officers.

The Advisory Committee concludes that the most effective system for strengthening labor diplomacy functions would have two basic components: (1) a cadre of Labor Officers with extensive expertise in labor diplomacy; and (2) a broader group of Foreign Service Officers who take occasional labor assignments during the course of their careers.

Developing and expanding the cadre of Labor Officers would provide the expertise and institutional memory necessary for the State Department to engage in effective labor diplomacy in the most important posts overseas and in the Department. Encouraging other Foreign Service Officers to serve in one or two labor tours would spread knowledge of labor issues more broadly in the Foreign Service, and would draw on the diverse talents of Foreign Service Officers who choose to be generalists.

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Recommendation 3.1: The Labor Promotion Track

In order to further develop a cadre of specialized Labor Officers, the State Department should restore the labor promotion track. This change is essential to restoring the confidence officers need to specialize in labor issues and to sustain a revitalized Labor Officer program over time in the State Department. This track would provide for the flow of Labor Officers through the ranks up through the Minister Counselor level.

The labor promotion track should include these elements:

- The track should be made available, at a minimum, to officers moving from the FS-02 to the FS-01 grades, and from FS-01 to FE-OC and FE-OC to FE-MC.
- To be considered for promotions through this track, officers should first serve at least two tours as Labor Officers.
- Promotion opportunities each year should be determined by the Department's Bureau of Human Resources, based on the number of designated labor positions at the FS-01, FE-OC, and FE-MC levels.
- Selection Boards would be instructed to promote officers competing in the labor track based on their ability as Labor Officers. Supplemental precepts would supply criteria for labor track promotions.
- Because not all officers promoted as Labor Officers will occupy the FS-01 through FE-MC Labor Officer positions, other Foreign Service Officers and Department of Labor detailees would have the opportunity to serve as Labor Officers at those levels as needed.
- Officers promoted through the labor promotion track would not be required to serve as Labor Officers after promotion, and could serve as Deputy Chiefs of Mission or in other positions.

The labor promotion track would encourage the development of labor expertise, but other officers who have not been promoted through the labor track should still be eligible to serve in senior labor positions when appropriate.

Recommendation 3.2: Recruitment of Generalist Foreign Service Officers into Labor Positions

Foreign Service Officers often want to play an active role as agents of change, making a concrete difference in the lives of real people. Many Foreign Service Officers value the opportunity to be an advocate for labor rights and to assist in the development and implementation of labor programs on the ground.

The International Labor Affairs Office should continue to aggressively recruit talented officers for labor positions. It should issue a cable annually, at the time that bid lists are issued, advertising and describing the labor positions which are open during the bid cycle. Whether or not these Foreign Service Officers choose to specialize in labor throughout their career, they will have the opportunity to prove their mettle on one of the most challenging issues of the day.

Recommendation 3.3: Diversity in the Foreign Service

The Advisory Committee recommends that people of color be recruited for Labor Officer positions in particular. Labor Officers -- who have direct contact with the working people

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of the host country -- should look like the American work force. The ethnic and racial diversity of the United States should be reflected in the faces and experiences of the officers sent overseas as our labor diplomats.

Indeed, Foreign Service Officers as a whole should reflect America's broad diversity. The Advisory Committee welcomes the State Department's affirmative action commitments to increasing the representation of minorities and women, including in the upper grades of the Foreign Service. The Advisory Committee urges the Department to redouble its efforts to reach its goal of achieving a diverse Foreign Service.

Recommendation 3.4: Labor and Other Global Experience as a Factor in the Ambassadorial Selection Process

Global issues, including labor issues, are increasing in importance in the globalized economy and in U.S. foreign policy. First-hand experience in tackling these issues during the formative years of their service should be among the qualifications for selection of Ambassadors and Deputy Chiefs of Mission. A statement by the President and the Secretary of State that labor and other global experience will be weighed favorably in the ambassadorial selection process would encourage Foreign Service Officers to include labor and other global tours as part of their career development.

