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# AFSA Views

## *FSI's Challenge for the Nineties Reversing the Decline in Training*

In contrast to other countries' diplomatic services, with specific and detailed training requirements for entry, the American Foreign Service has traded on diversity. In addition to encouraging an ethnic and geographic spread, entrance procedures to date have tolerated a broad range of skills and background knowledge.

It follows that the Foreign Service needs to provide a substantial amount of specialized training to prepare new personnel for their jobs. That's one reason for the Foreign Service Institute. The other reason for spending government money is for retraining. Consider just a few retraining requirements:

- Learning new languages
- Responding to new or expanded mandates from the White House or Congress in functional fields, such as refugee programs, narcotics, human rights, arms control, energy, and the environment
- Keeping abreast of technical change in handling information, communications, collecting intelligence, personal security, and so on
- Strengthening economic skills. The commercial function deserves special emphasis in today's era of persistent trade deficits. FSI has already instituted a new export-promotion course for junior economic officers and expanded the respected one-semester economic course to nine months, in order to include more "applied" training. As our national security pre-occupations recede, AFSA's new "international associates" (mostly U.S. corporations) are urging that Foreign Service personnel be trained and retrained in trade promotion skills, to move this key function to the top of the list of our missions abroad.

Quite apart from these requirements, one might expect added impetus for training to come from Foreign Service students themselves, out of the same longing for intellectual refreshment that motivates professors to cherish their sabbaticals.

Why, then, the findings of the Government Accounting Office, in its report to the Senate last summer, that total Foreign Service training hours declined 20 percent in four prior years? While much of the decline was in language study at posts, there were 7 percent fewer hours spent in professional studies. The worst offenders were political officers, who on average spent less than one day in relevant study programs in 1987.

The GAO attributed declining participation in training courses to funding and logistics problems, operational pressures that kept staff on their jobs, and, most surprisingly, to "staff reluctance."

The nadir for language study may have passed. *The Washington Post* expressed hope in an editorial last year that partial implementation of the Stearns Report had helped overcome career disadvantages of learning hard languages; for example, by suspending time-in-class requirements during hard language courses. Management added a two-part financial incentive for hard languages, then sought to rescind one part for budgetary reasons. (When AFSA interceded, the rescission was enjoined, and an arbitral decision is awaited.) FSI Director Grove reported that hard language enrollment in the fall of 1989 had increased 35 percent over 1987, the last year of the GAO report. Still, only about two-thirds of all language-designated positions were filled by language-qualified officers as of last year.

Although we have no recent statistics, there is no reason to believe that the problem of "staff reluctance" has been solved for professional studies, particularly at the higher grades, because of what appear to be neutral, perhaps even negative rewards in career advancement. With all

*continued on page 62*



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Cover painting by Nicholas Roerich (courtesy Nicholas Roerich Museum, New York). Story on page 16.

# Letters

## Tax Guide Updates

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

AFSA's Foreign Service Tax Guide [JOURNAL, February 1990] was very helpful but should have been updated for current changes. The standard meal allowance is now \$26 or \$34 a day depending on domestic travel location; overseas it is 40 percent of the federal per diem rate as listed in the Federal Travel Directory, the Federal Registry. The standard mileage rate is now 25.5 cents per mile up to 15,000 miles.

Internal Revenue Service rules require you to keep receipts for charitable contributions, both cash and non-cash. If the non-cash contributions exceed \$500 you are required to include a form with your return.

Code section 1034 spells out no maximum on the profit from the sale of a principal residence that can be rolled over to a new principal residence, as long as the new principal residence costs as much as the sales price of the former residence or, of course, more.

An interesting point which was not addressed and which should be brought to the attention of any Foreign Service officer contemplating retirement before 55 and a half years of age is the 10 percent penalty tax on any nonperiodic distribution—I do not want to use the word “lump”—equal to the officer's contribution to his pension. The IRS considers such a distribution to be an early distribution and not eligible for lump sum distribution treatment. That subject really deserves an entire column in your excellent tax advice column.

