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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *Metaphor for State: To Rebuild or Remodel*

BY F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

The proud, but old house of State is being enlarged by presidential directive. Two wings are being added for public diplomacy and arms control. The current tenant is getting differing advice on how to do it. Some folks living on the Hill want a smaller building with fewer people. Others in the nearby White House want a reinvented and stronger building. The occupants of the two new wings want the features of their old quarters, but are urging that the rest of the building be rebuilt. The old residents are split — a majority want minimal remodeling and disruption, while a small group believes this is an important opportunity to make overdue structural repairs. Here are some thoughts:

■ Rebuilding is not just difficult, it's painful. Consequently, in a structure leased for only four-year terms, former tenants have opted to remodel just the top floors. Occupants of State's top floor have been able to meet their immediate needs while avoiding the disruption of major reconstruction. Complaints about structural weaknesses on the lower floors have been easy to ignore in the press of urgent business. Those weaknesses are now beginning to affect operations seriously.

■ Rebuilding costs money. Current financing for the building and its overseas operations is insufficient. Funders in the White House and on

---

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

*This may be an opportunity to make overdue structural repairs.*

the Hill act as if fully investing in a first-class defense and intelligence establishment means savings from the foreign policy structures. The new balanced budget deal increases defense and intelligence spending but cuts outlays for diplomacy over the next five years. The critical international affairs salaries and expenditures accounts, which fund core diplomatic programs, people and structures, do not even meet inflation costs. The perception that diplomacy's planning, budgeting, implementing and management systems are flawed and that scarce monies often go to low-priority items leads to further mistrust. A consequent downward spiral of lower resources steadily decreases the department's ability to perform. A well-executed rebuilding program is critical to regain funder support.

■ Rebuilding requires accountability. Today, most policy and program decisions are pushed upward for the approval of those who have no direct responsibility for actual operations.

Responsibility is shared so widely that no individuals are accountable.

■ Rebuilding requires the best business practices for worldwide operations. What is the right balance between centralized and decentralized control over key management functions? Between generalists and specialists? Between functional and regional bureaus? Who should decide disputes over policy, programs, budgets and personnel? These decisions must be judged not on the basis of turf, tradition and harmony, but on performance.

■ Rebuilding requires dedication to common goals. The State Department's long-term failure to support its people has led to their unwillingness to support the department. Instead, loyalties have shifted to groups that do take care of their own. This is seen by some as "elitist." It is worse; it is a culture of putting self and group before the whole.

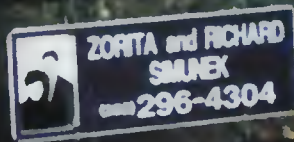
■ Rebuilding requires improving personnel systems. Merit and open processes are increasingly being replaced by patronage for both political and career employees. The Foreign Service's flexible personnel system is based on discipline and trust. As it loses that to short-term demands, it becomes weak and vulnerable.

For these reasons the Foreign Service trusts that the current tenant, Secretary Madeleine K. Albright, will undertake the structural work necessary for a stronger Department of State. The FS community would be proud to help. ■

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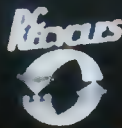


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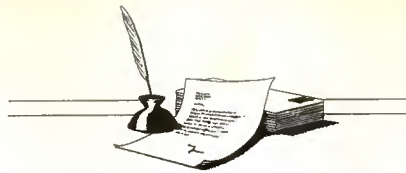
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# LETTERS

*To the Editor:*

The April *Journal* was the best, most professional and informative in my memory, particularly the "Focus" articles on U.S.-European relations ("The Honeymoon's Over: In Post-Cold War World, U.S.-European Relations Cooling"). I hope it carries a promise of similar high quality in the future.

Robert K. Olson ("America and Mideast Peace: After Excluding Europe From Talks For Decades, U.S. May Now Need Its Voice") makes a convincing case for greater transatlantic cooperation — and shared responsibility — in future approaches to the peace process in the Middle East. It would have been too much, though, to expect the Europeans to display anything but disarray in the wake of the Arab oil embargo back in 1973 when the very mention of political cooperation made European Community (it was Community back then) bureaucrats nervous. Sensing this insecurity, Henry Kissinger, the bully's bully, enjoyed castigating our friends and allies in strong, if repetitive, terms ("craven and cowardly") and he gave them little reason to think

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

their partnership with the United States was important to Washington.

One has to admire Marshall Freeman Harris' skill at squeezing onto one page a description of the constipation that gripped policy makers on both sides of the Atlantic following victory in, or escape from, the Cold War ("Diplomatic Differences in Bosnia"). We can understand it, but we cannot excuse it, and the Bosnian victims will never forget it. Can we be at all confident that Clinton or Chirac-Kohl and Co. will be more resolute when the next bloodbath comes, much less that they will dismiss inaction in tandem?

Clearly the class piece, and deserving its lead position, is Monteaule Stearns' sharp analysis of the problems afflicting our relations with our allies since the end of the Cold War. One could wish it were the *précis* of a book to be written, although Stearns himself may not.

The EU is publicly committed to the admission of certain qualified Eastern European states (plus Cyprus) and the timing has nothing to do with the pace of NATO expansion. Nor is there any essential substantive link. The criteria for EU membership concern both economic performance and political development, i.e., democratic institutions and demonstrated respect for human rights. NATO concentrates on strategic value and tolerates occasional dictatorships (Portugal and Greece, in their day) and blatant abuses of human rights (Turkey to this day).

Which brings us to James W. Spain's "America & Turkey," as full of

holes as Stearns' article is of intelligent insights. The author mentions Cyprus three times, all by way of illustrating how much of an irritant that place, in league with Greece, can be. But he fails to note that 35,000 Turkish troops have occupied 40 percent of that U.N.-member state for more than two decades and in open defiance of U.N. Security Council resolutions. Still, Turkey is a "hardworking and pragmatic member of the United Nations" (whatever that means) and "is likely to remain an international good citizen." Then, what does Spain mean when he says that "Turkey's membership in NATO ... provided at least some leverage against Greece," since Greece and stronger Turkey were admitted to NATO on the very same day in 1952? And finally, Mr. Spain can't really believe that Greece is blocking Turkey's entry into the EU: Turkey simply does not qualify on economic or political grounds. The only vocal champion of Turkey's application to that group of European democracies is the United States.

Alan Berlind  
Retired FSO  
Coulevre, France

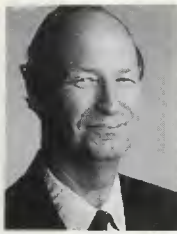


*To the Editor:*

I should like to add my voice to the chorus of praise for James W. Spain's masterly article "America & Turkey."

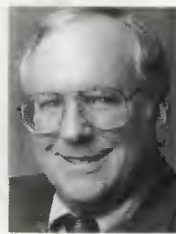
As "old Turkey hands" will recognize, this politico/historical/diplomatic synopsis tells it as it is (and was) in the

## LETTERS



Everard S. Taylor

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best tradition of Foreign Service reporting. I think the essay is especially noteworthy for its keen analysis of policy issues and for the accuracy of the author's insights into Turkish motivations and long-term objectives.

Turkey has always been fascinating to diplomatists. It maintained a precarious viability for nearly three centuries on little more than the trained skill of its diplomats. *Gecmis olsun!*

Permit me to offer a minor correction to what appears to be a typographical error. The Turkish Army's bloodless coup was in May 1960, not 1950, as appears in the article. The year is engraved in my memory. I was second secretary in the political section of U.S. Embassy Ankara at the time. Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and his Foreign Minister Fatin Rustu Zorly were subsequently tried and executed by hanging on Sept. 17, 1961.

*Sag Oll, Mr. Ambassador. Sag Oll!* P.S. This is the traditional roar of greeting to the Sultan from the Imperial Host on return from campaign, etc. Roughly translatable as "Live long and prosper."

*Matthew D. Smith Jr.  
Retired FSO  
Brownsville, Tex.*

*To the Editor:*

Marshall Harris's article, "Diplomatic Differences in Bosnia" leaves no doubt of his emotional commitment to going to war against the Serbs. The American people, however, share no such emotion. They did not like sending American troops to Bosnia and they want them out as soon as possible.

Any commitment of American troops to war anywhere must be based not only on Wilsonian democratic principles, whatever they are,

## LETTERS



but also on U.S. national interest. A journalistic division of combatants into good guys and bad guys ignores both principles. The Bosnian Muslims were the greatest victims of the war. But they declared their independence in 1992 against the most serious warnings from both Serbs and Croats. Neither of these ethnic groups will accept Muslim domination again. Why?

Since the conversion of Bosnia's Bogomil Christians to Islam in 1463, the Bosnian Muslims have enjoyed a position of dominance over the Christians. The Muslims owned the land because of their service to the Ottoman sultans. The Christian Serbs and Croats worked the land as serfs, giving up a minimum of 45 percent of their crop to their Muslim landlords. Of course the legal system of rural magistrates and local judges was based on maintaining Muslim domination.

Christian revolts in Bosnia grew ever more widespread. The revolts against serfdom in 1875 led to a southern European war. But still the serfs were not free. Indeed serfdom was not abolished in Bosnia until 1931. That was 1931. Today, all Croats and Serbs know of their past subjugation by the Muslims, yet the Washington clique of Bosnian Muslim supporters remains a tight inner-beltway group out of touch with American public opinion.

The point here is that the U.S. decision not to intervene militarily until Dec. 20, 1995, proved correct. The political agreements forged at Dayton proved to be a prerequisite to the ceasefire. The Implementation Force (IFOR) met every objective as stated in Annex IA of the Dayton Peace Accords. The political issues, such as war criminals, resettlement, prisoner exchange, freedom of movement, etc. were all non-military problems covered in the remaining 11 annexes.

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## LETTERS

In Bosnia you cannot alter Christian Serb and Croat views of Muslims, not with American tanks, infantry or helicopter gunships. Only the political leadership of the three factions can resolve political issues. That they will, no doubt, prove again incapable of solving their problems should be no excuse to commit American troops to this violent and historically twisted place of mountainous terrain. Bosnia will be re-partitioned. The only issue then for Americans is: Do we accept reality or go to war for an unrealistic goal? Secretary of Defense William Cohen was right in stating that the United States will leave Bosnia in June 1998, even if the three factions go to war again. I see neither hope of instilling the ideals of Wilsonian democracy in Bosnia nor any national interest in fighting to bring these factions together.

Steve Dawkins  
Retired FSO  
Key West, Fla.

*To the Editor:*

In reference to F.A. "Tex" Harris's "President's Views," ("Wanted: All-Star Ambassadors Only," April *Journal*), the missed opportunities and incomplete intelligence that may affect the U.S. economy or security are not necessarily the heart of the problem, though they can be crucial in certain situations.

Equally disturbing are the subversions of the diplomatic career corps and the tasks its members attempt to carry out brought about by the worst of the rookies. When an ambassador truly comes up short in the experience and capability departments but does not recognize those shortcomings, staff members are faced with the major dilemma of how to handle their

relations with the chief of mission.

In too many cases, the best of the officers, those who have the desired sense of commitment to personal principles and a determination to do the job for which they were prepared, find themselves mocked, marginalized or just plain punished. Some of the worst officers, having seen where survival of the COM's tenure lies, learn quickly to play the game, moving up in the ambassador's esteem and inner circle as the more principled officers move down. In the worst cases, the better officers curtail voluntarily or are forced out and reduced personally, a loss to the work of the post and sometimes to the Service itself.

But the subversion doesn't stop there. Back in Washington, the area directors and their staffs are equally at a loss as to the right course of action. They, too, are cowed by these political appointments. To what extent should they come to the defense of someone they know to be a fine officer if the officer and the ambassador are not getting along? By the same token, how hard should they come down on an officer shortchanging the post's proper program if, at the same time, that officer is keeping a mediocre but influential ambassador happy? Again, the best too often sink to the bottom and the worst float to the top.

The appointment of a rookie is generally a lousy idea and the cost not just to the product of the diplomatic mission, but equally to those asked to run those missions, is enormous and too often stands the merit of our system on its head. It's also more than a little embarrassing to have to explain the political appointee to our colleagues from countries with a more enlightened policy.

Dianne Bodeen  
FS Spouse  
U.S. Embassy  
Ouagadougou

## LETTERS

To the Editor:

Having been in the Foreign Service for more than 25 years, I have often wanted to speak out on what I perceived to be waste and fraud in the State Department, but have always held back for fear of reprisal ("One USAID Whistleblower's Sour Note," "Speaking Out," April Journal). I take my hat off to Linda Whitlock, but her situation just proves the point: Don't buck the system. You will always lose. And as far as the Office of the Inspector General is concerned, that has got to be one of the biggest instances of waste in the State Department. It is my experience that the OIG will happily go after the little guy, but if the situation involves senior officers or ambassadors, it's hands off.

FSOs serving as inspectors also have careers to consider. You can tell me it isn't so, but I won't believe it. And finally, if your own boss won't support you, why should you stick your neck out? Coward's way out? You bet. But I'll retire with my pension intact.

Name Withheld at  
Writer's Request

To the Editor:

I was mostly bemused by Daniel O. Newberry's review of my recent memoir, *Some Far and Distant Place* (April Journal). Even after 37 years in the Foreign Service, the reviewer found it hard to move much beyond the usual stereotypes about missionaries. Looking back, it is hard to consider my childhood any more "peculiar" than, say, a childhood in a diplomatic household; and looking around now, I certainly don't consider it any "worse" than a Foreign Service upbringing. "Peculiar" or "worse" by whose standards? Maybe it was simply different.

Mr. Newberry's suggestion that I "accepted unquestioningly" my situation is especially far off the mark. Actually, I questioned almost everything about it, though without managing to work up the sort of anger, resentment, condescension or embarrassment that seems to have been expected of me. As most readers of this memoir will quickly discover, more than anything I reacted to the circumstances of my particular childhood with a feeling of complete astonishment.

Jonathan S. Addleton  
Program Officer  
USAID Jordan  
U.S. Embassy Amman

To the Editor:

I'm in total agreement with E.V. Kontorovich's writings on Madeleine Albright ("Albright Accused of Betraying Jews," April Journal). Her religious past and future are indeed not a big deal. The big deal is to believe that Secretary Albright did not know much about her distinguished family past and that, for the past almost half-century, did not attempt to trace her family background.

I had the honor, more than 20 years ago, of meeting Albright's father, professor Joseph Korbel, at his lecture at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Professor Michael Petrovich, Korbel's host and friend from the 1945 post-war days in Belgrade invited us for lunch, during which we exchanged our war-time experiences.

I still remember Korbel's statement that he would never have survived German occupation as a known Czech democrat and anti-Hitlerite, but definitely not so because of his Jewishness. As a very

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*My background gives me unusual knowledge about the real estate needs of people who must expect to relocate their household frequently, often internationally. I spent a decade working for the U.S. Foreign Service in Thailand and Korea. For the latter part of that period, I worked throughout Asia as the roving coordinator for U.S. delegations to the United Nations. Returning to the Washington area in 1975, I spent ten years with an international behavioral research firm. Late in 1986 my husband and I moved to India on a World Bank assignment. We spent four years in Delhi, where I worked at the U.S. Embassy. In 1990 we returned to Virginia and I resumed full-time work in real estate.*

*I have been licensed to act as a Standard Agent since 1985. In 1992 I was certified by the Northern Virginia Board of REALTORS® to act as a Buyer's Agent. In 1993 I was certified by the National Trust for Historic Preservation to deal knowledgeably with historic properties. I became a member of the Million Dollar Sales Club (a milestone recognizing an exceptional level of successfully completed real estate transactions) in 1994. To further improve the quality of service I provide to my clients, I completed the rigorous requirements for the Virginia Real Estate Broker's license.*

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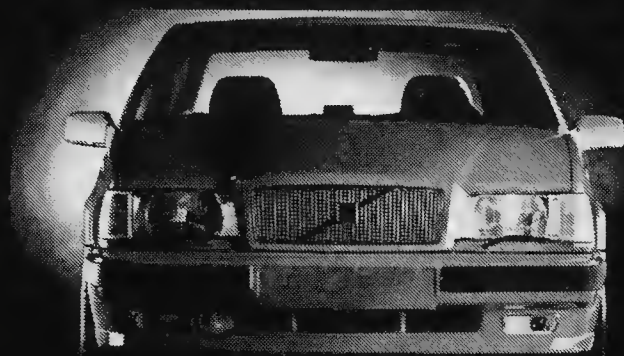
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## LETTERS

honest and proud man, he did not hide this fact.

Everybody who knew or was interested in the Korbelt family background could find this fact rather easily. It is hard to believe that the only person in this case who was "totally surprised" with this discovery is our secretary of State, the oldest daughter of Joseph Korbelt, the honorable Madeleine Albright.

Milan Radovich  
Librarian  
UW-Madison  
Madison, Wis.

To the Editor:

The choice of Kontorovich's views on Secretary Madeleine Albright represents an appalling lack of taste and judgment.

Mr. Kontorovich is welcome to his opinions, which have a forum in *The Forward*. They should not have been printed in the *Journal*, which represents the Foreign Service community, especially when it comes to editorial selection. Secretary Albright has made a brilliant start in her difficult and crucial assignment. Your magazine should look for ways to accurately report on her work and accomplishments and not join that all too prevalent pack of publications that seeks to find sensationalism and negativism in every public figure.

R.T. Curran  
Retired FSO  
Washington, D.C.

In the "Clippings" section, the *Journal* seeks to provide a wide spectrum of news and opinion pieces on U.S. diplomacy, not to choose only pieces with a positive spin.

— The editors

## LETTERS



To the Editor:

Jonathan Henick is on the right track in "Contracting 'Traditional' JO Jobs Could Save \$16 Million Annually" ("Speaking Out," March *Journal*). But why stop at contracting out only the "traditional" — read consular and administrative jobs — to save money? Do what was done at AIT [American Institute in Taiwan] and contract out the whole operation! Having worked at various temporary-duty and Y-tour jobs [short-term assignments for special projects] for the past two years, I can assure you that this trend is already under way.

And why not? There is no career reward whatever for doing these kinds of jobs outside of an embassy/consulate/department structure where you get nothing — absolutely nothing — in terms of recognition. If there is no EER [evaluation] in your file, forget it!

Mr. Henick may be interested to know that two decades ago, when Harry Barnes became director general, I wrote him at length about the need to reform the Foreign Service along the lines suggested in his piece. No doubt the then-DG read the whole thing and gave it due consideration. But to change the built-in protection of our career service is revolutionary and not self-serving. The "system" would rather protect our perquisites than accept the sad reality that the numbered days of the "old Foreign Service" have just about run out.

Can a Madeleine Albright save it? I doubt it. Should it be saved? Since no one pays much attention to the Foreign Service anymore, I must say, probably not.

*Thomas R. Hutson  
Retired FSO  
Daruvar, Western  
Slavonija, Croatia* ■

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# CLIPPINGS



*“For far too long the Department of State has been neglected, its budget pared to the bone, and its diplomats denied the resources that they need.”*

— SEN. DIANNE

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AT APRIL 15 HILL NOMI-

NATION HEARINGS ON

AMBASSADOR THOMAS

R. PICKERING TO BE

UNDER SECRETARY FOR

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

## FOREIGN DONATION TO HELMS PROBED

Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has a few foreign connections that Democrats on the Senate panel investigating campaign contributions from foreign donors are quietly investigating, according to *U.S. News and World Report's* “Washington Whispers” column of May 26.

It appears that the Wingate, the North Carolina museum that is the repository of Sen. Helms’ memorabilia, received a \$225,000 contribution from the government of Taiwan in 1993, a gift that became an issue in Helms’ 1996 reelection campaign.

While the museum no longer accepts foreign donations, Democratic members of the Senate’s Governmental Affairs Committee say they will raise the issue if Helms attacks foreign contributions to a museum devoted to President Bill Clinton’s boyhood home in Hope, Ark. Unlike Clinton, Democrats claim Helms was personally involved in soliciting the contribution to his museum from Taiwan’s former foreign minister, Fredrick Cluën.

## GAO: STATE WASTES PROPERTY FUNDS

The State Department’s Office of Foreign Buildings Operations, Uncle Sam’s overseas landlord, is doing a poor job of handling the \$12 billion in U.S.-owned property abroad Amanda Ripley reported in the May issue of *The Washington Monthly*. “FBO resources all too often go toward maintaining lavish or superfluous facilities that do more to drain U.S. coffers than to serve the national interests,” she wrote. “According to a [government] report

released in April ... the State Department may have at least \$50 million tied up in unneeded overseas real estate, ranging from closed or vacant posts in Tanzania and Egypt to excessive sites in the Czech Republic and Hungary.”

Ripley zeroes in on a few real estate jewels administered by FBO: Chelston, the 10,000-square-foot house on a 14-acre estate that serves as the U.S. consul general’s residence in Bermuda and costs \$100,000 a year to maintain; a vacant lot purchased in 1988 for a proposed embassy and ambassador’s residence in Rabat which has never been developed and instead is the site of the King of Morocco’s orange grove; the 43,000-square-foot ambassador’s residence in Buenos Aires worth \$20 million and annual operating expenses of \$500,000; and a vacant former consulate in Alexandria, Egypt, worth \$1 million, closed in 1993.

According to Ripley, the State Department has repeatedly denied its properties are being mismanaged, to which she replies that the Foreign Affairs Manual requires “each post to report periodically on properties that are excessive, underutilized, or unaffordable to maintain, but the FBO has failed to document whether embassies have been fulfilling these requirements.” Further, she cites a 1992 GAO report which “placed the FBO’s handling of overseas property on its list of federal programs most vulnerable to waste and mismanagement.”

## CONGRESS DEBATES DIPLOMAT IMMUNITY

After a January car accident in Washington, D.C., involving a Georgian diplomat in which a 16-year-old girl was





# CLIPPINGS

killed, the debate over diplomatic immunity has moved to Congress. Rep. David Dreier (R. - Calif.) has introduced a bill as part of the Foreign Policy Reform Act of 1997 that would make diplomats more accountable for their actions, according to a May 7 article on the weekly newspaper, *The Hill*. Dreier's bill would require the State Department to provide Congress with information on incidents involving foreign and American diplomats and urges the president to ensure that diplomats who commit crimes in the United States stand trial in their own countries.

The bill was the idea of Chuck Ashman, author of a 1987 book, *Diplomatic Crime*. According to Ashman, there have been 10 cases involving deaths in the United States in the last decade. In 1995 18 felonies were committed by diplomats, and not one diplomat was charged, he claims. Diplomatic immunity, which dates to times before the Constitution was signed, was meant to allow diplomats to conduct official business free from harassment. With more than 1 million diplomats worldwide claiming immunity, Ashman says the concept — especially for crimes like drunk driving and rape — is outdated.

## STATE MEMO WARNS OF CLASS WARFARE

The class war at the State Department made it onto the pages of *The Washington Post* and the "In The Loop" column on May 5 when Al Kamen reported on Director General Anthony Quainton's recent memo to ambassadors and senior officials complaining of "caste consciousness" overseas.

Kamen reported Quainton's "dismay" about the Foreign Service "culture of dis-

dain in which everyone seems to be seeking an excuse for looking down on someone else" and his pleas for unity among employees from different agencies, the Civil Service and Foreign Service. "It does not help ... us if one group of employees makes disparaging remarks about another group, for the fact remains that we all need each other to succeed," Quainton wrote in the memo.

"One big happy family," was Kamen's ironic comment.