Recommendation 3.5: The Joint Award for Excellence in Labor Diplomacy

The Secretaries of State and Labor have, for the past two years, granted the Joint Award for Excellence in Labor Diplomacy. The award, which includes a cash prize, replaced the Deputy Secretary of State's Award for Excellence in Labor Diplomacy, which was created in 1989. The award provides an incentive for Labor Officers to strive to achieve high standards in their labor work, and provides an incentive for Foreign Service Officers to pursue Labor Officer assignments. The joint award should be put on a par with other State Department-wide awards. Notice of the joint award should be sent to the posts at the same time as the other State Department awards. The joint award should be presented in alternating years at the time and at the ceremony where all other high level State Department and Labor Department awards are presented.

Recommendation 3.6: The "Up or Out" System

The Advisory Committee is concerned that the State Department's "up or out" system discourages officers from specializing in labor diplomacy, because perceived "overspecialization" could lead to a forced early retirement. Similarly, the Committee is concerned that the Department is losing trained Labor Officers to forced retirement because they have been judged to be "overspecialized."

The "up or out" system is at odds with modern management practices. The system results in the loss of qualified officers who add great value to international diplomacy.

Some officers may prefer to specialize in labor or other specialized work, even if that slows or impedes their advancement to the highest ranks of the Senior Foreign Service. They may be willing to trade promotion opportunities for the satisfaction that accompanies the exercise of substantive expertise in an important area of foreign policy.

The Advisory Committee recommends that the State Department consider a comprehensive re-evaluation of whether or not the "up or out" system is serving the Department's modern-day needs with respect to the development of expertise in global issues.

Recommendation 3.7: Hiring Persons with Labor Expertise Into the Mid-Level Ranks

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The Foreign Service does not have a mid-career entry program. Instead, individuals with significant and valuable expertise must enter the Foreign Service as Junior Officers, perform consular work before achieving tenure and then advance up through the ranks, just as recent college graduates do.

There is an identified need for labor experts in the mid- and senior ranks of the Foreign Service, as there is for other types of experts in mid-career positions. Having only entry-level positions available makes it difficult to meet those needs. In addition, those with skills and experience in labor matters are unlikely to enter the Foreign Service if they are required to perform several years of generalist duties at a junior level before they can put their labor skills to work. The Foreign Service should have the flexibility to hire officers into the mid-ranks directly in order to meet current and future needs of the Department. The Foreign Service Act of 1980 acknowledges that there may be times when the Secretary will wish to hire experts into higher ranks in the Foreign Service and authorizes such hiring. [note 22]

The Advisory Committee recommends that the State Department re-examine its practice of not hiring persons with specialized skills into the mid-ranks, and notes that the Overseas Presence Advisory Panel, at Recommendation 4.5, also recently recommended that the Department place a priority on recruiting for expertise in a range of areas. This Advisory Committee shares that view, and, in particular, recommends that procedures be established for facilitating the recruitment of career labor specialists, as needed.

Recommendation 3.8: Limited Non-Career Appointments

The State Department currently has the ability to hire personnel into limited non-career appointments for service in Embassies overseas. These appointments ordinarily may not exceed five years, in accordance with the Foreign Service Act of 1980. However, career employees on detail from other federal agencies -- such as those currently participating in the exchange program -- may have their overseas tours of duty extended. [note 23]

The State Department should use limited non-career appointments where special expertise is needed and to fill the gaps in the labor program. This recommendation is in accord with a similar recommendation made by the Overseas Presence Advisory Panel. (Recommendation 4.7)

Recommendation 3.9: Placement of Organized Labor Representatives on the Selection Boards

The Secretary should place representatives from organized labor on the Foreign Service Selection Boards. Each board has a seat for a member of the public. A representative from organized labor, with a background in international affairs, would serve the process well by ensuring that fellow selection board members are sensitized to the importance of labor issues in our foreign policy. In particular, the Advisory Committee recommends that a trade union representative be invited to participate in the senior threshold board and on the OC-to-MC Selection Board.

Recommendation 4: The Labor Department's Role in the Labor Diplomacy Program

The recommendations that follow focus on the U.S. Department of Labor's role in the State Department labor diplomacy program.