Mary Jane Bridges  
Rome, Italy

*Note: Mrs. Bridges is a tax practitioner in Rome. AFSA appreciates her constructive comments correcting several inaccuracies in the 1989 tax guide. Although we strive to present the most accurate and up-to-date information possible, the complicated and constantly changing*

*nature of the tax code leads to occasional oversights.*

## America and Japan

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

Thank you for the article by Kevin Kearns [“After FSX: A New Approach to U.S.-Japan Relations,” JOURNAL, December 1989]—an excellent and thoughtful piece, in the opinion of this member of the Chrysanthemum Club!

G. Edward Reynolds  
Chevy Chase, MD

To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:

I note that Kevin Kearns in the December JOURNAL has proposed Team B as still another answer to the Japan “problem.”

Team B was a 1976 CIA sponsored assessment of the Soviet threat by a bevy of critics of then national policy. The report was evidently apocalyptic in tone, as expected. Kearns seems to believe that its impact on policy was large.

For Kearns the parallel between policy toward the USSR in 1976 and toward Japan today is plain. In 1976 a “coalition” of scientists and government officials holding an unwarrantedly benign view of Soviet intentions controlled policy. Today an “alliance,” “unholy” no less, of Japan experts and free-traders, has imposed on a succession of administrations policies that have allowed an unprecedented transfer of American wealth to Japan via trade deficits, with a resultant decline in our power and influence in the world.

Have we really been transferring our wealth to Japan? From 1981 through 1989 we had a \$900 billion net flow of goods from abroad, with Japan accounting for about \$350 billion. That is, we received from Japan a third of a trillion dollars worth of consumption and investment goods, real, tangible wealth. For its part, Japan received claims to future returns. Thus far the exchange

of wealth has been heavily in our favor.

I am not playing with words. The inflow of real goods during the 1980s enabled us to have levels of investment, in tangible assets, higher than would otherwise have been achieved. In effect, we have borrowed, from Japan and other nations, to make up for a deficit of the savings required for investment at home. To serve the purpose, this borrowing had to take the form of a net transfer of real goods and services. We are not poorer but rather richer therefore.

What of Japan? Japanese institutions and individuals now hold very sizable stocks of assets, mainly financial but increasingly in plant and equipment and real estate, in the United States. These were acquired, of course, not out of eleemosynary concerns, but in the expectation of higher earnings than could be had in Japan or elsewhere. Some of the investments have suffered from market fluctuations but one supposes that the overall experience has been favorable. Nevertheless, all are subject to risks that are in largest part beyond Japanese control. And Japanese investors in land and buildings become in critical respects Americans. Laws, regulations, taxes, community customs, and market fluctuations affect them as they do citizens. Their U.S. assets are fixed in place and are a part of the national wealth—just as the relatively much greater American direct investments in Canada are an integral part of the Canadian economy. The “domination” that worries Mr. Kearns, if it exists, comes in a most highly qualified form.

None of this is to say that the course of events in the 1980s was optimal. For the richest country in the world to become its largest debtor was anomalous, not to say downright immoral. The carrying costs and eventual amortization of that debt must be in real goods and services paid to foreigners. As for Japan, it has obvious domestic needs to which more of

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## Letters

its savings might have been devoted, to its people's benefit. In both countries official policies might desirably have been different, with different and possibly more desirable outcomes. But it is silly to say or imply that a prospering, high employment United States has been gravely damaged by its borrowing spree. Or that Japan is about to inherit the world.

The Team B that Kearns envisages would surely give us a demonic view of Japanese capabilities and intentions. That view, however, is already in more than ample supply. Our interests, and the cause of reason, argue for a cooler, less sanguinary approach.

*Philip H. Trezise  
Bethesda, Maryland*

*Philip H. Trezise is a former assistant secretary for economic and business affairs and was U.S. ambassador to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The article by Kevin Kearns aroused considerable interest and controversy.*

### Lois Roth fund

*To the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL:*

On the fourth anniversary of the death of USIA officer and AFSA Board Secretary Lois W. Roth, the two funds established in her name report continued growth and achievement.