## U.S. FIRMS BLAST UKRAINE PRACTICES

In the past three years, the United States has given more than \$1 billion in aid to the Ukraine, a country where "U.S. companies are routinely fleeced, American citizens are harassed and pleas by U.S. diplomats for justice are ignored," and now the American businessmen are complaining about it on Capitol Hill, Matthew Brzezinski reported in the April 24 *Wall Street Journal*.

Businesspeople like Joseph Lemire, a banker from Louisiana, are lining up to tell Congress about "a violent, lawless country where greedy, all-powerful bureaucrats prey on American investors with impunity." Lemire, who echoes the woes of other U.S. multinational companies like Monsanto, Cargill, Coca-Cola and Motorola, was supplied with bodyguards by U.S. Embassy Kiev after death threats by machine-gun toting thugs. "Twenty-four of 34 U.S. companies registered with the Commercial Section of the American embassy have asked for help after incurring 'serious difficulties' with Ukrainian authorities," reports Brzezinski.

# 50 YEARS AGO

"It has been my contention that American diplomats should be the ablest in the world and also the best paid in the world," opined syndicated columnist Drew Pearson, whose column "Washington-Merry-Go-Round," was carried by more than 400 newspapers, writing as guest editor of the *Foreign Service Journal* in June 1947.

"To a considerable extent the two go hand in hand. And neither is the case today. About two years before Pearl Harbor, I called on several senators urging that they vote larger appropriations for the State Department. ... The reply of Sen. [Robert M.] LaFollette [Jr.] of Wisconsin, then an avowed isolationist, was typical. As a member of the Appropriations Committee, he said he would be delighted to vote more money, but that the State Department never asked for more."

## CLIPPINGS



*"Diplomacy  
without  
strength  
behind it ...  
may be merely  
an aimless  
exercise."*

*-LESTER B. PEARSON,  
CANADIAN POLITICIAN  
AND DIPLOMAT*

The world's third-largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid, after Israel and Egypt, Ukraine is a country where top government officials "sport gold Rolex watches, while millions subsist on \$80 a month in wages that are often not paid," and where promised democratic and economic reforms have not materialized.

Recently, U.S. Ambassador Richard Morningstar warned President Leonid Kuchma to shape up or face U.S. aid cuts, according to Brzezinski. Kuchma fired a few underlings, but retained his powerful prime minister, Pavlo Lazarenko, who, say Western businessmen, is responsible for the corruption in Ukraine. In addition, Kuchma appointed a banker with ties to Lazarenko as first deputy prime minister, a sign that "corruption has won the day," wrote Brzezinski.

## TURF WAR REPORTED OVER CONSOLIDATION

President Clinton's charge that four foreign affairs agencies come up with their own blueprint by Labor Day has set off another round of turf wars, according to Stephen Barr and Thomas W. Lippman, writing in the May 28 *Washington Post*. Clinton decided in the spring to fold the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and the U.S. Information Agency into the State Department and to give the secretary of State's office more control over the U.S. Agency for International Development.

"Many employees at the three agencies are worried that their priorities and vocations will take a back seat to State," the pair wrote. "They see the department as obsessed with short-term political gains in its dealing with other countries." ■



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# SPEAKING OUT

## *Advice to the Political Ambassador*

BY DAVID T. JONES

For many a potential appointee, a political ambassadorship is the epitome of a plum job. It's the reward for long-standing political party loyalty and the payoff for demonstrated ability to deliver large campaign contributions. For those who fantasize about being appointed ambassador, there are visions of reviewing the Bastille Day festivities from stands on the Champs Elysee, lolling on the perfect Caribbean island beach and ice skating on Ottawa's Rideau Canal.

For the lucky few, the job announcement for ambassadorial openings might read something like this: "Friend of — (fill in name of a sitting president or political mover and shaker); required attire: striped pants; responsibilities: push cookies and give gracious toasts."

Such is the stereotype political ambassadors live with. In reality their failures are widely publicized and their successes little known. With total humiliation only a media moment away and success fleeting, political ambassadors tread a very difficult path. As an experienced career FSO, let me offer some observations on how political ambassadors can find their way to personal and professional accomplishment during their tenure in the diplomatic corps.

First, accept that the professional diplomatic corps will always resent

---

*David T. Jones, an FSO at State's Freedom of Information Act Office, has worked for five political ambassadors. He was political counselor in Ottawa from 1992 to 1996.*

*Don't let the  
resentment of  
FSOs get to you  
and don't  
confuse staff  
dissent with  
disloyalty.*

---

you. FSOs may like or dislike you on your own merits, but still regard you as a professional interloper. While most career diplomats accept the realities of presidential political appointees, they believe that, unlike them, you have not paid your dues by working the visa line or handling the problems of Americans overseas, as do junior FSOs working their way up through the system. Neither have you been evacuated from a war zone, suffered recurring bouts with malaria, struggled with arranging a good education for your children in far-flung zones or lived apart from your family for months — or years — at a time. Rather, you've skipped to the head of the line because of your connections or wealth. In their hearts, FSOs want a diplomatic service that mirrors the armed forces, where there are no politically appointed generals or

admirals. The easiest way to disarm doubting diplomats is to throw yourself at their mercy. It's tempting to go to "your" embassy with several loyal support staffers from your previous position. Don't. The implicit message from an entourage is, "He doesn't trust us." It instantly divides the embassy into two camps: "yours" and "ours." You will find outstanding secretaries and office managers at the embassy fully capable of handling your official business.

To avoid classic ambassadorial failure, it's also important to separate your personal life and your former career from your diplomatic career. If you are a businessperson, be careful about mixing your old business with embassy business. If you are a fundraiser, make sure you leave fundraising to others while you are an ambassador. You and your spouse should try to meet your own personal requirements, such as handling Christmas cards or other personal correspondence. Whatever you cannot do for yourselves or cannot hire someone to do for you at post, you should ask U.S.-based friends and professional consultants to take care of for you. In other words, don't burden your professional staff with your personal needs — because they will resent it.

Second, get out of the embassy and travel around the country. It's hard to "know" a country without extensive travel, and it's easy to get caught up in the capital where government action and insider tidbits are day-to-day fare.

## SPEAKING OUT



You will learn more any given day when you are traveling than if you had spent that same day within the American embassy. If you start traveling early in your tour as ambassador, you will rapidly achieve an appreciation of the country complementing, if not matching, the expertise of many of the embassy's senior career officers.

Still, remember that travel is also hard work. You will cover many miles, give many speeches and return to a higher pile of papers on your desk than when you left. But I guarantee you will have found it worthwhile.

**T**hird, don't confuse dissent with disloyalty. In the last generation the foreign affairs community institutionalized dissent, as it smarted over policy failures in China, Vietnam and Iran, as a way for career diplomats to air their differing views. U.S. diplo-

mats have official methods of policy dissent, including the ability to send an e-mail directly to the secretary of State, although few people have more than trivial dissenting views to share. Still, dissent is rarely welcomed by career or political ambassadors or other senior diplomats — and that's a mistake. You will hear dissent expressed politely — need I say diplomatically? Listen to it. You might learn something; you might even come to agree with the dissenter. When you don't agree, don't interfere with the process. You should certainly express your own views, but never, never, never try to quash the dissent or retaliate against dissenters. If you can think of no other reasons to keep your own counsel, remember that this is a battle you cannot win. You will only make the dissenters into hero-martyrs and yourself into a media villain.

By accepting and even encouraging dissent among your officers, you will co-opt most of the embassy staff and contribute to good morale at post. Most FSOs want to be heard and have the sense they are being taken seriously more than they want to be agreed with. Nine out of 10 times, the Department of State will support your view. The reality is that diplomats are dedicated professionals focused on advancing the interests of the United States. Your success is their success, so your staff will be unstinting and highly effective in their efforts to keep you out of hot water.

**F**ourth, get your priorities straight. Typically, political ambassadors err by starting vast projects with half-vast ideas. You are not going to "turn the relationship around" between your country and the United States during

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## SPEAKING OUT



your tour. Diplomacy, even among allies, often is astonishingly complex and moves at a glacial pace. Absent a cataclysmic political event, which would be rare in the type of country to which you are likely to be assigned, the bilateral relationship is likely to look pretty much the same when you leave as when you arrive.

Your success, no matter how you view it personally, is likely to be located in the margins of the ongoing diplomatic relationship. That doesn't mean you can't accomplish anything or make a difference, but in the two or three years you spend at post, you must pick your priorities — spread yourself thick, not thin.

A corollary to choosing your priorities is don't get enmeshed in the trivia. You could spend all day reading cables that your officers write to send to the State Department and other American

embassies around the world, but any experienced officer can tell you there's too much of those and they often don't address the most significant issues. If you demand to read and clear every cable and sign off on every task and expenditure, you will bottleneck the embassy and waste the talents of your staff. Instead, limit yourself to a handful of issues, such as a national unity problem; a major bilateral agreement; a neuralgic but important, bilateral problem; a key commercial venture; or a Cabinet-level visitor.

**F**ifth, don't oversell your access in Washington. Every ambassador is directly appointed by the president, but in practice it is the rare ambassador who spends significant time in the Oval Office or on State's eighth floor, for that matter. It's the frequent conceit of political ambas-

sadors that they will reverse this reality and have easy, direct access to the president and senior Washington advisers. They are often bitterly surprised when access doesn't come with the appointment, and when, after they've oversold their importance to the host government, they can't deliver.

Finally, have some fun. That old truism is true: Take your job, but not yourself seriously. You represent the greatest country in the world during a period of maximum global respect for the United States, but that status should not prevent you from public and private pleasures. Hopefully, at the end of your tour, you will take pride in your professional accomplishments, but you will derive even greater pleasure from friendships with citizens of your host country and your staff. ■



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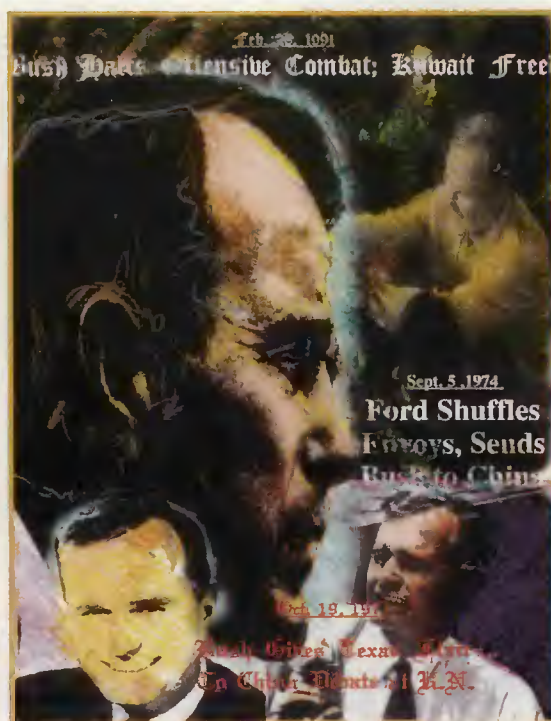


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# THE POLITICAL YEARS, 1964-1993



## U ENVOY'S WORLD VIEW SHAPED BY COLD WAR, GOP'S MODERATE WING

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*By Karen Krebsbach*

S. president. U.S. vice president. American envoy to China. U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Few modern statesmen can claim the diplomatic credentials amassed by George Herbert Walker Bush, the 41st president of the United States.

Bush, now 72 and retired, has had a front-row seat to — indeed, a starring role in — many of the pivotal events in world history during the second half of this century: the Persian Gulf War; the reunification of Germany; the fall of the Berlin Wall and communism and the dissolution of the Soviet Union; the negotiation of peace in Central American nations; Chin's crackdown on dissidents in Tiananmen Square and the subsequent difficult U.S.-China relationship;

## F O C U S

*Few mainstream conservatives were as skillful as Bush in meshing the GOP's ideological elements, as epitomized by Ronald Reagan, with its liberal fringes. But mesh them he did.*

America's invasion of Panama and arrest of Gen. Manuel Noriega; the demise of apartheid in South Africa and the triumph of Nelson Mandela.

Not since Franklin D. Roosevelt has a president had as much experience in the foreign affairs field, with stints in both the administrative and legislative wings of government, as well as the CIA.

In terms of the Foreign Service, there appears to have been deep mutual respect between Bush and FSOs, although his deputies were often accused of excluding experienced FSOs in foreign policy discussions and decisions. Bush did have kind words for the Foreign Service in a statement released to the *Foreign Service Journal* for its October 1988 issue on the presidential candidates. "The American people can be proud of the men and women who serve their country as members of the Foreign Service," it said. "They are chosen for their intellect, their enthusiasm and their ability to represent their country on foreign soil."

On ambassadorial appointments during his 1989-93 presidential term, Bush's percentage of career vs. political ambassadors was one of the best for GOP presidents in this century, averaging a ratio of 72-28. In 1989, the ratio was 68-32; in 1990 it was a 70-30; in 1991 it was 72-28; and in 1992 it was 77-23. In the last 30 years, the highest career-political ambassador ratio was by President Clinton in 1993, with a 80-20 percent ratio of career to political appointments; and by President Jimmy Carter in 1977, with a 78-22 percent ratio.

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*Karen Krebsbach is the editor of the Journal. The George Bush Presidential Library at Texas A&M University in College Station, Tex., as well as the Historian's Office at the Department of State provided invaluable research for this article. Bush is being honored on June 26 with an award for lifetime contributions to U.S. diplomacy by the American Foreign Service Association.*

Yankee by birth but Texan by choice, Bush would forever be defined by this disarming contradiction, the prep-student-meets-aw-shucks-politician persona that would shape his distinctive brand of personal diplomacy. "You may dislike what George is trying to do," one U.N. colleague told *Life* magazine in 1971. "But you can't dislike George."

Few mainstream conservatives were as skillful as he in meshing the GOP's ideological elements, as epitomized by Ronald Reagan, with its liberal fringes. But mesh them he did. His pragmatic, internationalist approach to foreign policy was influenced not only by the Cold War but also by the military buildup of the Reagan years. Known as a quick learner — one biographer noted his hunger for "the facts, the facts, and more facts" — Bush honed what would become known as his hallmark method of conflict resolution: Conversations behind the scenes or on the tennis court, which took him farther than diplopeak through official channels.

Renowned for his "rolodex diplomacy," Bush had no qualms about using his personal contacts to break political impasses. *The Washington Post* estimated that during his first year in office, President Bush made 190 calls to foreign leaders and met with heads of state 135 times. Indeed, his frequent conversations with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev are credited with steadying the pace of U.S.-Soviet diplomacy as the Soviet Union was breaking apart.

Bush's frenetic yet personable approach won him many friends and much influence, though he was the first to admit he wouldn't be mistaken for a typical career diplomat. "There's a great flow of adrenalin churning in me all the time," he told *Life* in 1971. "If I were supposed to be a low-key, stuffy diplomat with a doctorate in political science, I'd have to take acting lessons." Commented the reporter, "Whatever George Bush lacked in diplomatic polish, he made up in wit, stamina and enthusiasm."

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A favorite disarming technique for the captain of the 1948 Yale championship baseball team was a friendly challenge on the field. "Sports is a great equalizer," he told *Time* magazine in 1975. "If you know people and can relax with them, then maybe you can head off a crisis that you couldn't head off with people you'd only met at a reception."

Bush, an avid tennis player, was quick to turn his killer backhand to diplomatic advantage in spring 1971, after Peking invited an American table-tennis team to play in China, a move that appeared to signal a political shift between the two countries. To highlight the warming of relations, Bush challenged team captain Jack Howard to an on-camera tournament in New York. "It is not possible to think of his [U.N.] predecessor, Charles W. Yost, swinging a paddle before the cameras or ... darting around the table with shirtails out, [but] Mr. Bush looked as if he was having a ball," *The New York Times* reported in mid-1971.

But it would be the love of the game of politics that would draw George Bush to competing for national elective office at age 40, when he was serving as chairman of the Harris County, Tex., Republican Party. By then a self-made millionaire oilman, Bush made an unsuccessful run for a Senate seat in 1964 against a Democratic incumbent. Two years later, he tried again, this time winning a congressional seat. He was reelected in 1968. Now hooked on public service, he wouldn't return to private life for three decades.

**G**eorge Bush received his first taste of the diplomatic life in 1971, when he began his two-year stint as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, an organization he once defined as "that crazy, troubled Disneyland on the East River" and "a fishbowl and rumor mill."

It was during this period that America's "Two-Chinas Policy," which allowed the U.S. acknowledgement of both China and the breakaway island nation of Taiwan, was spawned, a dual-representation doctrine that would dominate U.S.-China relations for the next 25 years. In his swearing-in ceremony on Feb. 26, 1971, Bush said he anticipated his new job would be "a very frustrating experience. ... But I don't suppose that anything worthwhile is not difficult, and I don't suppose anything worthwhile will not have its frustrations."

And frustrating it would be, as Bush oversaw the inclusion of the huge Communist nation into the world body

after 22 years of isolation, in one of the most bitter, high-profile U.N. skirmishes in years. When the United States finally agreed to support China's 1971 application to join the United Nations, Bush spent months trying to prevent Peking from replacing Taiwan at the United Nations. "We are trying to make an accommodation with reality," he told U.N. reporters on Aug. 2, 1971. "We have to use everything we have to bring Communist China into the world organization without excluding the Taiwan government."

The memorandum put before the world body called for recognition of "the uncontestable reality that there are two Chinese governments. The United Nations should not be required to take a position on the respective conflicting claims of the People's Republic of China or the Republic of China, pending a peaceful resolution of the matter. The provision should be made that the Republic of China [Nationalist China] is not deprived of its representation."

In what a reporter for the *Evening Star*, a now-defunct Washington, D.C., daily, reported, "Bush's activities probably set a new quantitative track record" for securing agreement from 94 of the 126 U.N. delegations on the subject. The most serious complication was the U.S. refusal to take sides over whether Taiwan or Peking should have the veto-wielding permanent seat on the Security Council, though U.S. support of Peking's place on the council would eventually follow.

During the debate, Bush garnered high praise among colleagues for his diplomatic maneuvering, if not for his manners. "There was the flavor of Texas, where he lives, in the gestures," explained *New York Times* reporter Kathleen Teltsch. "The hands implored, clasped, pounded and slapped. Arms waved. The accusing finger stabbed. When it came to arguing that the Communists and the Nationalists both deserved U.N. seats, he even juggled imaginary balls in the air." But despite 14-hour days, Bush lost the battle in November. In a 59-55 motion led by the Albanians, the body voted to expel Taiwan and seat Peking.

The atmosphere on the floor of the world body, noted *Life* magazine in a Nov. 5, 1971, piece, was jubilant. "Many small nations were eager to flaunt their independence of the U.S.," it said. "Tanzanians danced in the aisles, Zambians whooped it up, and the Albanians, smiling for the first time in memory, acclaimed the great defeat for the United States of America."



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*Bush's frenetic yet personable approach won him many friends and much influence, though he was the first to admit he wouldn't be mistaken for a typical career diplomat.*

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Despite the public failure, Bush's tenacious style won applause from career diplomats in both New York and Washington. Ambassador Bush's "informal, breezily unconventional" manner disarmed many at the world body, noted the *Times*' Teltsch. "I'm not a career diplomat with 25 years of foreign service, and I don't pretend to sound like one. [I'm] just doing my thing," he told her.

His U.N. appointment would prove critical in helping him develop political acumen and hone his team-building skills, though he retained the modesty for which he was renowned. "The U.N. is like a ball club," he told festivalgoers in Norfolk, Va., in the fall of 1971. "[It's] a high-potential club that hasn't won as many as it should." And he seemed to relish the frenetic pace at the New York headquarters. "You might say I'm the quarterback, Secretary of State [William] Rogers is the coach and the president is the owner of the club," he told *Life* in 1971. As would soon be clear, he was well on his way to owning the club himself.

Bush's lone diplomatic assignment abroad was in Peking, (now Beijing) at the U.S. Liaison Office, America's unofficial embassy in the People's Republic of China, from October 1974 until December 1975. "It's as challenging a diplomatic assignment as there is," he acknowledged to reporters in July that year.

Peking was his "No. 1" choice, he told *The Washington Post* on Sept. 4, 1974, the day before he was nominated for the job. Admitting he was "not a China specialist," he did note that he had "dealt extensively with the Chinese delegation at the United Nations." Three days later, he told U.N.-based journalists, "There is nothing in our change of administrations that should cause anybody to think that we will be less determined to enhance in every possible way the Shanghai Communique," signed by Nixon during his trip to China in 1972, which began the normalization of U.S. relations with Communist China.

"I'm getting used to it," Bush told the *Post* several

months after arriving in Peking, where he supervised a staff of 28. "I think our relations are shaping up very well. Our relations are important to them and important to us, so things are on a very even keel." He and Barbara diligently attended daily tutoring sessions in Mandarin Chinese.

Inside the walled compound in suburban Peking that housed both the liaison office and the residence, the Bushes gained a reputation for their Texas-style barbecues and downhome graciousness. Some 500 guests — journalists, politicians and Chinese visitors — attended the couple's 1975 Independence Day reception, which featured hot dogs, beer and soft drinks flown in from Japan for the occasion. The Bushes preferred peddling their bicycles to riding their official limousine, even to diplomatic functions, a casualness that startled the Chinese.

*Washington Post* reporter Don Oberdorfer, who visited the Bushes in December 1974, describes the China of 1.4 billion encountered by the couple: "A China assignment these days is a challenge to personal temperament and equilibrium as well as a diplomatic challenge of high order. Foreign residents, no matter what their rank or nationality, live extremely cloistered lives. Information is sparse and meaningful human contact with ordinary Chinese is extremely difficult. China watching, Peking style, offers the fascination of living amidst — and yet apart from — a vast nation marching to a strange and different tune."

Probably Bush's greatest challenge in this job was handling the exchange of diplomatic cables between the State Department and Cambodia's exiled chief of state, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who had lived in Peking since 1970.

However, he also tackled the delicate job of keeping both Peking and Taiwan happy. Aided by the heavy lifting of Secretary Henry Kissinger, Bush helped ease China into the United Nations, where it claimed a seat on the Security Council, while Taiwan retained membership in the General Assembly, held since 1971, during Bush's U.N. tenure. "Mr. Kissinger's present mission to Peking is to try

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to establish an atmosphere of trust," *New York Times* reporter James Reston noted in a 1975 piece. Rumbblings of Bush's distrust of Kissinger, who kept him out of the bureaucratic loop, began building in Peking, and would simmer for years, eventually hardening into an animosity rare for George Bush, who liked to be liked.

But China he would eventually learn to love. "I think there's some apprehension in the U.S. about Americans being singled out for isolation, but it isn't so," he told *Time* magazine in mid-1975. "We've been treated with extraordinary civility and decency. ... What I enjoy most now is the feeling of being engulfed by China. There is a sense of discovery here, the language, the culture, the beauty of the landscape — and the mystery."

However, Bush told friends the pace was agonizingly slow. "I'd have a hunch he would love to be back here, in the thick of things, running for office, with the adrenalin pumping full blast," one longtime Bush crony told *The Washington Post* in late 1975. Soon, he would need another challenge, and in December of that year, agreed to return to Washington to become director of the CIA, succeeding William E. Colby, a position he held until 1977.

**I**n his eight years as vice president under Ronald Reagan, from 1981 to 1989, Bush remained loyal, deferential and discreet on the domestic front, but emerged internationally as a sort of ambassador at large, frequently jetting off to the Mideast, Europe and Asia.