In a global world, the State Department must increasingly rely on the expertise of other U.S. Government agencies. In the areas of science, health, trade, commerce, agriculture and labor, among others, the State Department consults and confers with domestic

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agencies of the United States Government in the formulation and implementation of U.S. foreign policy. Many other agencies now station representatives in Missions abroad, as discussed extensively in the report of the Overseas Presence Advisory Panel. Indeed, the U.S. Department of Commerce and the U.S. Department of Agriculture both have developed their own independent overseas services.

The Advisory Committee has given serious consideration to a recommendation to transfer the labor diplomacy function to the U.S. Department of Labor. There are a number of arguments in support of such a move. A Labor Service housed at the Department of Labor could be dedicated full-time to addressing labor issues internationally, without the State Department's competing demands on Labor Officers' time. The Department of Labor's Bureau of International Labor Affairs already has an in-house corps of international labor experts, and has the expertise of the entire Department of Labor at its disposal. Just as the Foreign Commercial Service and the Foreign Agricultural Service have separate, exclusive missions, so a Foreign Labor Service dedicated exclusively to international labor priorities could more adequately serve the needs of the U.S. Department of Labor.

The State Department has at times demonstrated an inability or unwillingness to recognize the full importance and relevance of worker rights and labor issues to U.S. foreign policy goals. The Department personnel system's emphasis on generalists over specialists, and the Foreign Service's traditional culture, which emphasizes bilateral relations over global interests, have sometimes worked to diminish the importance of the labor function in the State Department. Indeed, human rights and worker rights issues have at times been neglected in practice when they come into conflict with other political or economic interests. There are some who think that revitalizing a vibrant and sustainable labor function at the State Department is an impossible task.

However, after much reflection and deliberation, the Advisory Committee has chosen to recommend that the labor function remain at the State Department. The Advisory Committee values the importance of integrating U.S. worker rights goals and other global labor issues with overall U.S. foreign policy, and this integration can best be achieved within the State Department. The Committee's decision to recommend keeping the function at the State Department assumes that the many changes recommended in this report will actually be implemented.

To mutually agree on and effectively carry out the labor diplomacy goals of the U.S. Government, however, the State Department needs to coordinate more systematically with the Labor Department.

Recommendation 4.1.: A New Interagency Labor Diplomacy Committee

The Department of Labor should play an active part in shaping the U.S. labor diplomacy program. The DOL and the State Department already consult closely on labor diplomacy issues to discuss the placement and selection of Labor Officers, Labor Officer awards, training, promotion and other issues. This consultative relationship, while productive, has not been institutionalized. A more formal relationship is necessary to secure the Department of Labor's important role as a partner in U.S. labor diplomacy.

The Advisory Committee recommends the establishment of a new Interagency Labor Diplomacy Program Committee ("Interagency Committee") to oversee the labor diplomacy program. The Interagency Committee would be composed of officials of the Department of State and the Department of Labor, who would have the responsibility to

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coordinate and facilitate interdepartmental cooperation with respect to all aspects of the labor diplomacy program. The two Departments should negotiate a Memorandum of Understanding which details the functions of the Interagency Committee.
The Interagency Committee's duties should include, among other things:

- meeting regularly to review the functions of the labor diplomacy program and the adequacy of support for that program
- reviewing annually and making recommendations on the location of all positions with major labor diplomacy responsibilities at overseas posts
- reviewing the management of the Department of Labor/State Department exchange program, and any other Department of Labor-funded Labor Officer positions, including the percentage of time spent on labor work
- reviewing and making recommendations on any proposals to change the grade level or to create or eliminate positions with major labor diplomacy responsibilities, including those instances where the proposal originates with the Office of the Inspector General
- reviewing concerns raised by government or public entities (such as the AFL-CIO) regarding the handling of the labor diplomacy function in any particular mission or geographic region
- reviewing and making recommendations on the selection of candidates for labor diplomacy positions, where there is a lack of consensus regarding the selection of a particular candidate
- reviewing and making recommendations with regard to the training of Labor Officers, and Foreign Service Officers in general
- establishing the experience and training levels required for officers encumbering positions with substantial labor diplomacy responsibilities at each grade level
- reviewing annually the implementation of the Mission Performance Plans.