The USIA centered fund (capital roughly \$20,000) and the private endowment (capital roughly \$50,000) have built steadily. The fund has focused on South Africa, while the endowment has worked in Scandinavia, Iran, Italy, and this year France. This year the fund has established a major USIA award in Ms. Roth's name.

Again with retired FSO Herbert Kaiser's Medical Education for South African Blacks, the fund this year supported the training of two black South African nurses. In addition the fund has initiated the Lois Roth Award for Excellence in Informa-

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tional and Cultural Diplomacy, co-sponsored by the Women's Action Organization, which Ms. Roth chaired in her last years.

With the Fulbright Commission in Stockholm the endowment sent Ann Bostrom to Sweden to look comparatively at decision-making in two areas of public safety: indoor radon and motor vehicle regulation. With the American Scandinavian Foundation, Fac Korsmo was helped to work in Stockholm, Goteborg, and Uppsala on Swedish and U.S. policies towards their northernmost ethnic minorities.

In Italy, the endowment is supporting the purchase of U.S. books by the recipient of the annual Alberto Acquarone Scholarship, honoring one of the first Italian historians to turn his attention to the United States. Additionally the endowment made a grant-in-aid to the Rome Center for American Studies. Meanwhile, the Rome Center funds a summer scholarship in Ms Roth's name, enabling Italian graduate students to study in the United States.

This year France joined the program. The Prix Coindreau awards \$3,000 annually to the best translator of American fiction, honoring Princeton Professor Maurice Coindreau, the great French translator of Faulkner, Hemingway, Dos Passos, Steinbeck, and many other American writers. The endowment contributes \$500 to annual costs.

Contributions to both funds remain essential—without the growth they provide, the funds will be constrained to halve both programs to hedge against inflation. For the fund, checks may be made payable to the U.S. Information Agency, earmarked for the Roth Fund, and sent to USIA's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Room 849. For the endowment, donations may be sent to the Lois Roth Endowment, 1870 Wyoming Avenue NW, Washington D.C. 20009.

*Richard T. Arndt  
Washington D.C.*

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**FSJ, April 1980**

I would maintain that State Department prose is the best in the U.S. government with the possible exception of the Supreme Court, and it is better than most journalistic and academic writing today. . . . My worst worries, however, are the state of communication between our embassies and Washington. . . . What to do? Abolish airgrams? Bring back despatches? Put a quota on telegrams? Use large print again? Give required lessons in clear writing? I do not know. But I know sound thought requires sound prose, and I worry.

*"A Diplomat's Viewpoint," by Jack Perry*

**FSJ, April 1965**

It can now be revealed that a private firm of engineering consultants . . . has nearly completed a feasibility study on letting computers take over some of the more time-consuming work of the Foreign Service promotion panels. . . . The reader may be interested here as to the way in which the researchers succeeded in putting the personnel data into usable form for purposes of the machine analysis. It goes without saying that, at the outset of the study, all of the numerical ratings of the efficiency report forms were fed into the machines. The . . . machines were able to find quite significant correlations between the promotion prospects of an officer and the varying numerical ratings found in his file. Investigators hazard the opinion that, although the numerical ratings may not help the selection boards to distinguish one officer from another, the machines, with their vastly greater memory stores, can often arrive at roughly the same end-conclusions as the selection boards through the processing of the numerical data alone. As a refinement of the methods of the machine analysis, however, the engineers took the precaution of making frequency counts of a number of key adjectives (splendid, admirable, energetic, resourceful, outstanding, reliable, and so on), of some comparatively significant adverbs (highly, speedily, promptly, dependably, and the like), and of a few frequently encountered quality nouns (leadership and team member were the critically decisive words here). The analysts were careful, of course, to avoid the pitfall of assigning arbitrary values to these adjectives, adverbs, and nouns. Instead, they carefully calculated the frequency with which these particular words were used in the efficiency reports of officers who had in fact been promoted by the boards. With these data, they were able to test their hypothesis that the appearance or nonappearance of such words was of equal relevance in determining the promotion prospects of individual officers as the purely numerical ratings referred to above. Naturally the same methods were used in determining which words, when met with in efficiency reports, had most often been used by rating officers to guard against the premature promotion of men who would have otherwise made the grade. . . .