Bush carried the Reagan administration's message of the Cold War doctrine around the world, preaching for democracy and against the threat of communism. "We live in an age in which the forces of totalitarianism cast a long shadow over the world," Bush said in a 1981 speech in the Dominican Republic. "The longest is cast by the Soviet Union. When countries under its thrall raise their voices and cry out for freedom, the Soviets answer with tanks, secret policy, the Gulag. In our time we have seen those tanks roll into Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan. ... In Africa, Soviet influence has spread. It has spread to this hemisphere, in Cuba. The particular danger we in this hemisphere face is this: totalitarianism has to expand."

In Berlin in 1982, he warned of "the Soviet Union's unprecedented arms buildup of the last 15 years." In Geneva in early 1983, he underscored the need to resolve "urgent" arms control issues. "How do we eliminate chem-

ical weapons? How do we effectively verify limitations on nuclear testing? ... This is the president's highest priority."

In the name of democratization, by mid-1984, Bush's message included words about a region closer to home. "The United States is providing the free Central American nations with both military assistance, to help them resist attempts at subversion by forces beholden to totalitarian powers, and, in a proportion three times greater, economic assistance to help them overcome the poverty and social ills that breed unrest," he noted in an address in London before the International Democratic Union Organization.

By 1988, when he was actively campaigning as the GOP presidential nominee against Democratic candidate Michael S. Dukakis, his foreign policy remarks were increasingly delivered on domestic turf. At the GOP National Convention in August, he attacked the Massachusetts governor for his "lack of experience in military and foreign affairs," and successfully sold himself as a seasoned leader in these areas.

It worked. On Nov. 8, 1988, Bush was elected president of the United States, the only vice president since Martin Van Buren to succeed his boss by winning an election.

**I**t is perhaps fitting, as the U.S.-Soviet rivalry began to fade, that Saddam Hussein would emerge as the Great Satan of the Bush presidency, or, as he was wont to say, "another Hitler." Despite seven months of tension felt 'round the globe, Bush successfully defused the most explosive international crisis since Vietnam, thereby underscoring American leadership in the world. As America and its Mideast allies quietly maneuvered to resolve the crisis, Bush would skillfully mobilize key allies for the cause, eventually convincing 27 other nations to contribute funding and troops to the military effort.

The Iraqis' Aug. 2, 1990, invasion of Kuwait and capture of its oil fields had put the world on alert. Within hours, Bush imposed economic sanctions on Iraq and seized Iraqi assets in the United States. Worried that Saddam planned to annex Kuwait and eventually control access to Persian Gulf states — whose holdings totalled 40 percent of the world's known oil deposits — a U.N.-backed coalition of troops began arriving in Saudi Arabia on Aug. 7.

But for seven months, the shadow of war eclipsed all other foreign policy issues, dominating radio and TV talk shows and newspaper pages as Americans debated the

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possibility of war and politicians considered its wisdom. Meanwhile, allied troops continued to amass in Saudi Arabia, and by February, the U.S.-led coalition numbered 440,000, including 200,000 American forces.

On Jan. 17, 1991, Bush decided America and its allies had had enough. The coalition began its effort to drive Iraq from Kuwait, striking Baghdad and other Iraqi and Kuwaiti targets with waves of bombers and sea-launched missiles. With British, Saudi and Kuwait forces, the allies' goal was the liberation of Kuwait, not the conquest of Iraq. "This is an historic moment," Bush told Americans in a television broadcast as the attacks were being carried out. "We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order, a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations." A Jan. 18 *Wall Street Journal*/NBC poll showed that three out of four Americans approved of the attack.

It was over in five weeks. On Feb. 28, Bush announced he had halted the offensive and that Iraq had agreed, through Soviet diplomats, to comply with 12 U.N. resolutions concerning Kuwait.

"The success of Operation Desert Storm was in large measure a result of George Bush's management style in making political, diplomatic and strategic decisions," wrote Louisiana State political science professors Cecil W. Crabb and Kevin V. Mulcahy in the spring 1991 issue of *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. "The elements in this success involved the homogeneity and solidarity of the president's inner circle, [his] skills in personal diplomacy, and the care that went into the building and maintenance of broad congressional and public approval for the war effort."

However, Bush dodged a great deal of criticism for not having avoided war altogether, with some analysts arguing that intelligence sources clearly misread Hussein's intentions, a mistake that engulfed the United States in an unnecessary conflict that cost 244 lives, including those of 146 Americans.

Hussein would bedevil President Bush for the balance of his term. Throughout 1991 and 1992, he continued to defy the United States and its allies by continuing research on nuclear and chemical weapons and by hiding Scud missiles, both in violation of U.N. Security Council resolutions. He also refused, with occasional backing down under

threat of sanctions, to allow U.N. inspectors free access to suspicious weapons facilities inside Iraq, which only brought more threats of force from America, echoed by France and Great Britain.

In early January 1993, only days before he was due to leave office, another provocation came from Baghdad. After Iraq restricted U.N. weapons inspectors and challenged no-flight zones imposed by the allies, Bush ordered two missile attacks on an Iraqi military complex.

The Persian Gulf episodes were more than just a diplomatic success for Bush; they were a personal success as well. His effectiveness in a war zone would dissolve the "wimp factor" label, which had dogged him relentlessly since the presidential debates. A mid-term Gallup poll showed his approval rate on foreign policy at 90 percent.

**B**ush perhaps made his most important foreign policy decision long before taking the presidential oath, with his choice of longtime friend and fellow Texan, James Baker III, as his secretary of State. As the man who ran Bush's 1980 and 1988 presidential campaigns, Baker shared the president's pragmatic, middle-of-the-road views on foreign policy. As with other effective president-secretary of State teams, such as the Harry Truman-Dean Acheson partnership, the Bush-Baker duo had an enviable trust and synergy that surpassed the president's relationships with other advisers such as Brent Scowcroft and Lawrence Eagleburger, the only career diplomat to regularly get Bush's ear.

"[Bush] gave me an extraordinary degree of latitude," Baker wrote in his 1995 memoir, *The Politics of Diplomacy*. "I had a license to operate, and occasionally I went too far. But he never cut my legs out from under me — even at times when he would have been justified."

Skilled in Beltway bureaucracy as White House chief of staff and Treasury secretary, he was the ultimate insider's insider, but at the State Department, Baker quickly acquired a reputation for ignoring Foreign Service expertise. That bias permeated his distaste for State's "institutional rigidity" and fueled his mistrust of FSOs whom, he said in his memoir, tended "to avoid creative thinking or risk taking." Observed Baker, "I headed to State assuming that the president made foreign policy, not the Foreign Service. That's why in a *Time* magazine interview after my appointment, I made a point of saying that I intended to

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be the president's man at the State Department, not the State Department's man at the White House. It was a deliberate signal on my part. I wanted to send a message."

From the moment he stepped out as president on Jan. 20, 1989, Bush had decided his presidential legacy would focus on foreign affairs, and he would rely heavily on Baker as his point man. In his first two years on the job, Bush took 10 overseas trips, visiting 28 countries for a total of 48 days, and paying close attention to the Middle East and Asia, especially Japan, China and South Korea.

Germany's reunification after the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 was a central focus of the Bush administration. "We need to move out ahead in a way that establishes a Western anchor for this process," I continued" Baker recalled in his memoir. "I added that we should call it 'normalization,' not reunification." It worked, and the following July, Bush was given a piece of the wall during a visit to Budapest. An accompanying plaque noted, "The [wall's] dismantling was made possible by the will of the Hungarian people and the recognition of peaceful co-existence and mutual interdependence. We believe that the artificial, physical and spiritual walls still existing in the world some day shall collapse everywhere."

Maintaining his focus on the need for a strong NATO, Bush chose to play a more aggressive behind-the-scenes role in German reunification so as not to overshadow West German President Helmut Kohl or Gorbachev. "It is perhaps characteristic of Bush that he did so quietly and sometimes inarticulately, leaving little public record of his impact," authors Philip Zelikow and Condoleezza Rice wrote in their new book, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft*. "But in choosing to play his role offstage, he made an inviting target for those who wanted to believe that he was just a bystander."

Midway through his term, he was drawing praise for his "foreign affairs acumen" from *The New York Times's* editorial writers, who called U.S. policy "forthcoming and precise on dramatic changes in the communist world" and for "setting the right course in his surprise offer of new troop reductions in Europe."

The Bush administration's strained relationship with Israel drew much bad press for the president and his advisers, though historians agree his tough-love approach with Israel was critical. Few doubt Bush's persistence in organizing the Oct. 30, 1991, Madrid Conference, the first

multilateral Arab-Israeli peace conference, which rejuvenated long-stalled peace negotiations. "By every reasonable barometer, Madrid was a resounding triumph," Baker recalled in his memoir. "After 43 years of bloody conflict, the ancient taboo against Arabs talking with Israelis had in the space of one carefully choreographed hour been dramatically consigned to the back benches of history."

But within months the peace process was again in jeopardy, as Bush struggled with one of his most difficult foreign policy dilemmas, deciding in late 1991 and early 1992 to postpone, and later to put conditions on, Israel's request for \$10 billion in loan guarantees to absorb Soviet Jewish emigrants, unless Israel backed off its intent to settle them in the Occupied Territories. This get-tough policy earned the Bush administration "credibility in many quarters and opprobrium in others," Baker observed in his book. "[But it was] nevertheless crucial to the quest for peace and thus to Israel's strategic interests."

Rarely ideologically rigid, Bush's practical foreign policy made him one of the most activist presidents in the international arena in recent decades. Yet he remained acutely aware of the limits of American power.

By the time Bush left office on Jan. 20, 1993, the United States had made tentative inroads in diffusing the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, a policy many analysts criticized as too little, too late; had shifted its policy in Afghanistan, where civil war raged despite the withdrawal of Soviet troops; had intervened in the Haiti civil conflict and begun forcible repatriation of refugees, which would cause an uproar in the United States; had sent its troops to the U.N. operation in Somalia to aid in famine relief efforts; had declined to send its troops to help the Kurds gain independence from Iraq, but did agree to humanitarian relief; had granted favorable trading status for China, despite misgivings about its human rights record; and had lifted the five-year-old economic ban on South Africa, a move Nelson Mandela criticized as premature since little progress had been made yet in dismantling apartheid.

"George Bush collided with America's festering ambivalence about its role in the world," authors Zelikow and Rice noted in their book. "[The United States] found little joy in the West's Cold War victory, only questions about what the 45-year commitment had done to America

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at home. For some, President Bush had become an object of ridicule, a man seen as out of touch with the aspirations and concerns of his own country."

Some of Bush's foreign policy decisions were undeniably lukewarm, half-hearted or simple failures, such as when the Democratic-led Congress, due to human rights abuses there, voted to halve military aid Bush had sought for El Salvador. He was also widely criticized for delaying funds for reforms in the emerging 12 republics of the former Soviet Union after the union began dissolving in 1991.

Still, observers say Bush did not begin neglecting foreign policy issues until summer 1992, when reelection advisers urged him to refocus on domestic concerns. Indeed, that season two-thirds of Americans in a *New York Times*/CBS News poll said Bush was paying too much attention to foreign policy. But while he stopped making foreign policy decisions, he never stopped thinking about international affairs. In his last major speech as president, Bush told students at Texas A&M University on Dec. 15, 1992, that he might have been mulling his own legacy as the last foreign policy president of his generation. "From the days after World War II, when fragile European democracies were threatened by Stalin's expansionism, to the last days of the Cold War, as our foes became fragile democracies themselves, American leadership has been indispensable," he said. "No one person deserves credit for this — America does. It has been achieved because of what we as a people stand for — and what we are made of."

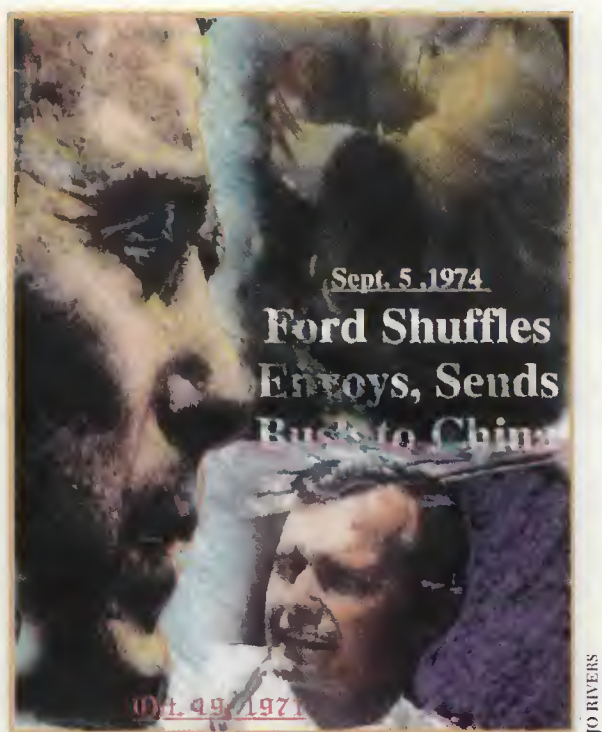
But perhaps Bush's approach to foreign policy can best be captured by his words in a 1987 speech to the American Legion in San Antonio, Tex., where he summed up his approach to foreign policy by comparing it to his stint as a Navy pilot in World War II. "One thing I learned in the Navy was the importance of steadiness," he said. "But if you've done the hard work of training, day after undramatic day, you're ready for anything and all of that practice and self-discipline and dedication pays off. There's a place for brilliant concepts and strategies and tactics. But bright ideas can fail if they aren't carried out by people who have clear goals and a steady hand — who know how to persevere and how to stand up under pressure. Steadiness, character and courage: Those are the keys to success."

George Bush's enormous pride in his internationalist legacy is evidenced by the primary paragraph of his official biography, which lists his key presidential achievements — all in foreign affairs. "During his term in office, freedom prevailed in the Cold War," it says. "The threat of nuclear war was drastically reduced; the Soviet Union imploded and was replaced by a democratic Russia; the Berlin Wall fell, and Germany reunified; and an unprecedented international coalition force liberated Kuwait from Iraq — paving the way for Israel and her Arab neighbors to begin anew their quest for peace in the Middle East." He has been awarded high honors from Kuwait, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Nicaragua, Poland and Saudi Arabia. Since he has left public life, Bush hasn't been afraid to speak out publicly on U.S. foreign policy, most recently last February, when he applauded Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright's backing of the chemical arms ban, an issue close to his heart since he unsuccessfully pushed for its passage during his own administration.

Pundits speak of "an age of Bush revivalism," orchestrated by Barbara Bush and informally led by Bush's former chief of staff, John Sununu. "It seeks to establish Bush's place in history as a first-tier, or at least very high second-tier president," Stephen Glass wrote in the June 9 issue of *The New Republic*. A book coauthored by Bush and Scowcroft has already been advertised in Knopf's catalog, Glass reported, "although friends say barely any of it is written." Mrs. Bush is presumably eager to dust off the family name not only for the former president's legacy, but for that of the younger Bush, Texas Governor George W. Bush, rumored to want the GOP nod for president in 2000. But, noted Glass, who cites a recent Gallup poll that names Bush the most popular modern president after Kennedy, "The remaking of George is working."

Maybe that's why he was so eager to make his 12,500-foot jump last March into the Arizona desert, armed with a parachute and surrounded by a couple of Army skydivers, which supposedly replicated his first jump as a young Navy pilot. The first jump so frightened him, since his chute ripped and his body slammed against the plane, that he decided to try it again. And, if the revisionists have their way, Bush may well be remembered as the diplomat and internationalist president that he always wanted to be. ■

## THE CHINA YEARS, 1974-1975



### **F** GREGARIOUS AND SAVVY, USLO CHIEF LEARNED TO BEFRIEND CHINESE

*By John H. Holdridge*

From the minute George and Barbara Bush arrived in Beijing (then Peking) in early October 1974, they displayed an insatiable curiosity about China and the Chinese. So, taking advice from some of us who were there at the creation, so to speak — the opening of the U.S. Liaison Office in May 1973 — George and Barbara acquired two of the ungainly Chinese-made bicycles that swarmed Beijing's streets and rode off into the unknown. One of my most vivid memories of the Bushes is the sight of them, both wearing white gauze face masks, peddling indomitably into the dust- and soot-laden northwest wind that always seemed to be blowing into Beijing from the Gobi desert.

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### *Bush's reputation as a friend convinced the Chinese of U.S. sincerity in concluding the 1982 Joint Communiqué on Arms Sales to Taiwan, a cornerstone of a stable U.S.-China relationship.*

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This pushing onward into the wind could be said to characterize George Bush's approach to his job as USLO chief: determination to learn all he could about his duties, zeal to learn everything he could about China from every possible source and unwillingness to let anything stand in his way. Though he had acquired diplomatic experience as ambassador to the United Nations, he had no background in representing the United States abroad, and a country as large and complex as China was a special challenge.

Thus, in addition to visiting both Beijing's tourist sites and *hutungs*, or back alleys, as a means to open another window into China, Bush began tutoring sessions of Mandarin Chinese. He learned a few words, enough to show his interest in the culture. He, of course, asked as well for full briefings on every element in the U.S.-China relationship from the USLO staff, and exhibited an all-encompassing curiosity about everything happening in the country.

In coming to Beijing, George Bush had replaced one of the best-known elder statesmen of post-World War II American diplomacy, David K.E. Bruce Jr. The switch occurred after President Richard Nixon chose Gerald Ford to replace Spiro Agnew, who resigned as vice president in October 1973. George Bush, an avid and ambitious politician, had made no secret about wanting Agnew's job, and Nixon offered

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him a consolation prize — any government position he wanted. Bush chose USLO Beijing, believing it was a crucial moment in U.S.-Chinese relations, and on Sept. 5, 1974, President Gerald Ford nominated him as the U.S. representative in Peking.

Among those at USLO Beijing, there was an initial reservation about George Bush, but that was soon dispelled by the vigor of his efforts to get to know his staffers and to draw upon their knowledge. It turned out, also, that quite a few of the African and Middle Eastern chiefs of mission in Beijing had served in their countries' U.N. missions in New York and were already well-known to the Bushes. George Bush's characteristically relaxed and friendly manner helped him greatly in his dealings with the Chinese, and he thus made himself quickly at home in the diplomatic life of Beijing.

Shortly after the Bushes arrived, they began hosting a series of small luncheons for the 28-member staff, to which two or three people at a time were invited; ultimately everyone at USLO had lunched with the couple. The Bushes also made their residence available for social activities with staff members and their families — the American community numbered about 50 — including Christmas and Halloween parties, which were particularly important to staff morale and esprit de corps in a city closed to Americans in so many ways.

On substantive matters, George Bush reached out quickly to the senior members of the diplomatic corps. I particularly recall his friendship with French Ambassador Etienne Manac'h, but he also had good rapport with the ambassadors of such disparate countries as the USSR and the U.K. These contacts, some of which were via tennis — which he played vigorously — were very valuable in gathering information on current events

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gleaned by other missions, which we could add to our own assessments. He had a similarly good rapport with Chinese officials, where his friendly accessibility was a distinct asset.

On one occasion he scored a distinct coup by winning the acceptance of Foreign Minister Qiao Guanhua, Qiao's wife Zhang Hanzhi, and several other Foreign Ministry officials to his and Barbara's invitation for dinner. Qiao did not normally attend such functions.

I accompanied George Bush on most of his official calls on senior Chinese, and witnessed from the start how well they responded to his relaxed style. On his first official call on Deng Xiaoping, which was the equivalent of presenting his diplomatic credentials, the two began a friendly chat about agriculture, and how, as Deng put it, the farming technique in the still-existent "people's communes" was like "maneuvering the soil."

Deng declared that he favored "mechanization" of agriculture, which would raise questions about managing surplus manpower in an already overpopulated

China, a point passed along to the Department of State in USLO's reporting cable of this episode. Typically, George Bush made no changes in this cable; indeed, he rarely changed any draft cables that went up the chain of command to him for approval and signature.

In fact, what became clear as George Bush moved into his new responsibilities was his trust of staff members to do their jobs — he didn't attempt to micromanage. His basic requirement was, though, that he be kept informed about what they were doing, so he could intervene if he differed with them. One way he kept abreast of what we were all doing was to attend daily staff meetings and ask every section chief to comment on his current concerns.

His wise advice was always available, often sought, and often given. He understood how the political wheels ground in the United States, particularly when it came to domestic politics. He could give advice about how to best present a case to win the political side of the U.S. government over.

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## F O C U S

Inevitably, the Bushes were drawn into entertaining visiting U.S. dignitaries which, while time-consuming, did provide opportunities to ask Chinese officials for favors — permission to visit various sites, for example. Since Bush pushed for stronger U.S.-China trade ties, many of the visits were from U.S. trade delegations, but also hosted were various academic groups and VIPs, such as Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Pepsico Board Chairman Don Kendall and Daniel Moynihan, then enroute home from a tour as ambassador to India. Kissinger's visit provided a lively round of contacts with senior Chinese — but not with Mao Zedong, to Kissinger's regret — and a visit to Suzhou was offered instead.

**N**ot everything George Bush did involved China. He remained a very political person, and it seemed that every morning he was on the international telephone lines with political

friends, usually repeatedly screaming, "Can you hear me?," into the instrument. In those days, though satellite service was available, the land lines between the receiving station and USLO were primitive by today's standards, and connections were often lost. My office was just down the hall from George Bush's, but his "Can you hear me?" appeals resounded through the entire end of the chancery building, both upstairs and down.

During the period in which we overlapped in Beijing, October 1974 through June 1975, one major issue occupied USLO and George Bush: Cambodian Prince Norodom Sihanouk's offer to open contacts with America on the eve of the collapse of Cambodian government resistance to the Khmer Rouge. Sihanouk sent a letter to USLO asking for America's help in safely moving his collection of Cambodian musical instruments from his palace in Phnom Penh to Thailand. Bush contacted U.S. Ambassador John Gunther Dean in Phnom



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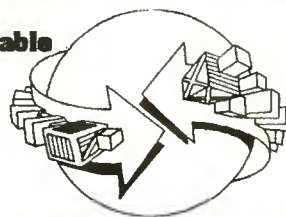


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Penh, and he also endorsed the thought that the prince be asked if there was anything else he would like to discuss.

The department had hopes of involving the prince in the political situation to avoid the debacle that subsequently ensued in Cambodia. Sihanouk initially responded favorably, which led to several meetings between his *chef de cabinet*, Phung Pheng Cheng, and me in the office or home of the French DCM, but which eventually came to naught when Sihanouk informed us through Phung that he would do nothing to offend the Khmer Rouge. We had kept the Chinese government informed, which had no comment other than to wish us well.

In retrospect, I regard George Bush's tenure at USLO during my own overlap with him as having been very successful. Not the least aspect of this success was his becoming known as a friend of China. Some years later, when Bush was vice president and I was assistant secretary for East Asia and the Pacific, my wife, Martha, and I accompanied George and Barbara Bush on a fruitful mission to several Asian-Pacific capitals, including Beijing,

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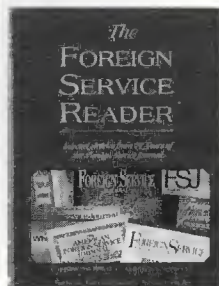
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## F O C U S

where Bush, in part due to his reputation as a "friend," convinced the Chinese of U.S. sincerity in seeking a mutually acceptable solution to the issue of continued U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. Bush's intervention was, in my opinion, crucial to concluding the Aug. 17, 1982, Joint Communiqué on Arms Sales to Taiwan between the United States and China, which called for gradual U.S. reductions in sales of arms to Taiwan. This treaty is one of the cornerstones of a stable U.S.-China relationship.