Recommendation 4.2.: The Role of the Labor Department with Respect to Overseas Labor Positions
The Department of Labor should have more influence over the work of Labor Officers overseas. The detailing of a number of Labor Department employees to Embassies overseas was a step toward incorporating the Department of Labor's expertise in the implementation of U.S. labor-related foreign policy objectives.
The Administration's Fiscal Year 2001 budget request seeks twelve new Department of Labor-funded overseas Labor Officer positions. The Advisory Committee endorses this funding request. Funding certain selected Labor Officer positions through the Labor Department would enable that Department to make an important contribution to the labor diplomacy program.
Recommendation 4.3: Labor Department/State Department Exchange Program
The Department of Labor/State Department exchange program brings a pool of officers with labor expertise to the State Department. The exchange program affords State

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Department officers detailed to the Department of Labor the benefit of understanding the needs and requirements of the Department of Labor, and gives the Department of Labor a richer understanding of the overseas experience of Foreign Service Officers. The Advisory Committee encourages additional Foreign Service details to the Labor Department. The Advisory Committee suggests that the Labor Department also make available positions in its domestic agencies, including regional offices, for the exchange program. The exchange program should be institutionalized for the future, by inclusion in the Memorandum of Understanding proposed in Recommendation 4.1.

Recommendation 5: The Labor Function in Washington

This group of recommendations focuses on the role of the Special Representative for International Labor Affairs and other aspects of labor diplomacy in Washington.

The appointment in 1999 of the Special Representative for International Labor Affairs has been an important step in revitalizing labor diplomacy.

The Special Representative has raised the profile of labor issues at the State Department and has spearheaded substantive changes in labor policy and more effective labor diplomacy. The Special Representative coordinates U.S. international labor policy within the State Department and represents the Department on interagency committees. She has given a focus and a strong sense of direction to the International Labor Affairs Office; established a strong working relationship with the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs; and worked to strengthen the Office's relationship with Regional and other Bureaus.

The Department should build upon these efforts by strengthening the hand of the Special Representative and by enhancing the Washington-based aspects of labor diplomacy.

Recommendation 5.1: The Responsibility of the Special Representative for International Labor Affairs Over Labor Officers

The Special Representative for International Labor Affairs and the International Labor Affairs Office currently play a supporting role in the assignment, grade level, work and location of overseas Labor Officers. The voice and role of the Special Representative for International Labor Affairs within this process need to be greatly strengthened commensurate with the primary stake which her office has in the success of the Department's labor diplomacy program. The Special Representative is the principal stakeholder in the State Department in the work of the overseas Labor Officers both as the Secretary's labor advisor and as the Department's liaison point with the Department of Labor's International Labor Affairs Bureau, which relies heavily on the State Department's Labor Officers to promote its interests overseas. Granting more authority over the assignment, grade levels, functions, and the placement of Labor Officers to the Special Representative would enable her to more fully engage these officers in the achievement of U.S. labor policy goals. The Special Representative should exercise this authority in consultation with the posts, Regional Bureaus, Bureau of Human Resources, and the new Interagency Committee proposed at Recommendation 4.1.

In addition, the Advisory Committee recommends that the Special Representative be granted primary authority over five Labor Officer positions, their location to be determined. The Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental Scientific Affairs has implemented a regional environmental officer program with Bureau responsibility over these environmental officers. This authority includes the ability to shift officers from one post to another. The Advisory Committee suggests that this program could serve as a

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model for an innovative approach to labor diplomacy. Authority over a discrete number of positions would give the Special Representative more flexibility in ensuring that resources are deployed in a timely way to meet changing demands.

After this new approach has been tested and evaluated, the Department should consider expanding the Special Representative's authority to additional Labor Officer positions.

Recommendation 5.2: The Permanence of the Special Representative Position

The Special Representative position should be made permanent as a "Schedule C" political appointee, at the Assistant Secretary level. The Special Representative position should remain the leading State Department policy official on international labor issues, with a high level of status and visibility.