*"Toward Full Mechanization of the Promotion Process," by Thomas A. Donovan*

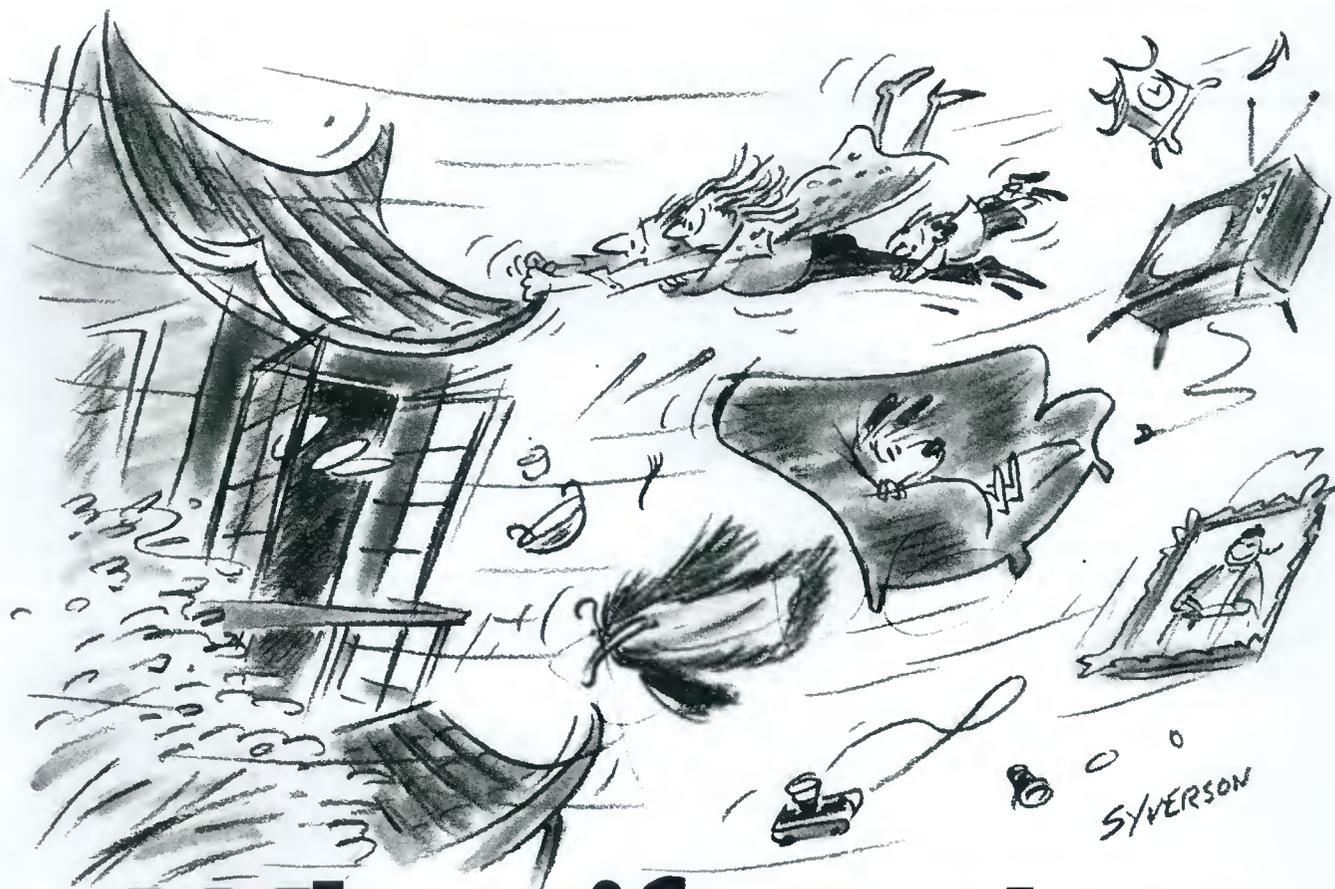
**FSJ, April 1940**

You gentlemen in London and Paris, Berlin and Moscow, Helsinki and Firth of Forth, Tokyo and Shanghai, will be pleased today to learn that God still sits in his Heaven. The Almighty has seen to it that there remains intact one enduring monument, one steadfast thing in a topsy-turvy world. And that is:

**"The New York Yankees to win the 1940 pennant."**

That's the only thing modern civilization can be absolutely sure of between now and the end of the year.