Bush's acceptance by the Chinese as a friend was apparently sufficient to carry him through repercussions in Beijing from his decision during the 1992 presidential election campaign to authorize the \$6 billion sale of 150 F-16 jets to Taiwan. This sale, which may have violated the terms of the 1982 Joint Communiqué on arms sales to Taiwan, was made to secure the Texas vote: The F-16 is manufactured in Texas, where many jobs were at stake. Nevertheless, despite sharp criticism of the sale from some senior Chinese officials as contradicting the 1982 communiqué, George Bush has been welcomed back to China. ■

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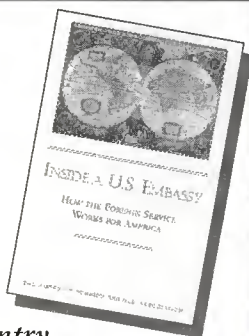
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# THE ALBRIGHT AGENDA

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WITH CLINTON'S BLESSING, SECRETARY PLEDGES  
TO MAKE WOMEN'S RIGHTS A TOP POLICY PRIORITY

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BY GEORGE GEDDA

Sometimes Madeleine Albright has an impish grin when she talks about how men tend to run things in this world — as when she mentions the 62 white males who preceded her as secretary of State, or the 14 males who were her colleagues on the 15-member U.N. Security Council or all those male prime ministers and cabinet officers with whom she met during her nine-day tour of Europe and Asia in February. “If you put us all in one room, we would be 26 suits and my skirt,” she says.

But the kidding around stops when Albright talks about the plight of women around the world — and her determination to make a difference as America's top diplomat. While giving priority to such issues as keeping America's enemies at bay and other security threats, Albright has made it clear these traditional concerns were too confining; her global agenda has to include women's rights. Warren Christopher, hardly a male chauvinist, gave his support and sympathy to women's issues, but for outright oomph, he's no match for Albright. She combines not only a deep understanding of what hundreds of millions of women have to endure, but also a woman's appreciation of their plight. Having three daughters only adds to her credentials. When men talk about combatting cross-border smuggling, they usually mean drugs.

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

Albright's definition is broader, encompassing drugs and the illicit trafficking of women. She takes a strong stand against both.

On a diplomat's to-do list, human rights issues, including women's issues, have never ranked very high. During the Cold War, virtually every foreign policy decision flowed from the imperative of communist containment. As national security adviser to President Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger pledged early on to “purge our foreign policy of all sentimentality.” He derided as “missionaries” those aides who pleaded for a more robust human rights component to American foreign policy. He believed the alternative to supporting friends and opposing foes was the worst human rights abuse of all: international chaos.

Nowadays, with the nation seemingly safe from military threat, at least in the short term, there is far more room for an idealist bent, and Albright is determined to take advantage on behalf of women's rights, which she considers to be inseparable from human rights. And she believes that such an approach is defensible not only on moral grounds, but also serves to strengthen democracy abroad. Her basic point is that democracy around the world cannot flourish if women suffer discrimination.

It was not surprising that, not long after taking office, Albright directed all U.S. embassies abroad to “consider the advancement of women's human rights as an integral objective of U.S. foreign policy.”

Since then, she rarely has passed up an opportunity to make her case. “I think it is very important for

the American people as well as [people] throughout the world to understand that we are losing a major resource when over half of the population of the world is not respected or integrated into political and economic positions that allow us to have an influence," she says. And, "There is no problem about women finding work. Women are basically the backbone of work, especially in Third World countries. It's more a matter of making sure that women are properly respected and have an ability to exercise economic and political power. And, "Despite recent gains, women remain an undervalued and underdeveloped resource. ... Often, women are barred from owning land, excluded from schools, provided less nourishment and permitted little or no voice in government. It is no accident that most of those in the world who are abjectly poor are women." She believes her message about discrimination against women is being well received by Americans. She was struck by the positive response when she carried that message in March to Union County, N.C., a hotbed of support for Republican Sen. Jesse Helms.

Jill Merrick, of the International Center for Research on Women, says Albright took up women's causes during the first Clinton administration when she was U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. As Albright saw it, the 1995 U.S.-brokered Dayton agreement that ended the Bosnia conflict had a serious shortcoming: It made no reference to abuses against women even though the combatants, particularly the Bosnian Serbs, used rape as an integral part of their military strategy. Merrick says Albright helped ensure that rape was a prosecutable offense by the U.N. War Crimes Tribunal for Bosnia and that new police and judges in Bosnia had training for dealing with sex-related crimes such as rape.

Even if Albright were not inclined to espouse women's rights, it's hard to see how she could avoid it, given the expectations raised among women's groups when she was nominated. While hardly oblivious to women's issues, Warren Christopher rarely was asked about the subject during his four years as secretary of State. In contrast, during an Albright guest spot in March on the "Diane Rehm Show" on WAMU-FM,

three callers asked about women's issues. No other subject received as much attention.

Another asset for Albright is that on traditional foreign policy issues, her record to date is such that she has had no need to prove her toughness. If she had come to the job without a strong background on national security issues, she would have had to spend her days proving that she could be trusted to stand up to the nation's adversaries. Obviously, she has no such liability. She has strongly-held and well-known views about the need to rein in totalitarians. She has a succinct way of letting people know where she comes down on the hawk-dove divide: "My mind-set is Munich; most of my generation's is Vietnam." She was the staunchest advocate in Clinton's first term of a tougher stance against Bosnian Serbs. And she had that celebrated exchange several years ago with Colin Powell in which, according to Powell, she chided him for advocating a strong military but always finding excuses not to use it.

Seldom have the stars been in better alignment than they are now for the promotion of women's issues abroad. The end of the Cold War means that U.S. energies and resources can be concentrated to a degree on altruistic pursuits. Also, the political underpinnings for a pro-active approach were reinforced by the U.N.-sponsored Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995.

Just as important, advocates of women's issues have an unabashed ally in President Clinton. As an example, the president devoted practically his entire message on Human Rights Day last December to women's issues. Six women human rights activists from around the world were invited to share a platform with him at the White House to mark the occasion.

A sister-in-arms for Albright is Hillary Rodham Clinton. The duo cut a broad swath at the Beijing conference as leaders of the U.S. delegation. In terms of

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*Not long after taking office, Albright directed all U.S. embassies abroad to "consider the advancement of women's human rights as an integral objective of U.S. foreign policy."*

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rhetoric, Mrs. Clinton has been more impassioned than Albright. At an International Women's Day program in March, the First Lady said, with Albright at her side, women around the world are "underpaid, under-educated, under-represented, fed less, fed worse, not heard [and] put down." Three days later, Clinton set out on a goodwill tour of Africa, where, not surprisingly, women's issues were a major focus. In Eritrea, she met with women war veterans who were receiving job training. She visited a health clinic in Zimbabwe that focuses on contraception and other family planning issues. In South Africa, she visited a U.S.-backed project where poor women build each other homes.

The administration's efforts to make concrete gains on women's issues are hampered by a scarcity of resources and a skeptical Congress. One cost-free priority of Albright's is ratification of a U.N. treaty designed to bar discrimination against women. It has been languishing in the Senate since 1979 and Jesse Helms, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman, and his allies, seem content to allow it to gather dust indefinitely.

But there is nothing stopping Albright from giving women's issues visibility in other ways. One option is to meet with women's groups on foreign trips — as she did in Guatemala and Mexico in May. And when President Clinton met with Central American presidents in Costa Rica that same month, the final communique included a plank calling for the empowerment of women.

Women's issues were part of the foreign policy mix well before Albright's arrival at Foggy Bottom. Examples of programs designed to benefit women abound, and some date back many years. Thanks in part to U.S.-backed programs in Bangladesh, women have far fewer children today compared with a generation ago, are more than twice as likely to be enrolled

in school and have much better prospects of paid employment.

Women's programs are more the rule now than the exception. Theresa Loar, who coordinates international women's issues at the State Department, says gender issues are no longer only dealt with on International Women's Day, then ignored.

"Women's issues are being integrated into daily diplomatic practice," she says. She cites the support the U.S. embassy in Kuwait is giving to groups which seek the right to vote for women, and the use by the U.S. embassy in Namibia of its discretionary funds to combat violence against women and other women's projects. In Bosnia, a \$5 million U.S. contribution helps the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees carry out a loan program to help the country's most vulnerable women, regardless of ethnic origin. Under one such program, a women's group was provided 40 cows for milk and cheese production. U.S. programs in South Asia are encouraging women's participation in politics. Embassies worldwide are asked to monitor and report on women's issues. A number of countries in Latin America, as a follow-up to Beijing, are taking steps, with U.S. encouragement, to criminalize rape and domestic violence. The administration also wants to increase the \$100,000 budget for small loans — the so-called microcredit program — for poor people around the world, mostly women, who are trying to start businesses. The program, with its self-help, non-bureaucratic approach, is popular among Republicans and could well be expanded this year.

Loar says top down programs are out and bottom up programs are in. "It's not that we go to countries and say, 'This is bad and you should change it,'" she says. "It's supporting and empowering groups in those countries which are becoming involved." This was the

strategy of Mrs. Clinton on her two-week swing through Africa in March. She chose to visit projects where progress was being made rather than focus on the continent's well-documented humanitarian debacles. It was a goodwill tour and Mrs. Clinton made sure it stayed that way. She shied away from the controversial issue of female circumcision, a practice widely condemned in the West as barbaric. On the one occasion when she was asked about it, in Eritrea, she declined to criticize the custom, calling it a conflictive cultural issue difficult to reconcile.

The administration almost never confronts a foreign government publicly on women's issues. At the Beijing conference in 1995, Mrs. Clinton catalogued abuses against women in China and India without mentioning either country by name. Albright has been equally circumspect, preferring to speak in generalities rather than name names. This reflects the administration's perception that countries will pay more attention if they are spared public rebuke.

Some human rights groups are not convinced the administration's proactive women's agenda will make much of a difference. "There has been a sea change in the rhetoric," says Regan Ralph, of the Washington-based Human Rights Watch. But, she says, "the institutions that are supposed to back up the rhetoric are way behind." To the extent that there are programs, she says, "they are small and the approach is ad hoc."

Ralph also detects a too-little-too-late quality on women's issues. An example she cites was the \$650,000 allocated by the administration last year for use by Rwanda war crimes tribunal prosecutors to look into abuses against women. "If this were a priority, they would have done something at the outset. It came two years after the genocide," Ralph says.

From the right, there is criticism about Albright's campaign for Senate ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. Countering Albright's contention that it is "long past time" for the United States to ratify it, Republican critics say that "creating another set of unenforceable international standards will further dilute respect for international human rights norms."

The convention obligates signatories to condemn discrimination against women and to take measures to combat it. Opponents contend that governments often undertake international commitments they have no intention of enforcing, citing Libya's ratification of the women's convention as an example. But to the Clinton administration, such commitments provide women's advocacy groups added leverage when making demands for equal treatment.

The administration recognizes that it must be highly selective in pursuing women's issues. It has no problem criticizing the policy of the Taliban regime in non-strategic Afghanistan to bar girls from school. At the risk of being accused of hypocrisy, the administration soft-peddles abuses against women in more strategic countries, such as Saudi Arabia, where women remain highly secluded and segregated outside their immediate family circles. But the Saudis have taken long strides since the period a generation ago when boys had the right to an education but not girls — a practice that has since been abolished. Indeed, virtually every Arab government has established the principle that girls have a right to be taught. Beyond that, there are compelling geopolitical reasons for not pushing the Saudis too hard on the gender issue. The example of Iran is instructive. When traditional elements of Iranian society felt during the 1970s

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*Even if Albright were not inclined to espouse women's rights, it's hard to see how she could avoid it given the expectations that were raised among many women when she was nominated.*

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that the country was modernizing too quickly, they toppled the pro-Western monarchy and the result was perhaps the worst strategic disaster for the United States of the past 50 years.

Albright does not want to go down as the secretary of State who made Saudi Arabia safe for Iran-style extremists. She is expected to be downright Kissingerian in her pursuit of policy toward Saudi Arabia, purging it of "all sentimentality." An additional argument for not pushing the Saudis and other Muslim countries too hard is that social change, as Arab scholar Peter Mansfield has observed, "is likely to be more pervasive and long-lasting if it takes place through the inner momentum of the whole society rather than by government fiat."

Some analysts believe there is another reason the United States should not be too judgmental about other countries' shortcomings on women's issues: Female emancipation is a relatively recent U.S. phenomenon and, in fact, has yet to be fully achieved. Indeed, evidence is pervasive of sexual abuse of women in the U.S. military and in state prisons around the country.

Women's rights activists, of course, reject rationales advocating delay in

combatting gender discrimination and other types of abuses against women abroad. The condition of many women, as a direct result of their gender, is appalling. Women and children, as an example, comprise about 80 percent of the world's 23 million refugees. And many of these women, already traumatized by displacement from their homelands, often endure sexual violence. According to the United Nations, female refugees from Bosnia, Rwanda, Somalia and Vietnam have told "harrowing stories of abuse and suffering." The Geneva-based International Labor Organization says thousands of girls from Bangladesh and Nepal are sold into brothels in India every year. In Kuwait, employers routinely assault Asian women domestic workers, driving hundreds to flee to their embassies each year, but prosecutions are rare. Women in China are subject to forced abortions and forced sterilization. In India, thousands of women each year are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their dowries are considered too small.

Physical abuse is only part of the story. Nearly 54 percent of girls in sub-Saharan Africa never enter primary school. In some African countries, women by law are denied the right to own land or to obtain custody of their children. Nearly three-quarters of all income worldwide is earned by men. Women hold only 1.3 percent of administrative and managerial jobs in East Asia and only 1 percent of Cabinet posts in Arab states.

But the picture is not all bleak. A report on women's human rights by Human Rights Watch acknowledges that such issues are gaining far more attention now than they did a decade ago even though "the gap between government rhetoric and reality is vast." With Albright's help, perhaps it can be closed somewhat. ■

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# MOBUTU AND ME

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EX-FSO RECALLS 3 YEARS OF AIDING ZAIRIANS  
UNDER CORRUPT, ABUSIVE LONGTIME DICTATOR

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BY ARTHUR S. LEZIN

**A**fter 32 years as Africa's longest-reigning dictator, Gen. Mobutu Sese Seko now finds himself an exile looking for a home and rebel leader Laurent Kabila is poised to take over as leader of the renamed Republic of Congo. Although a new chapter is about to open for this country's 46 million citizens, it's unlikely their suffering will end soon.

When the euphoria over Mobutu's May 17 departure wanes, Kabila will be faced with enormous problems: high inflation, a stagnating economy, a decaying infrastructure, and the potential for renewed ethnic violence among Zaire's 250 ethnic groups if Mobutu opponents are not allowed to share power.

I could not have foreseen this latest chapter in Zaire's history in 1982, when I was assigned to the country as deputy director of the U.S. Agency for International Development. When I learned of this assignment, the reaction of my Africa-wise colleagues was, "Better luck next time!" The government of Zaire had a deserved reputation for corruption, deviousness and indifference to the plight of its people that was unsurpassed, even by African standards.

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*Arthur S. Lezin is a retired FSO who served as USAID deputy mission director in Zaire from 1982-1987. In his 25-year Foreign Service career, he also served in Guatemala, Chile, Colombia, Uruguay, Pakistan and Mauritania. He now lives in Oregon. This piece is excerpted from From Afghanistan to Zaire: Reflections on a Foreign Service Life, to be published this summer by Karakoram Press.*

What my consoling friends could not have predicted was that a change in the political climate at home — the ensuing Cold War, that is — did wondrous things for U.S. economic assistance to Zaire. The Carter administration saw this pivotal African country quite negatively, in view of Mobutu's long history of human rights abuses. But for the incoming Reagan administration, Zaire was strategically placed to support U.S. interests on the continent. As Africa's second-largest country, Zaire borders nine other nations, and a U.S. base in the center of the continent was seen as useful in observing rebel movements and civil unrest in neighboring Angola and Mozambique. To show its appreciation for this base, the United States increased economic aid manyfold during the Reagan administration, increasing funds to \$80 million annually, up from \$20 million a year under Jimmy Carter.

Still, even the most highly-paid Reagan-era PR firm couldn't have painted Zaire as an enlightened bastion of the free world. USAID had undertaken various projects that could have made a lasting impact on the lives of Zairian citizens, but sadly, much of what was accomplished has been obliterated in the recent breakdown of civil order. Given the way the country was governed — Mobutu and his ministers funneled valuable licenses for goods, export permits and monopolies for basic commodities to family members and cronies — USAID was unable to help make fundamental, policy reforms in Zaire.



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AFSA News Editor: Polly Gilbert

## AFSA Award Winners Announced

**A** FSA has announced the winners of its 1997 annual awards, which will be conferred at a noon ceremony on Thursday, June 26 in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room of the Department of State. Former President George Bush will receive the award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy.

The AFSA awards for officers recognize individuals who speak out for what they think is right, regardless of any possible personal consequences.

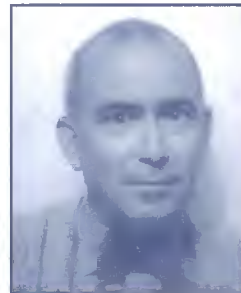
The Christian A. Herter Award, for senior officers, goes this year to Margaret P. Banner, USAID Mission Director in Addis Ababa. She is honored for expressing frankly and constructively to senior management the problems raised by premature implementation of



Christian A. Herter  
Award Winner  
Margaret P. Banner

the "new management system" (designed to automate USAID's ward-wide development functions) in the face of statements by some high-ranking officials which exaggerated the system's readiness. As a result of her leadership, actions were taken to apply the system on a more realistic schedule.

The William R. Rivkin Award, for mid-level officers, will be conferred on Peter Whaley, Acting Deputy Chief of Mission in Kigali, Rwanda. He is being honored for the understanding, intellectual honesty and tenacity he demonstrated in arguing - against conventional wisdom - that Rwandan refugees were pawns being held by ex-government forces against their will rather than potential victims who feared persecution if they returned to Rwanda.



William R. Rivkin  
Award Winner  
Peter Whaley

Continued on Page 5

## • AFSA Dateline •

• With the assistance of the AFSA chapter in Managua, the State Department has for the first time issued comprehensive information on pregnancy-related issues in a how-to guide for bringing baby into the bureaucracy. The guidance, contained in a joint State/AFSA telegram (State72349), consolidates provisions relating to applicable leave policies, medical travel, per diem, health insurance, birth certificates, passports, travel order amendments, layette shipments, medical clearances and return travel. At AFSA's urging, State affirmed the possibility of a pregnant employee's working on detail for a portion of the time spent Stateside before

and/or after the birth of the child. State also detailed the complex leave options available to the pregnant employee, which should facilitate planning. While the leave and work provisions are applicable only to American citizen State FS employees, the provisions relating to medevacs are applicable to all family members and other agency employees covered under the State medical program. Employees and covered family members of other foreign affairs agencies must check with their authorities for assistance with passport, health insurance,

Continued on page 7

## LIFETIME CONTRIBUTIONS TO DIPLOMACY AWARD

Farmer President George Bush will receive the award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy for his outstanding achievements in a series of high-level posts dealing with foreign affairs. These included service as Ambassador to the United Nations, Chief of the U.S. Liaison Office in China, Director of Central Intelligence and Vice President. His service culminated in his brilliant diplomacy as President which created an unprecedented international coalition to liberate Kuwait from Iraq. The Foreign Service esteems George Bush for his professional approach to foreign policy challenges and to foreign affairs professionals.

In recognition of his distin-



George Bush

guished service to the United States, former President George Bush is the focus of this issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*.

## AVIS BOHLEN AWARD

Anne Kauzlarich is the winner of the Avis Bahlen Award, given to the member of a Foreign Service family "... whose relations with the American and foreign communities at a Foreign Service past have done the most to advance American interests, in the tradition of the late Avis Bahlen." Anne Kauzlarich is the spouse of the American ambassador to Azerbaijan. Her activities in the humanitarian, cultural, social and interpersonal areas have greatly advanced the interests of the United States, benefitting the American community and many groups of Azeris, ranging from the National Ballet Company to refugees.

Born and raised in Illinois, Mrs. Kauzlarich has served in Lame, Addis Ababa and Tel Aviv, where she was CLO, as well as Baku. In addition to community projects at her overseas posts, she has been active during Washington tours in church and school affairs. She was president of the Association of American Foreign Service Women from 1988 to 1991.

Co-runners-up for the award are Tanya Badde, Kathmandu, and Marilyn Sanders, Phnom Penh.

## AFSA ACHIEVEMENT AWARDS

AFSA annually bestows two Achievement Awards for contributions to the goals of AFSA - one to an active duty member and one to a retired member. The active duty 1997 winner is Thomas Allen, an engineer with USIA. Mr. Allen was a pillar of strength for AFSA/USIA in negotiations with the International Broadcasting Bureau to implement an announced reduction in force. During six months of negotiations he provided essential input and technical knowledge which, in the end, permitted AFSA to save the careers of most Foreign Service employees slated for separation.

Mr. Allen entered the Foreign Service in 1972 and served three years in the Area Telecommunications Office in Athens. Other foreign assignments took him to VOA stations in the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Thailand. Domestic assignments have included Delano, California, and Washington, D.C. Prior to entering the Foreign Service, Mr. Allen was a field engineer for the Department of the Army. He is a graduate of the University of Texas at Arlington.



Thomas Allen

Daniel O. Newberry, retired Department of State Foreign Service Officer, also receives the Achievement Award. His most recent dedicated and time-consuming service was as editor of *The Foreign Service Reader*, a well-received anthology of articles from the *Foreign Service Journal* from 1919 to 1996. His involvement with AFSA began in 1967, when he participated in the "Group of 18" which brought about a major change in the structure and outlook of AFSA. He served as chairman of the editorial board of the Journal 1967-68, and in recent years has served as a member. Mr. Newberry was twice elected to the AFSA Governing Board and has served as chairman of the AFSA elections committee.

Mr. Newberry's active duty career spanned the years 1949 to 1985. Most of his assignments were in the Middle East or in the Near East and South Asian Bureau in Washington. His last post before retirement was Istanbul, where he was Consul General from 1981 to 1985. Since then he has been active in the U.S.-Turkish Council, where he is chairman of the advisory board.



Daniel O. Newberry

## DELAVAN AWARD

The Delovan Award, which recognizes a Foreign Service Secretary "... who has made an extraordinary contribution to effectiveness, professionalism and morale" is being conferred on Diann M. Bimmerle, Ambassador's secretary, Bissou. In addition to obly performing her duties as secretary, Ms. Bimmerle was public affairs officer, chief interlocutor with the Foreign Ministry's Office of Pratacal, mentar far junior officers and Fareign Service notionals, de facto community liaison officer ond acting security oisistance officer. She was known far innumerable octs of kindness toward official and unofficial Americans in the local cammunity, as well as far her support of local charitable activities.

Ms. Bimmerle was born in Illinois ond attended DePaul University. After six years as secretary to the President of the Chicaga Bar Associotian, she joined the State Department in 1973. She has served in Vientione, Bongkok, New Delhi, Seoul, Belgrade, Rangoon, Rio de Joneiro, Saa Poulo ond the Department of Commerce. Ms. Bimmerle has been occorded the Meritorious Honar Award on two ocosians. Her son Joseph graduated from the University of Pennsylvania School of Engineering in Moy.

Runner-up for the Delovan Award was Estelle Aubin, Ambassador's Secretary, Tirana.