Labor diplomacy will continue to be a critical component of foreign policy for the foreseeable future. The U.S. needs a high level diplomat dedicated full time to advancing America's labor interests.

Recommendation 5.3: Ambassador-at-Large Status for the Special Representative

The Special Representative position should have Ambassador-at-Large status. Ambassadorial status would enhance the prestige of the position, particularly during negotiations with foreign Ambassadors and Ministers. Rank matters at the State Department and in diplomacy generally. The Special Representative should be given the rank commensurate with the expanding importance of labor issues in American foreign policy.

While it is somewhat beyond the mandate of this Committee, we also believe that the Department of Labor ought to examine the status of its highest level official with international responsibilities. In the past, that official was an Assistant Secretary. The position was subsequently downgraded to the Deputy Under Secretary level. The Advisory Committee believes that the position should be restored to the Assistant Secretary level. Within the past few years, the Department of Labor's International Labor Affairs Bureau has been charged with the administration of multiple new programs, including a $30 million fund for the International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor, a $10 million bilateral assistance program, and a $20 million fund to support the ILO in the implementation of core worker rights. Given these increased responsibilities, the status of the official leading this bureau should be elevated. In addition, that official should have ambassadorial rank as the government's principal representative to the annual ILO Conference.

Recommendation 5.4: The Resources of the International Labor Affairs Office

The Special Representative relies on the work of the International Labor Affairs Office to implement the Department's labor diplomacy goals in Washington. New responsibilities, such as implementation of the worker rights provisions of the African Growth and Opportunity Act and the Caribbean Basin Trade Partnership Act, expanded enforcement of the OPIC worker rights provisions, and implementation of the anti-sweatshop grant program, among other initiatives, have increased the workload of the Office. The Special Representative needs the skilled support of sufficient staff to cover these issues. The staff of the Office should be expanded to meet the new responsibilities regarding labor issues at State.

Recommendation 5.5: Placement of a Senior Regional Labor Advisor in Each Regional Bureau

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The Administration's FY 2001 Budget requests five new positions for Labor Advisors to be placed in each Regional Bureau that currently does not have a Labor Advisor, and in the Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary for the Newly Independent States. The Advisory Committee endorses the request and recommends that the Administration actively urge Congress to approve it. The Committee has noted at Recommendation 2.2 that these positions should be filled by senior Labor Officers.

It is essential that the Special Representative for International Labor Affairs and the Regional Bureaus work closely together to integrate perspectives and coordinate the work of Labor Officers in the field. While the Special Representative plays a key role in the development and implementation of international labor policy, the Regional Bureaus are central to regional policy and Mission resources.

Placing a senior Labor Advisor in each Regional Bureau is a key element in improving communication and coordination. The Regional Labor Advisors would give the Special Representative crucial insight into the perspectives of the Regional Bureaus. Raising these positions to the senior grade would enable Regional Labor Advisors to better integrate the goals and concerns of the Special Representative with the policies of the respective Bureaus.

Recommendation 5.6: Placement of a Labor Advisor in the Economic and Business Affairs Bureau

There are currently several officers in the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs who have some labor responsibilities, but none of them covers labor issues full time or receives formal labor training. Placing a full-time Labor Advisor in that Bureau would establish a formal liaison between the Special Representative for International Labor Affairs and the Bureau which leads on economic and business policy at the State Department. A trained Labor Advisor within that Bureau would provide it with in-house expertise and insight into the labor-related ramifications of trade, investment and other business-related policy decisions.

Recommendation 5.7: The International Organization Bureau Officer Covering the ILO

The Foreign Service Officer covering the International Labor Organization in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs should be designated as a Labor Officer. This officer needs to be capable of providing expert advice on international labor matters to the Bureau of International Organization Affairs.

Recommendation 5.8: Labor in the Strategic Planning Process

The strategic planning process, which determines the use of the State Department's resources, should reflect the importance of labor, both in the human rights and democracy sphere and in the economic, trade and investment sphere. At each stage of the planning process, the Special Representative has been working to include labor issues. The State Department should continue to incorporate labor input into its strategic planning to reflect the importance of labor issues in American foreign policy.