*"Baseball Forecast for 1940," by Bob Considine*



# What if you're hit by a typhoon in Rangoon?

If you only had the coverage provided by the U.S. Government Claims Act, most of your possessions might be gone with the wind. And the rains. And the mudslides. Typically, under the Claims Act, you are only covered for a maximum of \$1000 per furniture item, \$50 a lamp, and \$2500 in clothing per person. And in some situations, you may not be covered at all.

To make matters worse, the Government will most likely only reimburse you for the *depreciated* value of your possessions. And they hardly pay you at all for items with "limitations," such as jewelry, furs, cameras, fine arts, and antiques.

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# Clippings

## Where're the computers?

*The Washington Times, Feb. 22, 1990*

The manufacturer of a computer game called Hidden Agenda says the State Department's Foreign Service Institute is using the game as a training tool for Latin America-bound personnel. In the role of El Presidente, the player of Hidden Agenda is trying to bring stability to a war-torn, corruption-ridden "all too realistic Latin American country." Everyone else in the game is after power, money, or the hide of El Presidente. "The mellifluous words and veiled threats of the petitioners, panderers, and influence peddlers render the simulation an excellent primer for those seeking to master innuendo," a reviewer noted.

## Force shift in Europe

*The Washington Post, Feb. 10, 1990*  
by John Goshko

[T]he Bush administration plans a major shift of diplomatic resources—up to 200 U.S. diplomats and operating funds that eventually will total millions of dollars—from Western Europe to those former Soviet satellites. . . . Only a year ago, the Cold War attitudes dictated by Moscow severely restricted the size and activities of U.S. embassies in Poland, Bulgaria, and East Germany. Now these countries are clamoring for U.S. help to guide them toward internal political and financial stability. . . .

"[W]e must reallocate people and money where they are needed most," Ivan Selin, under secretary of state for management, said in an interview. "And to do that we must make some ruthlessly hard choices.

"If circumstances in Eastern Europe mean we must fill jobs that weren't needed a year ago, the resources must come from somewhere else. If we decide that American policy will be served by opening new consulates in Poland or Czechoslovakia, we'll have

to get the money by closing existing consulates somewhere in Western Europe or Canada." . . .

"Between budget cuts and moving resources to the East, we are being subjected to a double whammy," said one Foreign Service officer specializing in Western Europe. He and other officials said the proposed shifts are coming when the United States not only must maintain close ties with individual West European governments but also is under pressure to intensify its diplomatic attention to the European Community and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, since both organizations will play important roles in Europe's evolving political, economic, and security arrangements.

## AID item

*The New Republic, Feb. 26, 1990*  
by Morton Kondracke

A top official of the Agency for International Development (AID) said he was told by a senator, "There are only two reasons to be on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. One is to get on television when there's a foreign crisis. The other is to provide goodies for your friends in the Third World." . . .

Congress specifically directs where 92 percent of all U.S. military aid is to go, 98 percent of all Economic Support Funds (free grants for budget support), and 50 percent of all development funds. . . . [M]oney alone will not solve the basic problems of American foreign aid. As recommended by one administration and one congressional task force last year, there needs to be a refocusing of the program toward a few specific goals, clarity at AID about accomplishing these goals, and less micro-management by Congress. . . .

Out in the developing world, AID field workers complain that they spend so much time filling out reports for Congress and Washington headquar-

ters that they have only an afternoon a week to help the poor. The first priority of AID bureaucrats everywhere is always to spend this year's money so that next year's budget doesn't get cut.

[AID Director Alan] Woods had a vision: to convert AID from a welfare agency easing the woes of the poor—"baby washing," some of his allies call it—to a promoter of economic growth. . . . Woods died, though, before he could convert the AID bureaucracy to the idea of making growth its top goal in the developing world, or get the government to condition aid to Third World countries on their willingness to adopt pro-growth economic policies. . . .