Diann M. Bimmerle

## M. JUANITA GUESS AWARD

The M. Juonito Guess Award, for a Community Liaison Officer (CLO) "... who has demanstrated outstanding dedication, energy and imagination in assisting the families of Americans serving at an overseas post" is bestowed on Moria Eulolio Bokken, CLO of the American Embassy in Lima. She reached out with exceptional energy, creativity ond humon wormth to newcomers, singles, teens, children, foreign barn spouses, churches, schaals, Fareign Service notionals, professional graups ond chorities. She warked successfully to fund o dependent hire program, set up a summer vocation program far younger children ond organized Americans to come inta contact with Peru's culture and history, as well as local chorities which assisted slum children, the elderly and rurol civic oction projects. At the time of the hostage crisis at the Joponese Ambassador's residence, she orgonized an effective crisis support network.



Maria Eulalia Bakken

Ms. Bakken was born in Cuenca, Ecuador, and studied philosophy at the National University of Ecuador in Cuenca ond linguistics at the Catholic University in Quito. She worked for several years with the Ecuodoron National Directorote of Tourism, and also with the Commercial Section of the U.S. Embassy in Quito. She is married to Jeffrey N. Bokken, o coreer FSO assigned to USAID/Peru, ond they have three children.

The runner-up for the Guess Award was Normo Robertson of Embassy Accra.

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## Reorganization Worries

Cynicism. Reinvention fatigue. Naivision. SMI all over again. Six months of turmoil. These are the reorganization anxieties, coupled with whispers of RIFs, more staff cuts, greater assignment competition and no promotions, which have accompanied the White House announcement of the first overhaul of the foreign affairs agencies since their founding.

Reorganization talk has also centered on several issues: The negative features of State's culture; the positive values of USAID and USIA; the need for "integrity and cohesion" of the non-State functions; and an astensible resources grab by State designed to squander the smaller agencies' program funds on short-term political expediency.

Our best advice is: Don't believe a word of it - or at least most of it.

AFSA unequivocally supports the objectives of the President and Secretary Albright in pursuing foreign affairs rationalization and streamlining. There is no dispute that reformed and reinvigorated structures are needed to meet future challenges. There is also no dispute that resources must be conserved and effectively channeled.

We do not see the self-serving interests of which State has been accused, least of all a predatory impulse to control public diplomacy and development assistance program funds.

Yet caution and vigilance are warranted. State's leadership must rise to the occasion, as there is no room for failure. Several important prerequisites for success must be met, not only to get through the six-month planning period, but also to see reorganization to fruition. The essential elements include:

**Vision.** A clear vision of the reorganization outcome in terms of

functions and improved policy management must guide the multiple layers of the reorganization team. Only the Secretary, with the best advice from within and outside the Department, can articulate how an enlarged and reconstituted State Department will work and relate to overall foreign policy management.

*" ... reformed and reinvigorated structures are needed ... "*

**Constancy.** Deputy Secretary Talbott and Under Secretary Pickering must provide the resolve necessary to keep the reorganizers on task and on schedule. By virtue of their positions, they are the interface between the bureau-

cracy and the political leadership.

**Resources.** The battle to secure greater resources for diplomacy in all of its manifestations, including public diplomacy and development assistance, cannot be lost in the breach. Short-sighted congressional affairs management (i.e., sellouts for the sake of expediency) cannot be substituted for the principled defense of needed personnel and program resources.

**Humanity.** Our profession is people- and knowledge-intensive. State's personnel resources, skills and expertise were dangerously attrited under the ill-advised budget-cutting of the past four years. AFSA fears that the Secretary will not have a robust, talented and motivated Foreign Service to support her policy initiatives and priorities.

If we have a plea, it is this: The human factor must have preeminence in the turbulence of reorganization. The time is past for empty rhetoric about empowerment, labor-management partnership, the quality of life or employee-friendliness. Management must put the lie to cynicism. **Put people first!**

## FOREIGN SERVICE DAY CELEBRATED

The 32nd annual Foreign Service Day on May 9 was highlighted by Under Secretary Timothy Wirth's lucid description of the growing importance of global issues and Director General Anthony Quaintan's lunchtime presentation on the challenges and trends which will shape the future Foreign Service.

DACOR's Foreign Service Cup was bestowed on Charles Stuart Kennedy Jr. in recognition of his outstanding efforts as Director of the Foreign Affairs Oral History Program to transcribe and make available to historians and others an archive of individual Foreign Service experiences. Retired Career Ambassador Terence A. Todmon received the Director General's Cup for his lifetime of dedicated service, leadership and vision, including a number of public-spirited activities carried on since retirement.

A series of afternoon seminars on key foreign policy issues was capped by a final plenary addressed by Spokesman and Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs Nicholas Burns on the importance of public diplomacy. Burns urged retirees to participate in public outreach efforts.

The AFSA reception in the Foreign Service Club was marked by increased attendance over the previous year. Those attending the AFSA Brunch Saturday morning heard reports from Retiree Vice President Ed Rawell, Legislative Director Ken Nakamura and Legislative Liaison Rick Weiss on issues before Congress affecting retirees. AFSA members from around the country then discussed current public attitudes toward foreign affairs.

President Clinton sent a message on Foreign Service Day soluting active and retired Foreign Service professionals " ... for your dedication to America and to promoting our vital interests around the world."

## Winners Announced

Continued from page 1

Margoret Bonner is a career Foreign Service officer with more than 26 years of experience in international development, primarily in Africa. She received a bachelor's degree in mathematics from Rutgers University and a master's and doctorate in economics from the University of Illinois. She and her husband went to Ethiopia in 1967 as Peace Corps volunteers. She then taught in Uganda for two years before returning to the United States for graduate study. Ms. Bonner joined USAID in 1975 and has served in Ethiopia, Tanzania and Indonesia, as well as in Washington. She headed the task force for Eastern Europe during the formative period for USAID's program in Eastern Europe before returning to the Africa Bureau in 1990 to head the Development Planning Office. She has been USAID director in Ethiopia since 1993. She is married and has a son and a daughter.

The runner-up for the Christian A. Herter Award was James R. Hooper, State, recently retired.

Mr. Whaley joined the Foreign Service in 1982, and was vice consul in London before going to Kinshasa on an economic/political rotation in 1984. After tours as political officer in Port-au-Prince and consul in Lyons, he returned to Washington to work on African political-military affairs. A second stint in Kinshasa was followed by assignment to Accra, which was cut short by a temporary reassignment to Kigali in 1995 which became permanent. He is married to USAID officer Katherine Crawford and they have one daughter.

The runner-up for the Rivkin Award was Sarah W. Wines, Assistant Director, Strategy, Office of Environment and Urban Programs, USAID.

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# COMMERCIAL SERVICE

# V.P. VOICE

• BY TOM KELSEY •

## Team Work Required

"We have met the enemy and he is us," sums up our situation today. With the second term of the Clinton Administration well under way and with Secretary Daley at the helm, we are seeing numerous management changes within our parent organization, the International Trade Administration, as the politicals push off. Director General (DG) Lauri Fitz-Pegado just departed and, like her or not, she boldly led us down the path toward integrating our foreign and domestic operations, a goal shared by several past administrators. Do we now abandon this initiative or do we continue a course? Sure, it's tough, and it holds uncertain rewards for those of us who heed the call early. But isn't the American exporter better served by a workforce that can bring the lessons of the international marketplace back to main street and the industrial parks of America? Did the Foreign Service component believe that the Civil Service component would jump on board? Did the domestic side think that we would snag all the plum stateside jobs? Truth is, with a few exceptions, we all seem to be relatively happy with our initial choice, especially at the senior levels of the Service. Whatever the case, we will work with management to make integration an incentive, not a penalty.

With the DG's departure, many of us were very disappointed that Secretary Daley did not choose an acting DG from our ranks. We do have officers of the necessary caliber, including those who have held that designation in the recent past. Instead, we have as our head a senior official from the "policy"

side of the house, the Market Access Compliance (MAC) unit (which traditionalists will recognize as International Economic Policy), far from whom merger and consolidation are ever present concerns. There are those in our Service who, at the cost of our reputation as trade professionals, would close ranks against the new DG and deny her the support she deserves. This would be a battle we could not win. Besides, what better opportunity could we ask for than to have a senior MAC official get to know us?

Have we become so myopic that we cannot recognize the rapid change the federal government service is experiencing? We're concerned about accommodating experienced Civil Service country desk and policy employees in our international business/trade promotion unit. How do you think NOAA officers feel as they face losing their uniformed service status? One need only read elsewhere in this issue or talk to a colleague from State or USIA to realize that in comparison, we have an opportunity, not a problem. The business community does not particularly care about the acronym or initials for the Commerce team that provides the services they need. Let's rise above our parochial problems and focus on making the Commercial Service the lead agency to work commercial diplomacy. In the past our strength has been as individuals working in our various pastings. We must now refocus as a team and lay the groundwork for the new Commercial Service. To merely rearrange the boxes and lines in the organizational chart is not enough. Let's use this interregnum to emerge as a stranger, unified organization.

"... in comparison, we have an opportunity, not a problem."

# USIA V.P. VOICE

• BY JESS BAILY •

## Bridging the Divide

Foreign Service officers are trained to recognize cultural differences and factor them into our interactions with host country audiences. Too often, however, we focus our skills on foreign cultures, not those cultures within our own boundaries. The reorganization of the foreign affairs agencies offers a historic opportunity to improve the United States' conduct of its foreign relations. But to succeed, reorganization will have to deal up front with the cultural differences among the agencies.

Let's be frank. Many USIA officers suspect that State doesn't know much about public diplomacy, doesn't consider it as important as traditional diplomacy and will divert USIA resources to other activities. After all, State's strategic plan barely mentions public diplomacy and leaves USIA out of its glossary of 70 organizations and agencies. "Nonsense," reply friends at State. "We may not understand everything USIA does, but such omissions do not diminish its importance."

Why do reassuring comments not overcome the suspicions? Part of the problem is semantic. Innocent comments convey unintended messages. Here are three examples.

Example #1: Public diplomacy at State "is earning the support of American people for what the United States is trying to do overseas." For USIA officers, public diplomacy involves the United States' relationships with foreign opinion leaders and publics, just as traditional diplomacy refers to our conduct of relations with foreign governments. Moreover, public diplomacy involves an integrated set of activities designed to advocate U.S. policies, build understanding of U.S. values and establish relationships between key foreigners and their American counterparts. It's not just media work that can be folded neatly into the Bureau of Public Affairs. Moreover, since 1948, Congress

has placed – and shows every intention of keeping – rules preventing USIA programs from targeting Americans. When public diplomacy refers to building a domestic constituency, USIA folks detect, at best, a poor appreciation or, at worst, an outright ignorance of our role overseas.

Example #2: The term "FSIO" or "Foreign Service Information Officer" died with the 1980 Foreign Service Act or thereabouts. But State colleagues still slip it innocently into many conversations. It strikes a raw nerve at USIA. It implies that

an FSIO is not a "real" Foreign Service officer or does only press work. While this seems averily defensive, consider how USIA officers felt when Nick Burns said he looked forward to "bringing [USIA officers] into the Foreign Service." USIA officers enter through the same examination and receive the same commissions.

Example #3: "USIA is so much more fun than State." Such statements, particularly about arts programs, sound condescending. Cultural programs showcase U.S. values, establish dialogues and advance subtly U.S. policies when more direct methods do not work. They are no less serious than other aspects of our diplomacy. USIA cut most of its performing arts programs in fiscal year 1997 – a gut wrenching and controversial decision. Today's cultural affairs officers are more likely to develop seminars on protection of intellectual property rights than to schedule jazz band tours.

USIA officers, of course, have their share of inaccurate perceptions about State. AFSA's challenge in the next few months is to foster honest discussions of these differences and ways to bridge gaps in understanding. Only our critics will benefit from our inability to deal diplomatically with multiple Foreign Service cultures.

*"... deal up front with the cultural differences among the agencies."*

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## Dateline

Continued from page 1

travel orders, travel vouchers and return travel.

• In their April 19 letter to Senator Slade Gorton, the Foreign Service Retirees of the State of Washington expressed their concern about the serious erosion of Foreign Service establishments during the past three years. The letter, with 53 signatories, emphasized the critical importance of the foreign affairs agencies in increasing U.S. exports, noting that in 1995 Washington received an aggregate of \$22 billion from exports and, further, that for the 1994-95 school year \$208 million was spent by foreign students studying in the state.

• THE CHARLES DELMAR FOUNDATION has provided a \$2,000 grant to support an intern in the Office of Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Tolbott. This internship is cosponsored by AFSA and the State Department Thursday Luncheon Group.

• On May 8, the Public Member Association of the Foreign Service (PMA) renewed its annual scholarship, increasing the amount to \$3,000 in honor of its 30th anniversary. This scholarship is awarded each year to a needy Foreign Service college junior or senior majoring in foreign affairs.

• The Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) is now collecting books, artwork, collectibles, stamps and foreign coins to be sold at the 1997 **BookFair** to be held Oct. 16 (Family Night) through Oct. 26. **BookFair** will be open to the general public on the weekends, Oct. 18-19 and Oct. 25-26, but will be open during the week to anyone with access to the State Department. This is a great time of year to weed out all those excess books and collectors items. All donations to AAFSW are tax deductible. The proceeds from **BookFair** benefit a scholarship program and local charities. Donations will be accepted through Aug. 31. For more information or to arrange for pickup of items, call Robin Jones at (202) 223-5796.

• Free copies of the 1989-90 yearbook of the American Cooperative School in Monrovia are available for former students

Continued on page 12

# RETIREE V.P. VOICE

• BY ED ROWELL •

## Challenges Remain

For this last news from the 1995-97 AFSA Board, we have excitement and some stocktaking.

First, on April 18, the White House

announced reorganization of the foreign affairs agencies. Pending issues include:

- How deeply or radically to reorganize State.
- What strategies to use for merging USIA and Arms Control and Disarmament into State.

- How to make the "new" State and AID closer in operations.

- How to wring maximum efficiencies out of the new structure while shaping it to be effective in the next century, especially in view of ever growing domestic agency action overseas.

At least eight full-time task forces will work on these issues and others. AFSA representatives will sit on those task forces. We are recruiting retirees to help us, in part because it is hard to find enough active duty people who can be released for 60 days.

We also have the balanced budget deal between the President and the Congress. The deal drops the proposed 3-month delay in annual cost-of-living adjustments (COLAs) for non-military federal retirees, an issue AFSA worked on. The Bureau of Labor Statistics will adjust its methods to reduce the annual increase in the consumer price index, probably by three-tenths of a percentage point. Your COLAs will be smaller, but at least the reduction will be based on serious methodology, not on arbitrary legislation. Your health care will cost more. Medicare "B" premiums, already due to rise sharply over the next five years, could see a total increase of over 50 percent based on the latest budget deal, while projected

Medicare spending will decline.

Although a proposal to increase Federal Employees Health Benefits Program premiums was dropped in this deal, it could resurface in the future.

The President's out-year foreign affairs ("150" account) budget numbers are, presumably, also part of the balancing act. Though State Department management argues that the out-year numbers are not binding, they are scary. Except for fiscal year 1998 (\$19.0 billion), the figures plummet in constant dollar terms: \$18.3

billion in 1999 (not counting the one-time arrearages payment of \$.9 billion), \$17.8 in 2000, \$17.0 billion in 2001 and \$16.4 billion in 2002. The pressure on AFSA and retirees to make a difference will continue.

Lost, some stocktaking based on needs that I cited in my first Vice President's column in the September 1995 *AFSA News*: Public outreach by retirees has soared. *Bravo!* We have broader and more frequent communication with retirees, especially those who hook into the Internet. The retiree standing committee has met more frequently this past year and has real input into Governing Board actions. The Elderhostel program is booming. Unfortunately, new member recruitment remains a challenge and we have to increase our efforts on this front.

I wish I could tell you we can coast on our oars for a while. No such luck. Foreign affairs agency reorganization, the budget and challenges to the identity of the Foreign Service and our retirement system make retiree solidarity and activism and recruitment of new AFSA members ever more vital.

*"The pressure on ... retirees to make a difference will continue."*

# 1997 AFSA/AAFSW Academic M

The American Foreign Service Association and the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) are pleased to announce the winners of the AFSA/AAFSW Academic Merit and Art Merit Scholarships for 1997. The scholarship program recognizes the academic and artistic achievements of Foreign Service high school seniors at home and abroad.

Over 80 students competed in this year's program and were judged on grade point average, Scholastic Assessment Test scores, a two-page essay, extracurricular activities and two letters of recommendation. In the Art Merit Award category, in addition to the above criteria, students submitted entries under one of the following categories: visual art, musical art, drama, dance or creative writing.

Academic Merit winners and Art Merit winner Brian Benschky received awards of \$1,000; those winning honorable mention were awarded \$200, as was the Best Essay winner. In honor of their volunteer work, Community Service Award winners received \$100.

Judges were volunteers from the Department of State, USAID, USIA, the Commercial Service (CS), AAFSW and the retired Foreign Service community.

The 1997 awards were given in honor of the AAFSW and its many members who contribute time and energy to the annual BOOK-FAIR. A portion of the proceeds from this fundraiser supports the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award Program.



**BRIAN BENSCHKY** Graduate of American Embassy School, New Delhi, India; National Honor Society; Tri-M Music Honor Society; Art Merit Winner; son of Jonathan (CS) and Sandra Benschky; attending University of Washington.



**MARGARET BLABEY** Graduate of the International School Nido de Aguilas, Santiago, Chile; semi-finalist 1997 Presidential Scholar Program; daughter of Richard (FAS) and Anne Blabey; attending William and Mary as a Monroe Scholar.



**JEFF BROWN** Graduate of Colegio Maya American International School, Guatemala City, Guatemala; National Honor Society; son of Clifford (USAID) and Ellen Brown; attending Hampshire College in Massachusetts.



**CATHERINE CHRISTIAN** Graduate of Jakarta International School, Indonesia; National Merit Commended Student; daughter of Gary and Carolyn (State) Christian; attending Smith College in Massachusetts.



**AMY DONAHUE** Graduate of Singapore American School; Smith College Book Award; Most Valuable Swimmer Award; daughter of David (State) and Shelia (State) Donahue; attending Princeton University.



**MADLINE FARBMAN** Graduate of Rabat American School, Morocco; National Merit Scholarship Qualifier; daughter of Michael (USAID) and Susan Farbman; attending Cornell University.



**SARAH FRASURE** Graduate of George Mason High School, Falls Church, Va.; French Honor Society; daughter of the late Robert (State) and Katharina Frasure; attending Wellesley College.



**SAMUEL GOLDMAN** Graduate of American Embassy School, New Delhi, India; National Honor Society member; son of Richard (USAID) and Heather (USAID) Goldman; attending University of Victoria or Pomona College.



**ERIN HAMILTON** Graduate of West Patomac High School, Alexandria, Va.; editor of school newspaper and literary magazine; daughter of John (State) and Donna (State) Hamilton; attending Rice University.



# Merit and Art Merit Award Winners



**JEFFREY HUTCHENS** Graduate of McLean High School, McLean, Va.; scholar athlete in tennis and lacrosse; son of Daniel (State) and Martha Hutchens; attending Asbury College in Wilmore, Ky.



**MICHAEL KRUG** Graduate of Westfield High School, Westfield, NJ; New Jersey Presidential Scholar; AFSA/AAFSW Best Essay Honorable Mention winner; son of Frederic (State) and Michele Krug; attending Columbia University.



**MEAGHAN LEONNIG** Graduate of American College, Sofia, Bulgaria; National Honor Society member; daughter of Douglas (State) and Rosemary Leonnig; attending William and Mary.



**MATTHEW PEARSON** Graduate of the International School of Brussels, Belgium; Merit Scholarship Commended Scholar; son of Robert (State) and Margaret (USIA) Pearson; attending Amherst College in Massachusetts.



**GEORGE REASONOVER III** Graduate of Langley High School, McLean, Va; National Hispanic Scholar; Thespian Honor Society member; son of George (State) and Deborah Reasonover; attending Grinnell College in Grinnell, Iowa.



**JENNIFER ROBINSON** Graduate of International Community School of Abidjan, Ivory Coast; National Merit Commended Student; daughter of David (USAID) and Mary Robinson; attending the University of Virginia.



**ARTHUR ROSENBERG** Graduate of James Madison High School, Vienna, Va.; National Honor Society member; son of Richard (USAID) and Linda Rosenberg; attending William and Mary.



**DAVID ROTH** Graduate of W.B. American International School, Kfar Shmaryahu, Israel; Maryland Distinguished Scholar Honorable Mention; son of Richard (State) and Carol Roth; attending University of Michigan.



**CLAIRE SHINKMAN** Graduate of James Madison High School, Vienna, Va.; AFSA/AAFSW Art Merit Honorable Mention; National Honor Society member; daughter of Bernard (USIA) and Gillian Shinkman; attending Wellesley College.



**ALEXANDRA SPERLING** Graduate of Langley High School, McLean, Va.; French Honor Society and Slavic Honor Society member; daughter of Jonathan Sperling (Ret. USAID) and Nancy Tumavick (Ret. USAID); attending Middlebury College.



**DIRK VAN DEN BOS** Graduate of H-B Woodlawn Program, Arlington, Va.; National Honor Society member; Eagle Scout; son of James (USAID) and Eva Van Den Bos; attending Yale University.



**WELLS WULSIN** Graduate of Indian Hill High School, Cincinnati, Ohio; National Merit Scholar; son of Lawson Wulsin and Victoria Wells-Wulsin (USAID); attending Harvard University.

# BEST ESSAY

• BY KAMILAH HOUSE •

## What the Foreign Service Has Done for Me

If it had not been for the Foreign Service, I do not think I would be as whole as I am now. I have grown up knowing what Algerians eat on a normal day and what Nigerian adolescents joke about at parties. I have lived with people from all over the world and am more relaxed with them than some people ever dream. I found myself a part of them in a way no history book or short visit could have provided. I did not need to observe them from the outside because, though I was American-Bohemian by blood, I was also Algerian-Nigerian by experience. The Foreign Service has given me the tools to appreciate ideas and cultures that the average American would have thought of as inferior.

The post I will most cherish is Lagos, Nigeria, because of the great love, respect and pride I gained from the people and cultures I found. I will admit that when my family moved to Lagos in 1992, I was extremely upset by the decision. I was sure that I had finally established myself in my predominately white Catholic school in Piscotoway, Md., after months of difficult adjustments from my comfortable suburban block elementary school. I did not feel like moving would solve any of the problems I had been having at school.

I thought I was ugly and I was very confused. Most of the girls in my seventh grade class were white and thin with long straight hair. I was the odd ball. I was a bit overweight, had medium length "kinky" hair, and although I was relatively light-skinned for someone whose parents were both black, I was still dork compared to most of the black people at that school. Frankly, not many of my classmates were nice to me. They used to tell me, "Ooooh, your hair is nappy. Go get a relaxer," or "Your nose is so BIG!" Their words stung me and for a long time my only real friends were two black girls, Tommy and Nicole, and two black boys, Nate and Jon.

Eventually I decided that I had to succumb to my classmates' nagging in order to be accepted. I had to get a relaxer. My father was totally against it. He told me that I should be proud of myself and the beautiful race of people I come from. I was not mature or experienced enough to

understand and I fought with him for months. I could see his heart breaking. In the end, he did not allow me to get a relaxer but he did allow me to get short extensions.