In addition, the International Labor Affairs Office and the U.S. Department of Labor have become involved in the review of Mission Performance Plans as a part of the formal comment process with respect to these Plans. The Mission Performance Plans are assuming greater importance in posts, not only in setting forth the Mission's policy and programmatic priorities, but also in the evaluation of the work of Foreign Service Officers. If the U.S. international labor priorities for a particular post do not appear in a

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Mission Performance Plan, they will be much less likely to be addressed in that Mission, and the Labor Officer will have a harder time justifying to his or her superiors that there must be a substantial amount of time spent on labor work. In the instruction guidance which precedes the preparation of the Mission Performance Plan, the Department should stress the importance of including the U.S. Government's labor priorities for that Mission. Labor Officers and Labor Reporting Officers should participate in the drafting of the Mission Performance Plan.

Recommendation 6: Increasing Awareness of Labor Issues at All Levels of the State Department

This group of recommendations focuses on the need to increase awareness and improve training about labor issues throughout the Foreign Service.

The Advisory Committee is concerned that a culture persists at the State Department that marginalizes the importance of labor issues. Some view the labor function as a relic of the Cold War. Once the Cold War ended, this theory goes, the need for a dedicated corps of Labor Officers ended. Others view freedom of association, collective bargaining and other labor rights as "special interests" or even as impediments to the functioning of national markets and international trade and investment.

At all levels of the State Department, there should be a concerted effort to raise the awareness of the role and importance of labor issues in U.S. foreign policy.

The Advisory Committee recognizes that, in the past year, the Secretary has substantially increased the status and awareness of labor issues at the State Department through the establishment of this Committee, the creation of the Special Representative position, her prioritization of labor rights and messages to the field. Against this background, the Assistant Secretary for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor and the Special Representative for International Labor Affairs have been able to make progress in advocating for worker rights and demonstrating to the Department the importance of this advocacy.

Recommendation 6.1: Labor-Related Training in the State Department The Foreign Service must have broad-based knowledge and understanding of labor issues in the global economy. Labor training should not be limited to the Labor Officer course, but should be incorporated into multiple areas of training, in order to raise the knowledge and awareness of Foreign Service Officers.

Specific measures to improve labor training include the following:

- The Labor Officer Course should be expanded to six weeks. The Labor Officer course should teach its participants the tools of labor diplomacy and worker rights advocacy; facilitation of work with multiple sectors of society; investigation of work sites; understanding of labor markets; and development of programmatic initiatives.

- The Institute should provide an advanced Labor Officer course or assignment to academic training for those Officers specializing in labor issues, or who are embarking on a second Labor Officer tour after a gap in labor work.

- Labor Reporting Officers should be designated prior to beginning their new assignments, whenever possible, so that there will be an opportunity to provide them with training and/or consultation regarding labor issues.

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- The Institute should make use of new technologies to provide "distance learning" to Foreign Service Labor Reporting Officers overseas who are unable to attend training in the Washington area, providing a course at least once a year for those officers who have not had previous labor training or experience. Such a course could also be a useful tool for educating other political or economic officers about labor issues.

- Foreign Service Nationals who work on labor issues should receive labor training, and the Institute should provide a Foreign Service National labor course. This initiative, however, should not be viewed as a substitute for Labor Officers' work.

The Foreign Service Institute, in consultation with the Special Representative for International Labor Affairs and the new Interagency Labor Diplomacy Program Committee discussed at Recommendation 4.1, should conduct a systematic evaluation of the labor content of its courses, and should add labor modules to courses where appropriate. The Interagency Committee should periodically review the labor content of the Institute's course offerings and make recommendations to improve labor training.
The following courses, at a minimum, should include a labor segment:

- The six-week introductory Junior Officer Training

- Political Tradecraft

- Economic Tradecraft

- Economic Issues

- Global Issues

- All Area Studies Programs

- Public Diplomacy Tradecraft

- Senior Seminar

Recommendation 6.2: The Annual Worldwide Labor Officers Conference
During the past three years, the International Labor Affairs Office has revived the Worldwide Labor Officers Conference. Labor Officers from posts throughout the world attend the Conference, which includes presentations by leading experts on current labor, economic and human rights topics and briefings by high level officials from the White House, State Department, the Department of Labor, the AFL-CIO and others.
The Labor Officers Conference fosters a sense of collegiality and an esprit de corps among Labor Officers. It gives them an opportunity to learn best practices from one another and to receive an update on Washington's labor priorities.
The Advisory Committee recommends that the Department continue holding the Annual Worldwide Labor Officer Conference and provide funding to enable as many Labor Officers as possible to attend.