## Send pros

*The Washington Post, Feb. 6, 1990*  
by Jim Hoagland

How little the great changes of 1989 were anticipated in Washington is clear in the pattern of recent political appointments to U.S. embassies in Eastern Europe and the judgments made by some of these appointees.

Some of America's greatest ambassadors have been political appointees, particularly when they have had prior government or foreign affairs experience. Political ambassadors tend to be most effective in Western Europe or in other industrial democracies where they can work in open systems that have shared interests with the United States.

In such circumstances, political ambassadors have a chance to do what they do best—get close to people in power and then persuade those people to rely on them. . . . Political ambassadors have an important role to play. But the recent record in Eastern Europe suggests that they rarely have the combination of perspective and skills needed to advance long-term U.S. interests in closed, antagonistic systems. Their friends tend to be the powerful, not the

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## Clippings

people working against the system.

### Kearns's comeback

*The Washington Post, Feb. 11, 1990  
by Kevin Kearns*

Two months ago, in the pages of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, I suggested that given the precarious state of U.S.-Japan relations today, we on the American side of the Pacific need fresh thinking. The solution I proposed was that President Bush should set up a "Team B," a specially constituted group outside the regular policy-making establishment, to redefine U.S. policy toward our most important economic partner. The reaction in both Washington and Tokyo has strengthened my belief in the appropriateness of my proposal.

A typical response from the U.S. side was one insider's comment to a journalist that a Team B was unnecessary because "Team A (traditional policymakers and diplomats) is right and has been right for 40 years." Given the \$50-billion bilateral trade imbalance and growing animosity on both sides (despite years of Team A "solutions"), this seems a curious response.

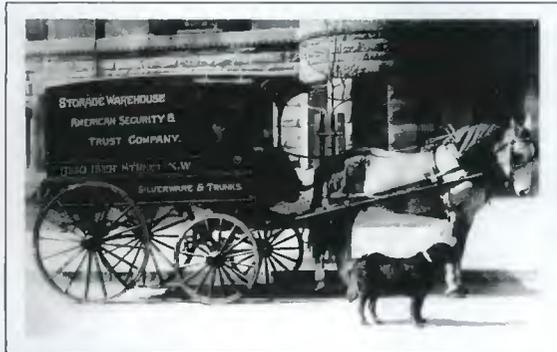
For their part, the Japanese reacted with their usual vigor. All their major papers carried stories on the idea. The Sankei Shimbun called the proposal "extremely dangerous" and went on to quote an American professor in Tokyo saying that I was a "McCarthyite" (for questioning the role of traditional policy insiders). . . .

### Education opinion

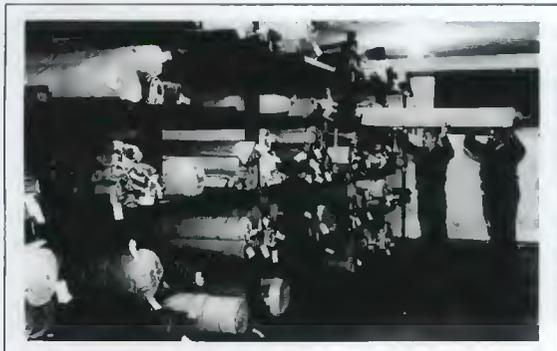
*Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta,  
March 5, 1990*

The State Department gives overseas diplomats \$14,900 per child per year as an education stipend. That's three times as much as the average school

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district spends per child in the United States, and three times as much as the military spends to educate children of its overseas personnel.

The diplomats are supposed to spend the money on the "least expensive adequate schools nearest to the posts." But \$14,900 will buy a very pricey, more-than-adequate boarding school education in the United States or Europe, and that's what many of the diplomats choose.

The education stipend and 83 other possible allowances for diplomats are supposed to encourage people to join the Foreign Service in spite of the hardships. We obtained an internal State Department audit of other perks which shows that Uncle Sam has gone overboard on the incentives and overestimated the hardships.