By the time the New Year came along, my parents began to search frantically for an open position in FAS in West Africa. I overheard them saying on many occasions that "Kamilah needs to learn who she is. She needs to learn from the roots up." I felt betrayed by them, but mostly I did not want to go to Africa. I had lived in Algeria, but it was not Sub-Saharan Africa. It was the Block Zone with the savage monkey people and the giant killer insects. When Daddy announced "We are moving to Lagos, Nigeria, next year," my whole world exploded. I was leaving civilization.

It did not take me long to realize that Nigeria was not the way people in the United States saw it. It was a different way of life, but it was not disgusting. It was wonderful. I saw women walking naturally with the posture models are trained to have and with the beauty to match. Their high heads and sing-song languages rang like music in my ears. Little girls and elderly women walked about sporting braids in their hair and head ties on their heads. I was immediately in love. I sunk into the aura of Lagos and joined smoothly in its rhythm. I made a rainbow coalition of friends that I will take with me forever in my heart.

The Foreign Service made the greatest joys in my life possible. It allowed my father to teach me pride and self-love in a way that a small community like Temple Hills, Md., could not. It gave me the chance to meet people in places far from the shores of the United States. I have a view of the world and its people that cannot be contained in a book. I have learned through the Foreign Service that I want to be the best person, the best black female and the best Kamilah that I can be. I want to do something in my life that is neither expected of me as a black person nor as a female. I am truly grateful to the Foreign Service for allowing me to have a childhood filled with exploration and knowledge of the world outside the United States.

## Academic Merit Honorable Mentions

**DAVID BRIMS** Graduate of Washington International School, Washington, D.C.; son of John (Stote) and Elizabeth Brims.

**JESSICA BUCALO** Graduate of Carol Morgan School, Santo Domingo, the Dominican Republic; daughter of Robert (Commercial Service) and Geroldine Bucalo.

**ELENA DIFFILY** Graduate of Acolontes High School, Lofoyette, Co.; daughter of J.A. Diffily (Stote) and Lindo de Solo.

**ANDREW HUFF** Graduate of Gonzago College High School, Washington, D.C.; son of Rodney (Stote) and Sarah Huff.

**REGINALD KING** Graduate of Thomas Jefferson High School for Science and Technology, Alexandria, Va.; son of Thomas (Stote) and Ruth López.

**JACOB KURTZER** Graduate of Hebrew Academy of Greater Washington, Silver Spring, Md.; son of Daniel (Stote) and Shelio Kurtzer.

**MEGHAN NOLAN** Graduate of South Lakes High School, Reston, Va.; daughter of Robert (Stote) and Nancy Nolan.

**FELICIA WILLIAMS** Graduate of Charlotte Latin School, Charlotte, N.C.; daughter of Wylie (Stote) and Sondro Williams.

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**CLAIRE JANSEN** Graduate of Robot American School, Morocco; daughter of William (USAID) and Kathy Jansen.

**ANDREA VAUGHN** Graduate of Jokorto International School, Indonesia; daughter of Arthur (USIA) and Jo-Anne Vaughn.

**KAMILAH HOUSE, BEST ESSAY WINNER**  
Graduate of The Madeira School, McLean, Va.; daughter of Maurice House (FAS) and Gildo Weech-House; attending Emory University.

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## FOREIGN SERVICE YOUTH RECOGNIZED

The Family Liaison Office recently announced the 1997 Foreign Service Youth Award Winners. With the support of the Association of American Foreign Service Women, this award is given by the Foreign Service Youth Foundation to recognize Foreign Service youth who demonstrate outstanding leadership in community service or in service to their peers. This year's top honorees go to Tamar Losleben, Kristofer Stice and Patrick White.

Tomor Losleben, 15, is the daughter of USAID Population Officer Carrie Johnson and George Lasleben. Tomor received the award for her commitment to, and creativity in, working with disadvantaged youths at the Evangelical Boys' Orphanage in Coira.

Kristofer Stice, 18, son of Peace Corps Country Director Edwin Stice and Deborah Stice, was nominated for his outstanding leadership in encouraging volunteer work by his peers at the International School in Suva.

Patrick White, 18, son of USAID employee Pamela White, won the award for his commitment to community service and his involvement in the founding of the Culture Club, an organization which celebrates the diversity of the students at the American International School of Johannesburg.

Cynthio Bruno, Edwin Finn, Jacob Kurtzer and Liz Ruedy, received awards of High Commendation. Cossondro Beltz, Patrick Kelly and Shandon Quinn were chosen for Honorable Mention recognition.

Other nominees for the Youth Service Award were Antonio Aguilar, Lindsey Carr, Thomas Caby, Natalia Goldberg, Brandi Haydan, Michael Joworski, Jennifer Oki, Meghan Rubia, Patrick Spears, Thomas Stachowitz and Anthony Van Plinsky.

## AFSA Releases Statement on Ambassadors

The success of America's diplomacy in the field depends in large measure on the qualities of its leaders. Diplomatic battles are won or lost today based on the experience, knowledge and leadership of the American ambassadors. Because of that central fact, AFSA's Professionalism Committee and Governing Board have worked diligently to prepare a set of criteria for the selection of America's ambassadors. The statement below has been forwarded to President Clinton, Vice President Gore, Secretary Albright and members of the House Committee on International Relations and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

American ambassadors today and for the foreseeable future must contend successfully with a heavy and constantly broadening array of challenges. Their basic mission is demanding: They must promote American prosperity, advance American values and enhance American security, including care for Americans abroad and security from crime and disasters.

American ambassadors operate in a complex and disorderly world. The number of foreign governments has grown and these nations are more assertive. Types and numbers of non-governmental international actors also have increased. The new actors include non-profit associations and global corporations that organize their own international institutions and activities. They also participate directly and indirectly in the conferences and international organizations that used to be the exclusive domain of governments. Major issues involve not just classic problems of trade, investment, arms, peace and competition; today they also include environmental conservation, organized crime, mass population flows and human calamities - all compounded by explosive expansion of communications and transportation. And within almost all countries it is necessary to speak effectively with the public as well as with leaders in and out of government.

These challenges demand that the United States send only its best people as ambassadors. What qualities define such ambassadors? AFSA suggests the following:

- Absolute integrity and a clear public reputation for such integrity.
- Personal discretion and strong self-discipline.
- Solid understanding of U.S. interests economic, commercial, environmental, security and political.
- Well-honed skills in cross-cultural communication, both for explaining U.S. values and views to foreign publics and authorities and for explaining foreign events to the United States Government and public.
- The intellect and perception needed to interpret and report accurately what is happening abroad and to recommend appropriate policies to pursue.
- The knowledge, experience and commitment

necessary to manage personally the key issues and agencies involved in the mission for which the ambassador has been selected, plus knowledge of the language, history and background of the country or international organization where the ambassador will be posted and, ideally, experience in working with people in the country of assignment.

- The leadership, strength of character and executive skills necessary to guide and coordinate the activities of diverse U.S. agencies and their respective purposes abroad.

AFSA believes the American public will strongly support a diplomatic force led by persons of such quality. The Association is convinced, as well, that the President's chief foreign affairs advisor, the Secretary of State, must have the support of an outstanding cadre of ambassadors. The Association therefore urges each President to establish a special advisory board that would review non-career candidates being considered for nomination as a United States ambassador and that would report to the President whether it regards each candidate to be *Highly Qualified, Qualified or Unqualified.*

The American Foreign Service Association also believes the President should have on the White House staff an effective means to obtain independent evaluation of an ambassador's performance when considering whether to appoint that ambassador to a new post or to leave the ambassador in the current mission for an extended period of time.

Finally, the American Foreign Service Association recalls that Vice President Gore emphatically expressed his firm belief in 1989 that the criteria for selecting ambassadors be stringent so that all of our embassies would have the strong, highly qualified leadership our country needs. Then-Senator Gore fought hard for a resolution that would have urged the President to halve the number of non-career ambassadorial nominees from 30 percent to 15 percent of the total. The American Foreign Service Association agrees and notes that the largest pool of candidates with the potential for satisfying the criteria for ambassador outlined above is the United States Foreign Service.

## Dateline

Continued from page 7

and alumni. Contact Carol Sutherland at the Office of Overseas Schools at (703) 875-7939; fax (703) 875-7979; or e-mail carol.sutherland@dos.us-state.gov

- AFSA welcomes new staff members. Eva-Lotta Jansson joins the *Foreign Service Journal* as Assistant Editor. A native of Sweden, she is a graduate of the University of Missouri School of Journalism and was editor at a local publishing house before coming to the FSJ. Jean Hanford joins AFSA as Administrative Assistant at headquarters. Jean was previously with a law firm. Before moving to the Washington area, she and her three children lived in Germany with her husband, a member of the U.S. Air Force.

- Summer interns at AFSA will be assisting in legislative and public affairs, editorial work and marketing, corporate relations, COLEAD and ambassadorial research. They include Ryan Cheung, Emory University; Christine Evans, Yale University; Julie Ginocchio, Mount Holyoke College; Kristin Holmes, Duke University; Jackie Landells, Colgate University; Kenneth Thomson, the University of Colorado; Burrill Wells, Syracuse University; and Margaretha Wiant, Earlham College.

- AFSA Post Representatives are needed in Adana, Algiers, Ashgabat, Asmara, Baku, Bandar Seri Begawan, Bangui, Barcelona, Beirut, Belfast, Berlin, Bogota, Brazzaville, Bucharest, Budapest, Bujumbura, Calgary, Cape Town, Chengdu, Chisinau, Cotonou, Curacao, Doha, Durban, Edinburgh, Florence, Freetown, Guangzhou, Halifax, Hamburg, Hamilton, Hanoi, Hermosillo, Jakarta, Jeddah, Kiev, Koror, Leipzig, Ljubljana, Madras, Maseru, Merida, Minsk, Montreal, Moscow, Niamey, Nouakchott, Nuevo Laredo, Paramaribo, Perth, Peshawar, Ponta Delgada, Port Louis, Port-au-Prince, Port-of-Spain, Praia, Pusan, Quebec, Reykjavik, Rio de Janeiro, Rome, St. George's, Sapporo, Shanghai, Shenyang, Skopje, Surabaya, Suva, Tbilisi, Thessaloniki, Tirana, Vatican City, Vilnius, Warrenton Training Center, Yaounde, Yekaterinburg and Yerevan. AFSA members interested in serving as representatives should contact Yolanda Odunsi, Membership Representative, at (202) 338-4045 ext. 525 or by e-mail at member@afsa.org

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are pictured just after  
cutting the ribbon to  
dedicate the  
Department of State  
Library to Ralph J.  
Bunche.

In a May 5 ceremony the Department  
of State Library was dedicated to Ralph  
J. Bunche, the distinguished scholar,  
diplomat and statesman. Guests were  
welcomed by Chief Librarian Dan  
Clemmer, Thursday Luncheon Group  
Chair Ambassador Ruth Davis and AFSA  
President Tex Horris on behalf of their  
sponsoring organizations. Brief remarks  
were made by Dr. Benjamin Rivlin,  
Director, Ralph Bunche Institute on the

United Nations; Sir Brian Urquhart, former  
Under Secretary General for  
Special Political Affairs of the United  
Nations; Ambassador Joseph E. Loke,  
Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for  
Information Management; and Under  
Secretary Patrick F. Kennedy. The ceremony  
and following reception were  
marked especially by the presence of  
Jaan Bunche, daughter of the late Ralph  
J. Bunche, and other relatives.

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However, armed with two decades of former colleagues' experience in that mission, USAID did learn some successful strategies, such as keeping its projects simple. To reduce opportunities for local officials to enrich themselves, USAID worked outside the Zaire government, channeling U.S. assistance directly to the missionary, volunteer and private organizations that provided the bulk of basic medical and educational needs for Zairians. Providing technical and training assistance, USAID helped Zairians dramatically increase corn production in the Shaba province, where the basics of growing and marketing were taught to farmers. The mission also sponsored a program that trained Zairian economists in agricultural planning and production. In addition, through the '80s, Zaire had the best-funded U.S. health project in Africa, effectively combatting common childhood diseases with immunizations and education programs.

Until 1960, Zaire was known as the Belgian Congo. In 1885, after several years of exploiting the region, King Leopold II of Belgium claimed it as the Congo Free State. The Belgian Parliament took over in 1908 and renamed it the Belgian Congo. Belgians ruled the country for 75 years with a combination of paternalism, rigidity and force until the country's independence on June 30, 1960, when Gen. Mobutu Sese Seko Nkoku wa za Banga, whose name means, "All conquering warrior who goes from conquest to conquest," vanquished his rivals and installed himself as the country's first president.

Life in Kinshasa, a European enclave, was redolent with the country's former status as a Belgian colony. A mind-boggling array of European delicacies, such as French cheeses and charcuterie, were flown in daily from Europe, as were newspapers from most European capitals. The Golf and Tennis Club, a remnant of Belgium colonialism, served as a kind of European oasis in the center of town. The majority of members were Belgians, most of whom had lived in Zaire since before independence. Over tables of imported wine, these former colonists spent their days reliving the past in the paradise that had been the Belgian Congo and complaining about events in modern Zaire. Many of them had stayed in Zaire because they could not duplicate in Europe the languid lifestyle and readily available servants of Kinshasa.

Outside these rarified enclaves, life for the average Zairian was much tougher. In 1982 Zaire was a country of 30 million people whose per-capita annual income averaged \$200 and whose government was

either unwilling or unable to provide basic health care, education and infrastructure.

The difficulty of doing business in a country like Zaire, where the entire population appears to be on the make, cannot be overestimated. As in many Second and Third World countries, the prevailing philosophy is best expressed this way: "You (the foreigner) are wealthy and anything I can do to separate you from some of your money is OK." This has been the dominant guiding principle of Zairians in dealing with foreign donors since independence.

Even the traffic police fit the mold. Any foreign driver without diplomatic license plates is subject to being waved over to the curb to present documents. Invariably, the documents are found insufficient and a bribe of 10 cents is extracted before the drive can proceed.

To make an overseas call, an "arranger" from the Ministry of Communication had to get the line. If the call is successful, he'd show up at your office later to collect his "commission." Telex lines were important to communication to the United States and Europe, but these required someone on permanent "retainer" at the ministry to make sure the lines worked.

And there were other scams. Enterprising Zairians could parlay fake injuries to servants and employees into extra income. It was well-known that serious bus accidents were common in Kinshasa and the major hospital would not treat anyone, no matter how seriously injured, without advance payment.

On the official level, the need to make a payoff was ubiquitous. For any Zairians lucky enough to be employed, customs was an excellent spot to improve one's standard of living. The number of required permits, licenses and stamps, even for the simplest and most straightforward transaction, was designed to spread the wealth. Since independence, the Belgian government and, later, the European Economic Community stationed large teams in the customs office. These expensive, long-term employees temporarily reduced the bribes, but they never achieved the long-sought basic reform.

But will change come under Laurent Kabila? Only time will tell. ■

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*Mobutu's government had a deserved reputation for deviousness and indifference to its people that was unsurpassed, even by African standards.*

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# FRENCH TWISTS OF FATE

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19TH-CENTURY MINISTER TO PARIS GRAPPLED WITH  
U.S. LUST FOR CUBA, NAPOLEONIC COURT ETIQUETTE

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By EDWARD W. AND NANCY R. SCHAEFER

**B**oarding the U.S. mail steamer *Atlantic* in New York Harbor on a cold and blustery Christmas Eve in 1853, the stout, white-haired John Young Mason eagerly anticipated assuming a diplomatic assignment that would cap his distinguished political career. The ruddy 54-year-old Virginia Democrat, a former congressman, federal judge, secretary of the Navy and attorney general, had been appointed minister to France by President Franklin Pierce.

An astute and seasoned politician, Mason preferred conciliation to confrontation and seemed blessed with what the *Richmond Whig* described as "the habit of success." These skills would be tested in France, where Mason became embroiled in two controversies. One involved the question of proper diplomatic dress, and is an almost-forgotten footnote in diplomatic history; the other involved U.S. intentions toward Cuba, a question that is as alive today as when Mason and his colleagues grappled with it more than a century ago.

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*Edward W. Schaefer is a retired FSO who served in Lebanon, Morocco, Algeria and Somalia. Nancy R. Schaefer, his wife, is the great-great-granddaughter of John Y. Mason, whose diplomatic uniform is displayed at the State Department permanent exhibit, "Celebration of American Diplomacy."*

**J**ohn Y. Mason's path to France began in February 1819, when, after graduating from the University of North Carolina and Judge Tapping Reeve's Law School in Litchfield, Conn., he became a lawyer in Greenville County, Va. He launched his political career in 1823, elected first to the Virginia House of Delegates and later to the state senate. In 1831, as a Jacksonian Democrat, he was elected to Congress, where as chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, he would make his mark in foreign affairs. In 1836, he introduced a bill recognizing Texas' independence from Mexico. He also called for increased naval preparedness in the face of France's continued failure to meet long-standing American claims for damage to ships in the Atlantic during the Napoleonic wars. After three terms in Congress, Mason became a Virginia state judge in 1837, and four years later he was appointed a federal judge, his proudest achievement. After that appointment, he liked to be addressed as "Judge Mason."

President John Tyler brought Mason into his Cabinet in 1844 as secretary of the Navy. When James K. Polk became president in 1845, Mason was named attorney general. Polk and Mason had been friends since their college days at the University of North Carolina and had served together in Congress. As Polk noted in his diary for April 30, 1846, "He was my college associate and personal friend, and ... on these accounts I desired to have him near me." At the president's request in September 1846, Mason again took charge of the Navy Department. Four months earlier the U.S. had declared war on Mexico, and

consequently Mason played a key role in coordinating U.S. naval operations, notably the siege of Vera Cruz in 1847 and the blockade of California, until the end of the war early in 1848.

When the Whigs returned to power in 1849, Mason returned to Richmond to become president of the James River & Kanawha Canal Co. The following year, he was unanimously elected president of the Virginia Constitutional Convention. During the presidential campaign of 1852, Mason, a member of the Virginia Democratic State Central Committee, strongly supported the candidacy of Franklin Pierce, a northerner, who was acceptable to Southern Democrats because of this support of states' rights and his strong advocacy of expansion which they hoped might result in the establishment of new slave states in the Caribbean. In October 1853, the now-President Pierce recognized the claims of Virginia's party faithful for rewards in helping his presidential bid by appointing Mason minister to France. Mason would be reporting to Secretary of State William L. Marcy, with whom he had served in Polk's Cabinet when Marcy was secretary of War.

**T**he Masons' new life in Paris would be radically different from the one they had in Richmond.

Accompanied by his wife, Mary Ann, and two of their 10 children, Mason arrived in Paris on Jan. 8, 1854. He was greeted with his first diplomatic dilemma: What should he wear when presenting his diplomatic credentials to Emperor Napoleon III so as not to offend the government?

In 1854 most European powers were monarchies with elaborate, formal courts and strict rules on court dress. The U.S. accepted this situation and even provided guidance on court dress to diplomats in a series of instructions. The most recent of these, issued by Secretary Marcy on June 1, 1853 was known as the "Dress Circular." It instructed diplomats to appear in court in "the simple dress of an American citizen," which in the parlance of the time meant formal evening clothes. At the same time, the circular gave diplomats a loophole, instructing them to use independent judgement in whether to conform to established rules for court dress.

American chargé d'affaires Henry L. Sanford, who had been chargé of the embassy for eight months before Mason's arrival, had worn "simple dress" to court functions since August 1853, with no objection from the French Foreign Ministry. And Mason, shortly after his arrival, at a meeting with French Foreign Minister Edouard Drouyn de Lhuys, cited his intention of doing the same. He intended to present his credentials to the emperor "in a suit of plain black clothes," he reported in his diary, and "desired to be informed whether it would be regarded as wanting in respect to the Imperial Government."

Drouyn de Lhuys immediately informed Mason that he must consult the emperor on this point and two days later told Mason that his Imperial Majesty had agreed to receive him in the proposed costume. But when he explained why costumes were worn in the imperial court and the regulations governing them, Mason understood it would be politic to adopt court dress for court functions. It was customary to wear uniforms because it was a means of marking one's station or importance and was also considered a sign of respect to the court. Without the proper uniform, Mason would risk offending Emperor Napoleon, and, particularly, the Empress Eugenie, a stickler for protocol.

Consequently, while Mason was indeed received cordially by Napoleon on Jan. 22, when he presented his credentials wearing "plain black clothes," he had already decided that henceforth he would appear at court in diplomatic uniform. He detailed his reasons in a legation despatch and in a personal letter to Marcy. Sanford, humiliated by his minister's decision on dress, immediately sent his resignation to Marcy, who promptly accepted it. Marcy also approved Mason's interpretation of the dress circular.

Despite excited accounts of "the uniform controversy" in the American press with one side contending that Americans, as democrats, should not

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*An astute and seasoned politician, Mason preferred conciliation to confrontation and seemed blessed with what was termed "the habit of success." These skills would be well-tested in France.*

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give in to the demands of an effete, imperial court, and the other camp contending that donning a uniform seemed practical, the uniform in question was scarcely flamboyant. Its design seemed to be based on a Department of State Instruction on "The Dress of an American Minister," issued in 1817, which called for a gold-embroidered black coat, white breeches and a chapeau-bras, a three-cornered hat that could be tucked under one's arm. Mason's brass-buttoned black coat was embroidered with gold acorns and oak leaves on its stand-up collar, cuffs and center back; his white trousers were gold-striped.

After his first appearance at a court function requiring court dress, Judge Mason reported to Marcy in a Jan. 28, 1854, despatch, "I attended at the Tuileries in a simple uniform dress and presented to the Emperor and Empress a large number of my coun-

trymen and the ladies of their families. ... On such occasions I expect to continue to conform to usage."

The other diplomatic controversy facing Mason in France was not so easily or quickly resolved. In the early months of 1854, U.S.-Spanish relations were escalating to a crisis. All during the 1850s, Cuba, then a Spanish possession, had been steadily attracting U.S. attention, with many national leaders casting a lusty eye toward the Caribbean island. The dream of acquiring Cuba was not a new one: both Thomas Jefferson and John Quincy Adams had favored annexation. In 1848, the high-water mark of "Manifest Destiny," Spain rejected President Polk's offer to buy the island for \$100 million. Attempted filibustering expeditions, plotted in the United States and aimed at prompting a Cuban revolt against Spain, challenged both Whig and Democratic adminis-

trations responsible for enforcing the Neutrality Act of 1818. Many factions in the United States encouraged armed revolt in Cuba against Spain, but these bands were freelancers, with no official government sanction.

In 1852 France and Britain, hoping to block any future American attempt to acquire Cuba, proposed that the United States join them in a three-way agreement guaranteeing Spain's right to Cuba. Whig Secretary of State Edward Everett declined the offer, in essence saying that although Cuba was a Spanish possession, its future was a primary concern of the United States, not of Britain and France.