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21. While not every Committee member has agreed to every recommendation, every recommendation reflects a consensus of the Committee.

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22. 22 U.S.C. § 3947 provides in part: "A career candidate for appointment as a Foreign Service Officer may not be initially assigned . . . to a salary class higher than class 4 . . . unless . . . the Secretary determines in an individual case that assignment to a higher salary class is warranted because of the qualifications . . . and experience of the candidate and the needs of the Service . . ."

23. 22 U.S.C. 3949.

CONCLUSION

The Advisory Committee believes that these recommended changes can build a vigorous labor diplomacy to meet the challenges of the 21st Century. The Committee looks forward to working with the Secretary of State in the implementation of these recommendations, to ensure that the Department has the tools it needs to press for America's international labor objectives.

As a public body composed of representatives from labor, business, academia and former government officials, the Advisory Committee provides insights concerning U.S. labor diplomacy needs that are not readily available within the State Department. This Advisory Committee is grateful to the Secretary of State for creating it, and believes that a Committee of this type should continue to be available to the Secretary of State and the President for additional advice and consultation. Such a Committee should be composed -- as this Committee is -- of persons of stature from the government, academic, labor and business worlds. We also wish to commend the Secretary of State for creating the position of Special Representative for International Labor Affairs. Through these actions, as well as through her charge to the Committee and her messages to posts abroad on the significance of labor diplomacy, she has demonstrated her recognition of its importance and of the need to prepare the Department to meet the challenges presented by these issues.

The Advisory Committee plans to address several other international labor diplomacy issues during the remaining period of its current charter. Having addressed operational issues of labor diplomacy in this Report, the Committee will next review international labor policy, with a focus on (1) the interagency process on international labor policy formulation and (2) labor issues that arise in multilateral institutions, including the WTO, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the ILO and the Regional Development Banks, among others. The Committee will also address the interrelationship of labor diplomacy with the work of USAID, the International Center for Labor Solidarity and other programmatic labor activity.

Biographies of the Members of the Advisory Committee on Labor Diplomacy

Thomas R. Donahue, Chairman
Linda Chavez-Thompson
Frank P. Doyle
Anthony G. Freeman
John T. Joyce
William Lucy
Ray Marshall

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John J. Sweeney

Ex Officio Members
Secretary of State Madeleine Albright
Secretary of Labor Alexis Herman

Executive Secretary
Mark A. Simonoff

THOMAS R. DONAHUE, Chairman:
Mr. Donahue is a Senior Fellow at the Work in America Institute. He served as Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO from 1979 to 1995. He was elected President of the AFL-CIO in 1995 to complete the unexpired term of Lane Kirkland. From 1967 to 1969, Mr. Donahue served as Assistant Secretary of Labor for Labor-Management Relations. From 1969 to l973 he was Executive Secretary and First Vice President of the Service Employees International Union. Mr. Donahue is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Endowment for Democracy, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, vice president of the Muscular Dystrophy Association, and a Fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration.

LINDA CHAVEZ-THOMPSON:
Ms. Chavez-Thompson was elected Executive Vice President of the AFL-CIO on October 25, 1995 and was re-elected to a four-year term on September 30, 1997. Ms. Chavez-Thompson was an International Vice President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) from June 1988 through June 1996. Prior to her election as Executive Vice-President, Ms. Chavez-Thompson served as Vice-President of the AFL-CIO since August 3, 1993. She also served as a National Vice-President of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement from 1986 through 1996. Ms. Chavez-Thompson serves on the AFL-CIO Board of Trustees and United Way's Board of Governors, was appointed by President Clinton to the President's Initiative on Race, recently was appointed to serve as Vice Chair of the President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities and is a board member of several other organizations.

FRANK P. DOYLE:
Mr. Doyle retired as Executive Vice President of the General Electric Company on January 1, 1996. From 1981 to 1991, he was a GE Senior Vice President with responsibility for Corporate Employee Relations, Public Relations, Government Relations, Corporate Marketing and Advertising. He joined GE in 1978 as Vice President for Corporate Employee Relations. Mr. Doyle is currently a director of Compaq Computer Corporation, Paine Webber Group, Roadway Express and U.S. Office Products. He serves as Chairman of the Committee for Economic Development and on the Board of Trustees of Jobs for the Future. In 1992, Mr. Doyle was named the first Distinguished Fellow of the National Academy of Human Resources.

ANTHONY G. FREEMAN:
Mr. Freeman is the director of the Washington D.C. Office of the International Labor Organization (ILO), a position he assumed on November 1, 1994. A career Foreign Service

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Officer from 1961 until his retirement from the U.S. Government in October 1994, he served in political and labor officer posts in Latin America and Western Europe. For ten years, starting in 1983, Mr. Freeman served as Special Assistant to Secretaries of State Shultz, Baker and Eagleburger, and Coordinator of International Labor Affairs. In that capacity, he advised the Department of State and the Agency for International Development on international labor policies. He also coordinated U.S. relations and programs with the American and international trade union movements, was U.S. Government delegate to the ILO's annual International Labor Conference, and supervised the Department of State's Labor Officer program. In 1993, he was named Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.

JOHN T. JOYCE:
Mr. Joyce was President of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers (BAC) from 1979 to June 1 of 1999. He is a Vice President of the AFL-CIO, and President of the International Construction Institute -- an international trade union NGO headquartered in Rome. He formerly served as First Vice President of the AFL-CIO Building Trades Department, and he has served on the National Democratic Institute, the Center for National Policy, the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), and the National Endowment for Democracy.

WILLIAM LUCY:
Mr. Lucy was elected International Secretary-Treasurer of the 1.3 million-member American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), AFL-CIO, in May 1972, and has been reelected since, most recently in 1996. He is also a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, and holds several other leadership positions. In November 1994, he became the president of Public Services International, the world's largest federation of unions. He serves on the board for TransAfrica, the African American Institute, Americans for Democratic Action and the Center for Policy Alternatives.

RAY MARSHALL:
Mr. Marshall has held the Audre and Bernard Rapoport Chair in Economics and Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin since 1981. He serves on various boards and councils including the Council on Foreign Relations, Economic Policy Institute, Bretton Woods Committee, and National Center on Education and the Economy. From 1977 to 1981, Mr. Marshall was Secretary of Labor in the Carter Administration, and also served as member of the Domestic Policy Council, the Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation, Cabinet-level Committee on the International Labor Organization (ILO), Economic Policy Group, and Collective Bargaining Group. Mr. Marshall has published over two hundred books and monographs.

JOHN J. SWEENEY:
Mr. Sweeney was elected president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1995 and was re-elected in September 1997. Before his election, he was serving his fourth year term as president of the Service Employees International Union, which grew from 625,000 to 1.1. million members under his leadership. He also was vice president of the AFL-CIO, and chaired the Executive Council committees on Health

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Care and Organizing and Field Services. He recently served on the Overseas Presence Advisory Panel. In 1996 he wrote a book *America Needs a Raise, Fighting for Economic Security and Social Justice*, and co-authored *Solutions for the New York Work Force* in 1989.

MARK A. SIMONOFF, Executive Secretary:
Mr. Simonoff, one of the first participants in the Labor Department/State Department exchange program, is on detail to the State Department's International Labor Affairs Office from the Department of Labor's Regional Solicitor's Office in Boston, where he worked as a Trial Attorney from 1995 to 1999. Previously, he was a law clerk at the U.S. District Court in Boston and at the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court and practiced civil litigation. Mr. Simonoff was Chairman of the Cambridge (Massachusetts) Human Rights Commission from 1997 to 1999.