The Pierce administration was openly expansionist and one of Pierce's early diplomatic appointments was that of Sen. Pierre Soulé of Louisiana, a French-born naturalized citizen and outspoken advocate of Cuban annexation, to be America's minister to Spain. He arrived at his post in October 1853

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at a time when U.S. relations with Spain were troubled by a variety of problems affecting American residents in Cuba, such as a hostile and rigid bureaucracy, that made it difficult to conduct business there. Although Soulé's instructions at that time had cautioned him not to propose negotiations for the purchase of Cuba, Pierce administration policy changed abruptly in early 1854. The immediate catalyst was the so-called "Black Warrior Affair." In February 1854 the American steamer, *Black Warrior*, was confiscated during a routine call at Havana. Spanish authorities cited the steamer's failure to comply with a port regulation never enforced in its many previous calls at port. This incident caused "an unusual degree of excitement throughout the Union," as Marcy wrote Mason in Paris, an observation which reflected American outrage at such treatment by Spanish officials. In March 1854, Soulé was instructed to

protest and ask for an indemnity from the Spanish government. But before learning the results of this approach, and having in mind Soulé's report that continuing political turmoil in Spain might open the way to purchasing Cuba, on April 3 Marcy authorized him, "when circumstances were favorable, to enter into a convention or treaty for the purchase of Cuba" and, if Spain refused to sell, "to direct your efforts to the next most desirable object, which is to detach that island from the Spanish dominion and from all dependence on any European power." Marcy was playing it safe, using language that has puzzled historians ever since, but he clearly meant to take over Cuba from Spain. Marcy's inclusion of this "next most desirable object" would come back to haunt him before the year was out.

In the following months, as discussed in recorded Cabinet meetings, it became apparent to Marcy and the

president that because of Soulé's flamboyant and erratic behavior and startling ineptitude as a diplomatist, he could not be permitted to handle this important matter alone. However, his political connections with the fervently pro-expansionist "Young America" faction of the Democratic Party made it awkward to remove him. Initially, Marcy considered sending a two-person commission to assist Soulé, but this fell through when Congress failed to appropriate sufficient funds. Finally, Marcy decided to have Soulé confer somewhere in Europe with his colleagues Mason and James Buchanan, the future American president then serving as minister in London.

Mason was appalled at the prospect. He did not consider himself qualified to pronounce on Spanish affairs and saw no useful purpose in the meeting. Buchanan also thought it pointless, since although he strongly favored the acquisition of Cuba, he

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believed its purchase could be arranged through pressure on Spain by European holders of Spanish bonds. Despite their misgivings, both men agreed they had no choice but to comply with Marcy's instructions. And so, with Soulé, they finally decided to meet at Ostend in Belgium. By happenstance, several American diplomats had arrived in Paris during September, arousing press and diplomatic speculation that a secret meeting was afoot about Cuba. With this din of publicity in the background, the three ministers met on Oct. 9, but after a few days moved to Aix-la-Chapelle in Prussia, probably to escape the press.

Within a week they had completed their confidential despatch to Marcy, a document that came to be known as the "Ostend Manifesto." Historians disagree as to whether Soulé or Buchanan played the dominant role in drafting it, but it's fairly certain Mason had little to do with its composition.

Although, as a Southerner, he favored the acquisition of Cuba, he very likely joined with Buchanan in insisting on moderating some of the language preferred by the militant Soulé.

In essence, the joint despatch proposed first, that negotiations for the purchase of Cuba begin immediately and second, that if these failed and if Cuba "in the possession of Spain, seriously endanger our internal peace and the existence of our cherished Union," then "by every law, human and divine, we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain if we possess the power."

The three ministers signed the document on Oct. 18, 1854; Consul Duncan McRae from the Paris legation delivered it to Marcy on Nov. 4. Unbeknownst to Mason and Buchanan, Soulé had hastily written a covering letter to Marcy on Oct. 20, which he gave to McRae just before the latter left for New York. In it Soulé suggested that the joint despatch

might not have been "sufficiently explicit" in its language, but that he believed there could be no doubt in Washington as to its "true meaning."

He wanted to seize Cuba under any pretext.

Then, giving an aggressive interpretation to the joint despatch, he urged the desirability of seizing Cuba by force "now" while France and Britain were engaged in the Crimean War with Russia, if Spain refused to sell.

The president and cabinet discussed the joint despatch, and presumably Soulé's letter, for several days; there is no written record of what was said. By this time the whole "Ostend" affair had become a political embarrassment for the administration. On Nov. 13, Marcy replied to the recommendations of the three ministers in a despatch addressed to Soulé, with copies to Buchanan and Mason. In it, he agreed that, while it

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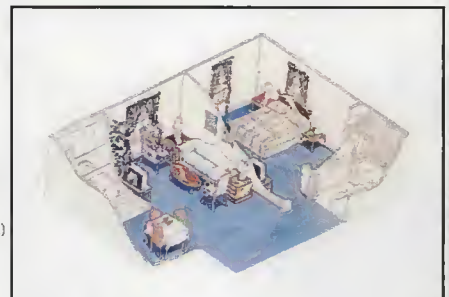
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would be highly desirable to buy Cuba, the administration should not press the issue if the Spanish were strongly opposed to selling the island. It is clear from what he wrote that he was replying to both the joint despatch and to Soulé's covering letter, although he did not mention the latter. A failure to buy Cuba, Marcy continued, would not, "without a material change in the condition of the island, involve imminent peril to the existence of our government."

On receipt of this despatch, Soulé was stunned, scarcely able to credit what he considered his repudiation by Marcy, and within a few days he submitted his resignation. For their part, both Mason and Buchanan were mystified by Marcy's disavowal of cession or seizure, a proposition that had not been made in the joint despatch, in which "wresting" Cuba from Spain was recommended only under a specific set of extreme circumstances.

On Dec. 23, Mason learned for the first time of Soulé's covering letter to Marcy and its contents. Furiously indignant, he now understood the reason for the heretofore inexplicable passages in Marcy's reply to the joint despatch. Three days later he suffered a crippling stroke that incapacitated him for nearly three months.

Meanwhile, the American press — in particular, *The New York Herald*, owned by James Gordon Bennett, no friend of the Pierce administration — kept the "Ostend Manifesto," as journalists delighted in calling it, in the public eye. In January 1855 the *Herald* called for publication of official correspondence concerning the affair. Finally, in response to a House of Representatives resolution, the president released to Congress an edited set of documents concerning the *Black Warrior* affair, relations with Spain, and the conference of the three ministers. Among them was Marcy's instruc-

tion to Soulé of April 3, 1854. But excised from this document was the now acutely embarrassing passage that instructed Soulé, if Spain would not sell Cuba to the United States, to "direct your efforts to the next most desirable object, which is to detach that island from the Spanish dominion." In May 1855, the United States and Spain reached an amicable settlement of the *Black Warrior* affair, and the furor died a natural death. Cuba remained the property of Spain until gaining its independence in 1898.

Mason served as minister to France for nearly five more years, but none matched the pace and drama of 1854, his first year in Paris. The Crimean War ended in 1856 and that same year, his London colleague, James Buchanan, was elected president. Early in 1857 Buchanan renewed Mason's appointment as minister to France. Mason died of a second stroke in Paris on Oct. 3, 1859. ■

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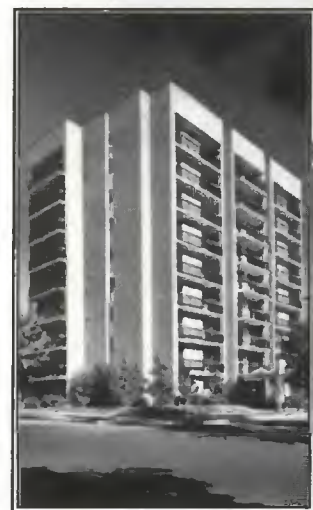
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# MY OVERSEAS EDUCATION

BY SUZANNE GUADAGNO PRZYGODA

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In my opinion, the answer for my family and me: Get an international education.

I was educated in five countries during 11 of my most impressionable years, from age 7 to 18, and each school provided an enriching and unique experience. My father recently retired from a 25-year Foreign Service career, largely in the consular sections of U.S. embassies in Europe, Latin America and Southeast Asia. I attended interna-

tional schools in Venezuela, where we were from 1965-1970; in Peru from 1970-1973; in the Philippines from 1973-1976; in Colombia from 1976-1979 and in Italy from 1984-1988. My three younger brothers and I are bilingual in Spanish and English. I added fluency in Italian, French and Portuguese.

My earliest memories of school abroad were of studying at Colegio Campo Alegre in Caracas, the bicultural school of choice in the U.S. community in the mid-60s. It was there I studied Venezuela's precolonial history and rich literary tradition. I also learned about the country's unsurpassed variety of flora and fauna, and was introduced to my first game of football — soccer, that is.

Mrs. Pena wove the music, folklore and cultural history of Venezuela into our daily Spanish classes. Mr. Henson's stimulating world history class provided country-specific details that enriched my family's visits to Venezuela's beautiful beaches, mountains and plains.

I was midway through 7th grade when my father told us we had to leave because he was being transferred to Peru. It was the first of the many difficult lessons of life, but I learned early to make a choice: Leaving a country could either be a horrible battle or a joyful adventure, one that I could embrace with a sense of discovery. I chose the latter, deciding that there was something called friendship and something called communications that could

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transcend time and distance. And there was always hope, hope that I would see my friends, somewhere, somehow, again. To this day, I still am in contact with my best friend since third grade, who splits her time between Manhattan and Caracas.

In Peru, I learned about anthropology first hand, by visits to the seat of the Inca empire, Macchu Picchu, and other archeological sites. I'm still intrigued as to what would have happened had this advanced civilization continued its development without Spanish intervention in the 16th century. Mrs. Quick, our unforgettable, enthusiastic hands-on biology teacher, made the Peruvian coastline our living marine biology lab. Mr. Snyder's lively anecdotes made U.S. history come alive, even though we were thousands of miles away from our native land. Mrs. Monroy taught us how to discover the inspiration behind an author's work, and

how his art expressed his life experience.

When we moved halfway around the world, in the middle of my junior year in high school, to the Philippines, it was even more difficult to leave behind friends, other student government leaders and my varsity cheerleading squad. I remember feeling like it was the worst timing ever. But move we must, and move we did.

At the International School in Manila, we really learned about current world events, often before they appeared in the press. My classmates were the sons and daughters of many of the officials and diplomats mentioned in the newspapers. IS's language department offered nearly a dozen languages, International Day celebrations second only to the U.N. festival itself, and unique physical education classes that featured Filipino, Hawaiian and Tahitian folk dances. Being educated in

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*Continued on page 49*



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the Philippines redefined the meaning of "creative" for me. Mrs. Butler's musical theater and Mrs. Rigala's choral and acapella groups were the foundation for many of my classmates' careers in music and theater. And once again, when it was time to leave, it was not easy to say goodbye.

In Colombia, my brothers attended Colegio Nueva Granada in Bogota, while I studied political science, history and literature at the nearby Centro de Estudios Universitarios Colombo-Americano. It was incredible to hear from a survivor about the bogotazo period in 1945, one of the single largest spontaneous uprisings in Latin American history in which hundreds of people died. Our professor would often take us for walks past the buildings that had been scarred by the unrest, the cause of which historians are still debating.

After the semester, I returned to the United States to continue my education in a place where I could learn first-hand what it means to be an American. Aptly, perhaps, I chose the historic college of Mary Washington College, the centuries-old university in Fredericksburg, Va., that is named for George Washington's mother.

The following summer, I studied at the Universita Per Stranieri in Perugia, Italy, where I had the unparalleled experience of interacting with a community of students, whose common-denominator language was Italian — not English. They came from every corner of the globe: Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, Eastern Europe and Asia. During those three months, I learned as much about the cultures and current events of my classmates' home countries as I did about Italy itself. I then returned to Mary Washington to continue my studies, receiving my B.A. in international affairs in May 1979.

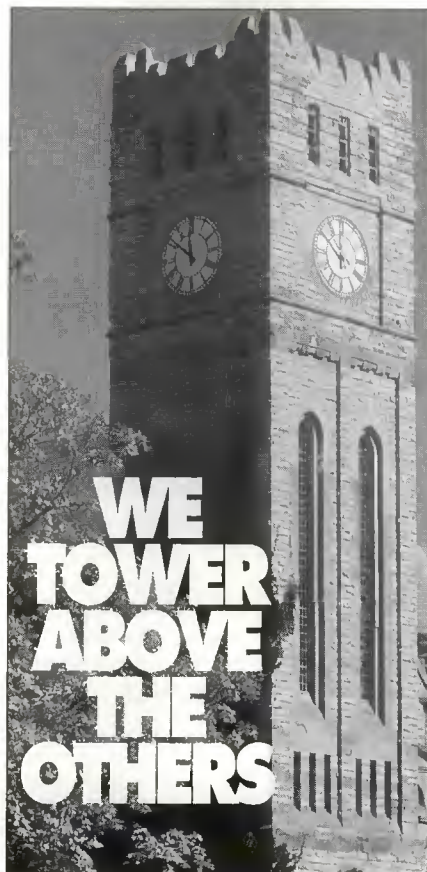
Knowing that I wanted a career

# SCHOOLS

in international affairs, I applied to Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, where I graduated in 1982 with a master's degree, with a specialization in Latin American studies and economic and social development.

In retrospect, I am grateful for the opportunity to have been educated in various schools and universities abroad. This rich, diverse education prepared me for a career in an information-intensive economy and a global workplace with shrinking barriers of time, distance and language. If I had a choice, which I did not, I would have chosen no other kind of education. I became a global citizen. ■

*Suzanne Guadagno Przygoda, corporate marketing communications manager for Information Management Consultants, Inc., in McLean, Va., is a Foreign Service daughter. She accompanied her mother and FSO father, Gloria E. and Peter D. Guadagno, to postings in Caracas, Lima, Manila, Bogota, Rome and Washington, D.C.*



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Continued from page 46

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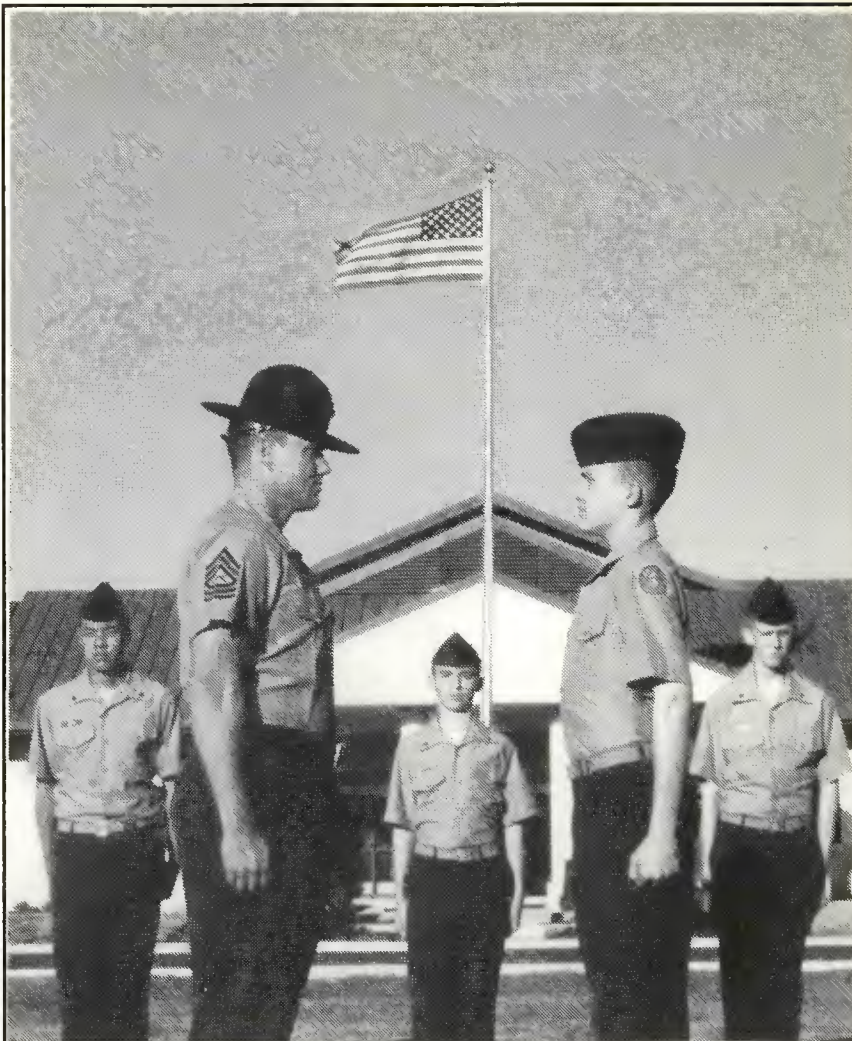
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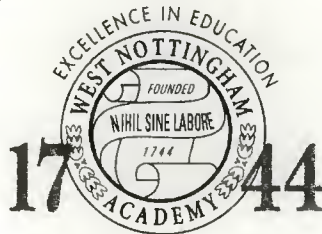
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## What did Albert Einstein, Thomas Edison and Walt Disney have in common?

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- B. Each was able to think in a different way to find solutions to problems
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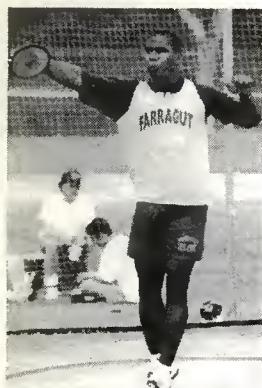
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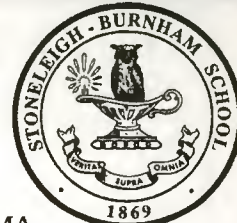
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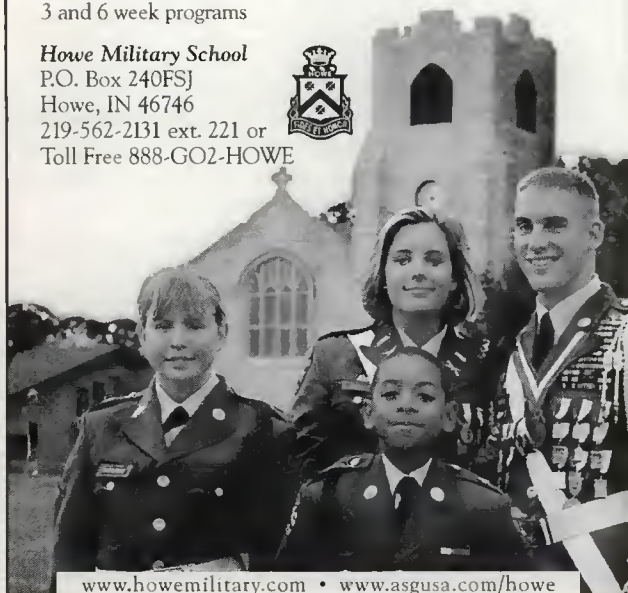
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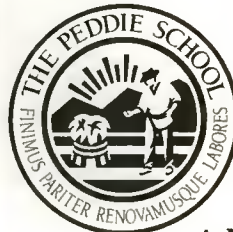
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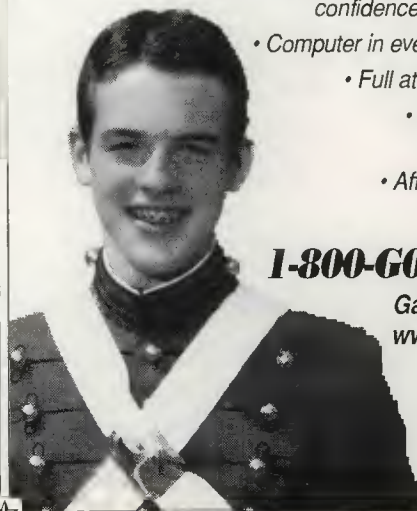
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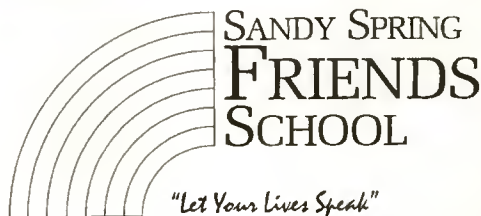


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## BOOKS

### PICKING IDEALISM OVER CAPITALISM

#### **Waiting For The Snow: The Peace Corps Papers of a Charter Volunteer**

*Thomas J. Scanlon, Posterity Press,  
1997, softcover, \$14.95, 253 pages.*

BY NATHANIEL DAVIS

The title of the book comes from a story recounted by President John F. Kennedy in a 1962 speech that mentions a Peace Corps volunteer in Chile, Tom Scanlon, who worked 40 miles from a communist-led Indian village in the mountains. When Scanlon had visited the village, according to Kennedy, the chief told him, "In a few weeks the snow will come. Then you will have to ... come through five feet of snow on foot. The Communists are willing to do that. Are you?" When Rev. Theodore Hesburgh saw Scanlon shortly thereafter and asked him what he was doing, the volunteer said: "I am waiting for the snow." Some 17 months later, Scanlon was one of two former volunteers chosen to represent the Peace Corps at Kennedy's funeral.

A dedicated Christian and an incurable idealist, Scanlon was changed for a lifetime by his Peace Corps experience. After majoring in philosophy at college, he did the Peace Corps stint and began a career of public service, first working for Sargent Shriver in the War on Poverty and later for the

Alliance for Progress. Shriver contributed a moving foreword to Scanlon's book, as did Rev. Hesburgh.

Later, he formed a consulting firm that worked on Indian reservation projects with VISTA, trained Peace Corps volunteers and promoted Latin American women's civic involvement in their communities. He became the youngest director, and later chairman, of the Public Welfare Foundation that has supported, for example, the work of Mother Teresa.

In describing his Peace Corps experience working on community development projects, he is frank in describing the hazards and frustrations of making real progress. His "lessons learned" are useful to those interested in development work.

Scanlon captures a signal moment in America's history: With Camelot in the White House, Americans had a marvelous faith in their ability to change the world. With their poignant innocence and promise, Peace Corps volunteers embody those highest aspirations to make a difference in the world.

Though the book begins somewhat slow, readers should be persistent enough not to fall away.

---

*Nathaniel Davis, a retired FSO, is a professor of humanities at Harvey Mudd College in Claremont, Calif. He was Peace Corps director in Chile in 1962 and U.S. ambassador to both Chile and Guatemala. In his 36-year career, he also served as director-general of the Foreign Service.*

### FOREIGN POLICY AND POPULATION

#### **Juggernaut: Growth on a Finite Planet**

*Lindsey Grant, Seven Locks Press,  
1996, hardcover, \$24.95, 286 pages.*

BY JOHN HAAGA

This book is a powerful and clearly written reminder that population growth is still a problem and deserves a place high on the foreign policy agenda, a valuable service since many who once promoted this view – the international family planning movement and the environmentalists – have moved on to other issues.

Grant's theme is consistent: "Show me one of those problems that would not be more tractable if population growth were to slow, stop and, better yet, turn around." He draws connections that are often simple but neglected as, for example, pointing out how providing universal health care would be easier in a stable population. Unfortunately, this interest in multiple interconnections gives Grant license to bring up all the world's troubles. One gets the sensation of being marched through the clipping file of an industrious and agitated reader. The cameo appearances of endless subjects can be numbing.

The book deals substantially with resource and environmental issues, the "finite planet" of the title.



By definition there are no markets for resources that are nonappropriable — clean air, groundwater and ozone layer protection, for example. To address problems, we can only work through the public sector and often internationally. Stupid policies and subsidies worsen the problems. Rapid population growth forces the pace.

Grant briefly notes that population growth has slowed since its peak in the late 1960s and is expected to stop in the next century. The tone of his book, though, is unremittingly bleak, which damages the author's credibility, particularly when he's talking about rich countries. Unemployment, illiteracy and housing were all worse, not better, in the United States when the population was much smaller.

By the time we reach the last chapter, "A Somber Optimism," we are ready for the good news. The accent, though, is on "somber." While Grant believes the juggernaut can be turned, it is a monumental task that requires self-denial in the rich countries and emergency effort in the poor ones "more drastic and painful than the Chinese effort and that seems unlikely as a matter of political will and organization."

A little more confidence is in order and could help mobilize political will for actions to slow population growth. Four truly important things have happened during the second half of the 20th century: Mortality rates have fallen rapidly everywhere for children, and everywhere except the former Soviet Union for adults. Fertility rates have fallen everywhere except in parts of Africa, in many places reaching replacement levels in less than two decades. Food production has more than kept pace with population growth. The Cold War has ended and democracy has no competition among political ideas.

Every solution is another problem, to be sure, and none of these stories is near finished. But each of these global

accomplishments depended on key aspects on American technology. Each depended on American willingness to spread the technology around — selling it whenever possible, but often giving it away. Too much "somber optimism" will negate America's distinctive contribution to problem solving.

*John Haaga, who has worked in Bangladesh, Malaysia and Kenya, is staff director for the Committee on Population of the National Academy of Sciences and the National Research Council.*

## GOD AND AMERICA, CURBING COMMUNISM

**His Holiness: John Paul II and the Hidden History of Our Time**  
*Carl Bernstein and Marco Politi,*  
*Doubleday, 1996, hardcover,*  
*\$27.50, 582 pages.*

BY PETER BRIDGES

Two famous journalists have written a fascinating account of how a strong-willed Polish priest became pope and attacked communism in close coordination with President Ronald Reagan. *The Washington Post's* Carl Bernstein and Italian journalist Marco Politi call their well-written book a history, but it is far from deserving of that term, although it does include first-hand accounts by advisers to John Paul II and Reagan, as well as internal Soviet documents and, notably, an interview with Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, who put Poland under martial law in December 1981.

But the authors' reliance on Reagan administration sources has produced a kind of apologia for the president that he does not entirely deserve. Thus, for example, the book

describes a White House meeting soon after Reagan's inauguration, in which officials discuss whether to impose sanctions against the Polish regime if it moves to suppress Solidarity. However, what is not mentioned is that six months before the regime turned repressive, Reagan cut off Poland's large, longstanding U.S. program of agricultural credits on grounds that he could not justify aid to a communist government. What also goes unobserved is that this was a regime that allowed Solidarity to grow into a mighty political force, and that Reagan continued to aid the Soviet Union by permitting large American grain sales to Moscow. State Department officers warned at the time that the cutoff of credits to Poland, while not of fundamental importance to the Polish economy, would be seen by Poland's leadership that it had little to gain from the Americans and, if repressive measures were taken, little to lose.

The book focuses on the pope but also extensively recounts Reagan administration actions, including the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Holy See. It mentions only briefly William Wilson, Reagan's financial adviser who became the president's personal envoy to the Vatican and, later, the first full American ambassador there. Yet it was Wilson who pushed for the establishment of full relations, despite strong signals from American church leaders who feared they would be more closely controlled by the Roman Curia. Wilson's reasons, it seems clear, were personal; he wanted the trappings and prestige of a real embassy, having lost out on becoming ambassador to Mexico. ■

*Peter Bridges, a retired FSO, was the deputy chief of mission at U.S. Embassy Rome from 1981-1984.*



## IN MEMORY

**Martin Ackerman**, 90, a retired FSO who spent most of his career overseas with the U.S. Information Agency, died Jan. 24 in Paris.

Born in New York City, Mr. Ackerman was a graduate of Columbia University, and earned graduate degrees from Middlebury College, St. John's University, the University of Paris and Columbia University. In 1944 he joined the Office of War Information and after World War II, he served with the U.S. Military Government and the U.S. High Commission for Germany. Mr. Ackerman joined USIA at its inception, serving in Nuremberg until 1954. He was posted in Hanoi, Phnom Penh, Tehran, Leopoldville, Rio de Janeiro and Washington, D.C.

Mr. Ackerman is survived by his wife of 50 years, Reine van Dyk Ackerman.



**Edwin (Ted) F. Atkins**, 67, died Jan. 31 at his home in Ponte Vedra Beach, Fla.

After graduation from Harvard College, Mr. Atkins joined the Foreign Service. He served in Egypt, Iraq, Sudan, Italy and France, before retiring in 1951.

Survivors include his wife, Elaine P. Atkins, of Ponte Vedra, Fla.; three sons, Edwin F. Atkins Jr., Robert C. Atkins and William J. Atkins; a daughter, Katherine Atkins Banand; and nine grandchildren.

**Eugenie Anderson**, 87, the country's first female ambassador, died March 31 in Red Wing, Minn.

Ms. Anderson was an organizer of Minnesota's Democratic Farmer Labor Party and was named ambassador to Denmark by President Harry S. Truman, serving in Copenhagen from 1949 to 1953. Ms. Anderson became the first woman to serve as chief of mission to an Eastern European country when President John F. Kennedy appointed her ambassador to Bulgaria in 1962. She also served as the special assistant to Secretary of State Dean Rusk and in 1975 became the U.S. representative to the United Nations Trusteeship Council.



**Richard P. Butrick**, 102, a retired FSO, died of cardiac arrest April 13 at Sibley Memorial Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Butrick's Foreign Service career began in 1921 and included postings to Chile, Ecuador, Iceland and Canada. In the early years of World War II, he served in China.

Born in Lockport, N.Y., Mr. Butrick was a member of the first class to graduate from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service.

Survivors include his wife, Rachel Davics Butrick, of Washington; two children from his

first marriage, Ann Harris and Richard P. Butrick Jr., both of Athens, Ohio; eight grandchildren; and two great grandchildren.



**Stephen James Campbell**, 77, a retired FSO, died March 28 in Newport Beach, Calif.

A native of Pittsburgh, Pa., Mr. Campbell was educated at Pennsylvania State College and was an AP reporter when World War II began. As an Army Air Corps pilot, he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Air Medal and Four Oak Leaf Clusters. From 1945 to 1948, he served as military air attaché in Paris. He then served with the Economic Cooperation Administration and the USIA, being confirmed as a career FSO in 1954. His career included postings to France, Iran, Aden and Israel.

Following retirement, Mr. Campbell pursued a career in visual arts and exhibited his marble sculpture and wood carvings in galleries around the country. Survivors include two sons from his first marriage, Sean Campbell of Corona del Mar, Calif., and Patrick Campbell of San Diego, Calif.



**Richard Marshall Cashin**, 72, died Feb. 13 from complications of pulmonary fibrosis.

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A native of Boston, Mass., Mr. Cashin was a graduate of Harvard College and Boston University. A World War II army veteran, he began his Foreign Service career at the State Department and later moved to USAID, serving in Libya, Ethiopia, Ghana, Indonesia and Pakistan.

Survivors include his wife of 46 years, Mary Walsh Cashin; four children, Anne Goldenheim of Wilton, Conn., Richard M. Cashin Jr. of New York City, Jane Demers of North Andover, Mass., and Stephen Cashin of Washington, D.C.; and 12 grandchildren.

Seymour H. Glazer, 77, a retired FSO, died at his home in Vienna, Va., after a stroke.

Mr. Glazer studied at the Julliard School in his native New York and received a B.A. in journalism from Louisiana State University. He served with the U.S. Navy in the Pacific during World War II and was a reporter for *Newsweek*. After joining the State Department in 1948, he served in Vietnam, Cambodia, the Philippines and Portugal. In 1957 Mr. Glazer resigned from the Foreign Service and served as adviser to the U.S. Air Force in Casablanca and Rabat.

Reentering the State Department in 1967, Mr. Glazer served in Zaire and Washington and retired in 1973.

Survivors include his wife of 40 years, Ann Shoemaker Glazer; a son, Jonathan Glazer, of Centreville, Va.; and three grandchildren.

Albert E. Hemsing, 76, a retired FSO, died of a heart attack March 18 at his home in Brewster, Mass.

Born in Germany, Mr. Hemsing received his bachelor's degree at the City College of New York and his master's at New York University. He served with USIA in Berlin,

Bonn and India. Mr. Hemsing made films for the Marshall Plan and was nominated for an Academy Award for his 1981 documentary, "The Yellow Star."

Ruth-Ercile L. Hodges, 24, an FSO, was killed March 21 in an auto accident near Washington, D.C.

A magna cum laude graduate of Spelman College, Ms. Hodges received her master's degree in international affairs from The George Washington University. Ms. Hodges interned in West Africa under former U.S. ambassador to Benin, Ruth A. Davis. In September, she was assigned to the Dominican Republic.

Survivors include her parents, Vigil H. and Verna Hodges of Colonie, N.Y.; a brother, Vigil A.T., also of Colonie; two uncles, David J. of Brooklyn and George McNeil of Charleston, S.C.; and an aunt, Julia McNeil, also of Charleston.

U. Alexis Johnson, 88, a retired FSO and three-time ambassador, died of pneumonia March 24 in Raleigh, N.C.

Mr. Johnson was ambassador to Japan, Czechoslovakia and Thailand. He held the posts of deputy under secretary and under secretary of State for political affairs and ambassador at large.

The grandson of Swedish immigrants and a native of Kansas, Mr. Johnson graduated from Occidental College and in 1931 entered the Georgetown School of Foreign Service. Joining the State Department in 1935, he rose to prominence, becoming well-known for his patience and diplomacy. He was instrumental in the peaceful resolution of several international incidents during his 42-year career in the Foreign Service. He retired in 1977.

Mr. Johnson was the husband of the late Patricia Ann Tillman and the late Dorothy Fee Johnson. Survivors include four children from his first marriage, Judith Ann Zerbe of Cary, N.C., Stephen Tillman Johnson of Arlington, Va., William T.K. Johnson of La Canada, Calif., and Jennifer Bishop of Santa Monica, Calif.; a sister, Rella Warner, of Washington, D.C.; six grandchildren; and three great-grandchildren.



**Alan Logan**, 71, a retired FSO, died on April 24 in Yale New Haven Hospital.

Born in Nantes, France, Mr. Logan was raised in Arizona and California. He received a master's degree in economics from Stanford University and served in the U.S. Navy from 1944 to 1946.

Mr. Logan joined the Foreign Operations Administration in 1951 and the State Department in 1957. His 31-year diplomatic career included assignments to Taiwan, Turkey, Lebanon, the Soviet Union, Guinea, Zambia, Nigeria, Tunisia, Belgium and South Africa, where he was consul general. He retired in 1982, but was recalled to serve as chargé d'affaires in The Gambia from 1983 to 1984.

Survivors include his wife, Nicole, of Essex; four children, Philip of New York, Sylvia of Williamstown, Mass., and Diane and Karen, both of Paris, France; five brothers; and seven grandchildren.



**Howard Perry Mace**, 80, a retired FSO, died of cancer Dec. 8 at his home in Homosassa, Fla.

Mr. Mace was born in Chillicothe, Ohio, and graduated from The George Washington University. He worked for the Farm Credit Administration, the War

Production Board and the Civilian Production Administration before serving in the Pacific as a U.S. Navy officer during World War II. During his 40-year career with State, Mr. Mace served as deputy assistant secretary for Personnel, deputy director of the Foreign Service and acting director-general. His overseas posts included Germany, Japan and Turkey.

Mr. Mace was preceded in death by his wife, Dorothy C. Mace. Survivors include two sons, Perry W. Mace of Hendersonville, N.C., and Stanley A. Mace of Dallas, Tex.; one brother, John Mace, of Chillicothe, Ohio; five grandchildren; and three great-grandchildren.



**Edward Thomas Purcell**, 86, a retired FSO, died April 24 of congestive heart failure at Suburban Hospital in Bethesda, Md.

A native of Rochester, N.Y., Mr. Purcell joined the Foreign Service after serving as an operations officer in the U.S. Navy in World War II. He was posted in Argentina, where he was the director of the Binational Cultural Center. He was also the coordinator of the Fulbright Program in Latin America. Mr. Purcell retired from USIA in 1973.

Survivors include his wife of 50 years, Margaret Garvey Purcell; 10 children, Edward Thomas Purcell of Santa Monica, Calif., Thomas Raphael Purcell of Tampa, Fla., John Paul Purcell and Elizabeth Joan Purcell both of Bethesda, Md., Helen Purcell Montag of San Diego, Calif., Anne Purcell Anderson of Aspen, Colo., Margaret Purcell McCracken of San Francisco, Calif., Mary Purcell Boyer of Wilmington, Del., Martha Purcell Veldkamp of Denver, Colo., and Catherine Purcell of Boston, Mass; a sister; and nine grandchildren.



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**Amelie Johanna Sophie Otken Riddleberger**, 91, widow of the late Ambassador James W. Riddleberger, died on April 6 in Woodstock, Va.

Born to Dutch parents and raised in the Dutch East Indies, Mrs. Riddleberger graduated from the University of Lausanne and worked for the American consulate in Geneva until her marriage to Mr. Riddleberger in 1931.

She accompanied her husband to Berlin, Paris, Washington, and to his ambassadorial postings in Belgrade, Athens and Vienna. Ambassador Riddleberger died in 1982.

Survivors include two sons, Christopher of Far Hills, N.J., and Peter of Washington, D.C.; a daughter, Antonia Stearns, of Framingham, Mass; nine grandchildren; four great-grandchildren; and a sister, Ulysse Vauthier, of Geneva, Switzerland.

**Lee Thomson Stull**, 73, a retired FSO, died of cancer on April 20 in Paoli, Pa.

Mr. Stull was born at St. David's, Pa., and served as a flight officer and glider pilot during World War II. He took part in the Normandy invasion, was awarded the Air Medal and the Purple Heart, and was a POW at the Stalag Luft III camp. He graduated magna cum laude from Princeton University in 1948.

As an FSO, Mr. Stull served in Germany, the Dominican Republic, Poland, Pakistan and India. He was a foreign policy adviser to Vice President Lyndon Johnson and a member of the Policy Planning Council. In 1973, Mr. Stull received the director general's award for reporting and, concurrently, appeared as the only FSO on President Richard Nixon's so-called "enemies list." Mr. Stull held the post of director for U.N. political affairs, deputy assistant secretary for educational and cultural affairs and

chargé d'affaires in the Philippines. He retired in 1979.

Survivors include his wife, Elizabeth Brooks Stull, of Paoli; three children, Owen of Manila, Suzanna of Delray, Fla., and Paul of Atlanta; and one grandchild.

**Eric Zallman**, 54, USAID's mission director to Peru, died of a heart attack in Lima on April 26.

Born in Philadelphia, Mr. Zallman graduated from Antioch College and received a master's degree from the University of Pittsburgh. He did graduate work in economics at the University of Maryland. Mr. Zallman served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Honduras. His USAID posts included Panama, Nicaragua, Honduras and Kenya.

Survivors include his wife of 25 years, Marcia Bernbaum; two daughters, Shana and Leah; his mother, Sarah Zallman; and a sister, Carol Cherry.

**Philip B. Taylor**, 53, a retired FSO who held the personal rank of ambassador, died of lung cancer at Sibley Memorial Hospital in Washington, D.C. on March 4.

A native of Berkeley, Calif., Mr. Taylor earned a B.A. at Williams College. Mr. Taylor joined the Foreign Service in 1972 and was assigned to Medellin, Colombia. He also served in Rome, Sao Paulo, Brazil, and twice in Guatemala City, where he was deputy chief of mission during his last tour. In addition to serving as special assistant to the U.S. ambassador to the Organization of American States, he was accorded ambassadorial rank as delegate to the Inter-American Council for Educational, Science and Culture and the Inter-American Economic and Social Council. He leaves his wife, Anna Maria, of Washington; his parents and two sisters. ■



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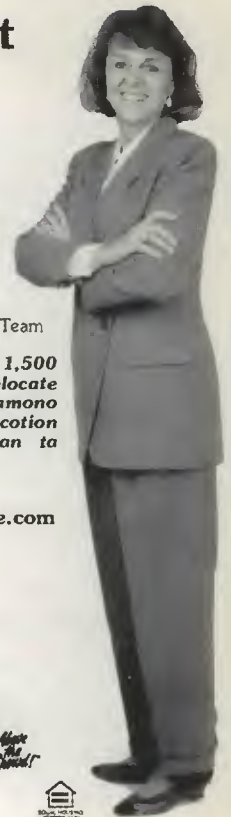
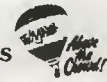
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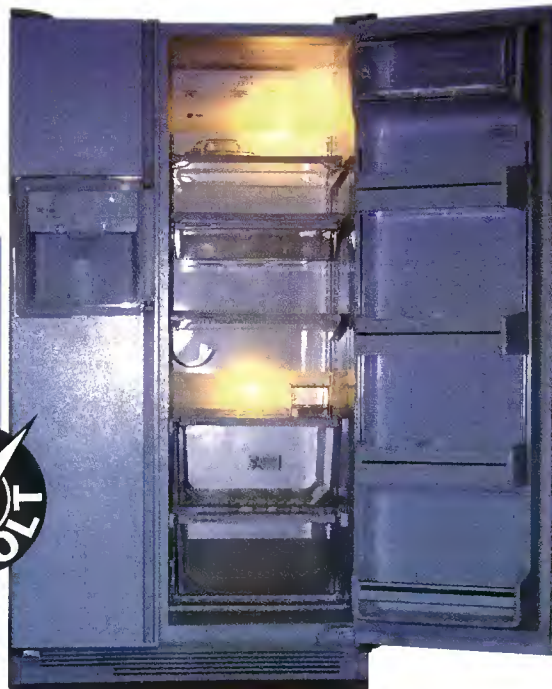
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# POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

## *In Cuba, Remembering Old Glory*

BY PATRICIA LINDERMAN

We are raising two American boys, aged 4 and 1, in an air-conditioned, Spanish-style house topped by a satellite dish and surrounded by a mesh-metal fence. The boys can't yet read the denunciations about the United States in *Granma*, the local Communist newspaper. All they see are outpourings of unprejudiced affection from Cubans. And lately, the U.S. flag — an unheard-of heresy just a few years ago — has been appearing on T-shirts and caps on Cubans walking the streets of Havana. "Hey, Mom, that's our flag!" shouts my 4-year-old. He feels welcome here, at home.

We have created everyday lives within the strange, marginal zone we occupy as capitalist diplomats in this struggling land, and never is that clearer than when we celebrate the Fourth of July. That day, the 24 children in our community of 33 American households sing of amber waves of grain, light sparklers and shoot off toy cannons on the dark lawn of the flagless U.S. residence. There is no flag flying over the U.S. Interests Section or the ambassador's residence, because the buildings are technically part of the Swiss embassy.

---

*Patricia Linderman is the spouse of Philip Linderman, a consular officer at the U.S. Interests Section in Havana. Linderman has also served in Santiago and Port of Spain. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."*

*"Hey, Mom, that's  
our flag!" shouts  
my 4-year-old.  
He feels welcome  
here, at home.*

Facing the Interests Section, a billboard features a machine gun-toting Cuban defying a growling Uncle Sam standing on a partial map of the United States, across the water from an outline of Cuba. The Cuban is saying, "Go ahead and growl, you imperialists, we're not afraid of you!" On the two Cuban-government television channels, the nightly news features endless denunciations of the "Helms-Burton" law, which punishes third-country businesspeople who "traffic" with the Cubans.

Ordinary Cubans do not complain to us about the U.S. embargo, referred to here as "el bloqueo," the blockade, although Canadian tourists often do. As a local doctor once told me, "There is no anti-American here except the government."

A new billboard has recently sprung up near the Diplosupermercado, that rather dismal dollar-only grocery store where Havana's foreigners forage for

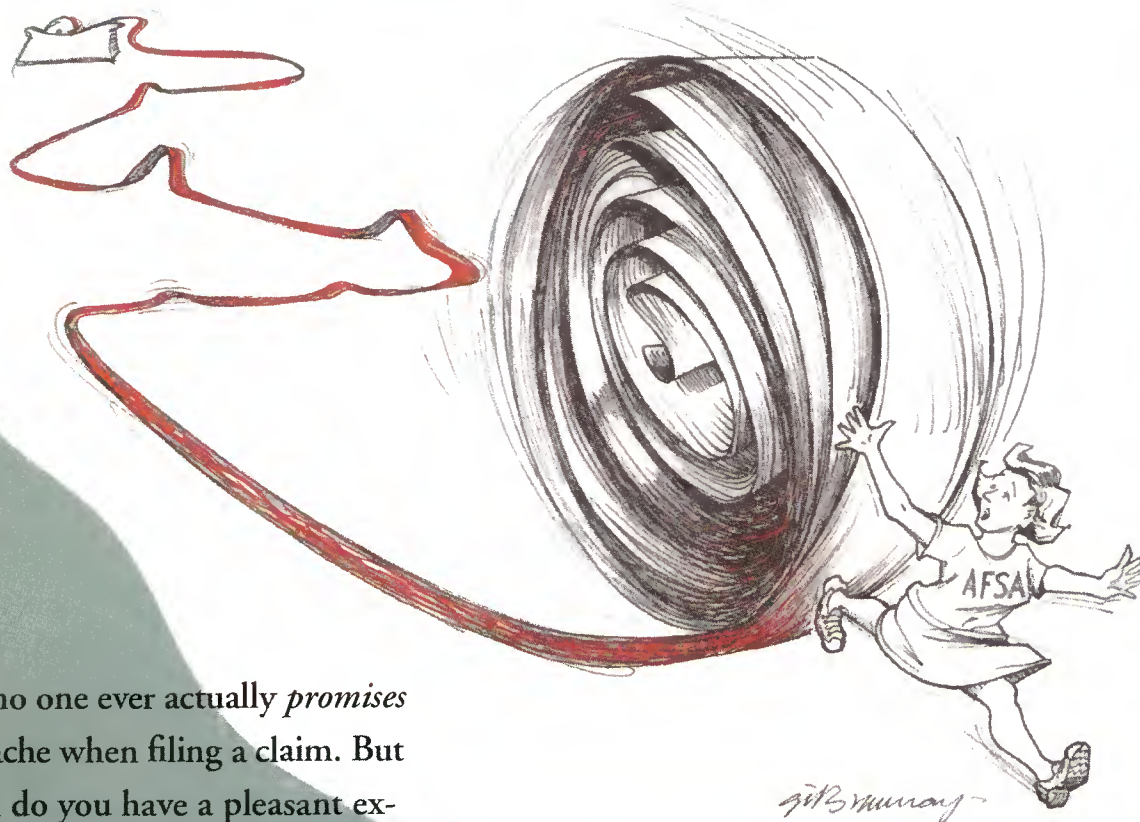
scarce imported supplies. The sign depicts a huge green lizard standing on its hind legs, an Uncle Sam hat atop its head and a bandage on its tail. A stylized globe with arms and legs is shaking its finger at the lizard and saying "No!" We know that this is a reference to the Helms-Burton Act because similar cartoons have appeared in many newspapers' criticism of the law.

Even the Yankee dollar, the arch-symbol of capitalism, is welcomed without irony here. Since its 1992 legalization, the U.S. dollar has gradually become the currency of choice. Although the Cuban government issues colorful "convertible pesos" equalling a dollar each and tourist coins with palm-tree logos, the greenback still predominates.

And enemies or not, as dollar-holding foreigners in today's Cuba, we are automatically part of a privileged elite. We can afford to patronize the increasing number of hard-currency beach resorts, stores and restaurants, which in their quest for tourist dollars are beginning to flirt openly with the consumer, as the country attempts an abrupt lurch from Brezhnev to Benetton.

Cuba has aimed for paradise and achieved, finally, paradox. For us, the unrelenting propaganda and petty inconveniences are balanced by the fierce beauty of the luminous sea, palm trees silhouetted against summer storms, and, most of all, by the genuine warmth of the Cubans. When we leave, I will miss this island that hates and loves Americans with such fervor. ■

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a right, advantage, favor,  
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