Diplomats can pocket up to a 25 percent salary bonus just for working in a country where "unusual hardships exist." But the auditors had their doubts whether those bonuses were merited for 127 of the 145 hardship posts. The government pays \$58 million a year in hardship bonuses alone. . . .

### Hard-earned bonus

*Associated Press, Feb. 21, 1990*

Bogota, Colombia: Americans hired extra guards and stayed close to home Wednesday because of a guerrilla "death to gringos" threat. . . .

Americans on the U.S. embassy staff were told Wednesday to stay home except for necessary trips and were being escorted to and from work by armed guards, an embassy employee said.

The State Department already had considered Colombia so dangerous it would send only people who were single or married and willing to live apart from their families. Diplomats get hazard pay for service in Colombia. . . .

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# The Neutrality of Art

*The Roerich Pact's quest to protect art from the ignorance of man.*

LEWIS K. ELBINGER

*"Art will unify all humanity. Art is one—indivisible. Art has its many branches, yet all are one. Art is the manifestation of the coming synthesis. Art is for all. Everyone will enjoy true art. The Gates of the 'Sacred Source' must be wide open for everybody, and the light of art will influence numerous hearts with a new love. At first this feeling will be unconscious, but after all it will purify human consciousness. How many young hearts are searching for something real and beautiful! So, give it to them. Bring art to the people—where it belongs. We should have not only museums, theaters, universities, public libraries, railway stations, and hospitals, but even prisons decorated and beautified. Then we shall have no more prisons."*

Nicholas K. Roerich

April 15 marks the 55th anniversary of a treaty, now fallen into obscurity, that seeks to protect objects of art from destruction. The Roerich Pact, named for its author, the Russian painter Nicholas Roerich, codified many of the aspirations of the post-World War I generation of global idealists and sought to establish the universal value and inherent neutrality of works of art. One goal of the pact was to stimulate international adoption of a flag showing three red globes on a white field, bounded within a red circle, which would be used to mark sites of artistic and cultural importance. Nicholas Roerich hoped his flag, with the globes symbolizing art, science, and philosophy in a mystic triad, would become a symbol of neutrality, acquiring the moral force

*Lewis K. Elbinger is a Foreign Service officer currently posted to Khartoum, Sudan.*



of a white flag or a red cross, star of David, or crescent in times of war.

Roerich's lifelong interest in archaeology made him aware of the need to preserve ancient relics, and his travels brought him further exposure to the destruction, through looting or simple ignorance, of art works. In 1904, he first proposed to the Society of Architects in Russia a pact for the protection of educational, artistic, and scientific institutions and missions. In 1914, the idea was presented to Czar Nicholas II and Grand Duke Nicholas, who received it with interest. World War I and subsequent events in Russia ended further consideration of the proposal.

By the end of the 1920s, Roerich was famous not only as an artist but for his writings on the unity and harmony of mankind. After the pact was formally promulgated in 1929 in a text drafted by George Chklaver, a professor of international law at the University of Paris, Roerich admirers

formed committees in major cities around the world to promote and support the pact. They envisioned that international compliance with a law would establish the neutrality of duly registered cultural institutions, all of which would display the Banner of Peace.

The first international conference on the Roerich Pact and the Banner of Peace was held at Bruges, Belgium in the autumn of 1931 and provided a forum for pact supporters around the world. Prominent intellectuals lent their support, and within a month the Seventh Conference of the Pan-American Union at Montevideo passed a unanimous resolution urging participants to sign the pact. This success motivated the Washington Convention of the Roerich Pact and the Banner of Peace to elect a committee to negotiate the pact's adoption in the United States.

Roerich had powerful supporters in Eleanor Roosevelt and Henry Wal-

lace, the latter, as secretary of agriculture, sending him on a special mission to Mongolia. He also corresponded with President Franklin Roosevelt. U.S.-based efforts resulted in the signing, on April 15, 1935, Pan American Day, of the Treaty of the Roerich Pact and the Banner of Peace in the White House, in the presence of President Roosevelt, by representatives of 21 governments of North, Central, and South America. India later added its signature to the pact, as did a few other countries.

The Roerich Pact received extensive and favorable coverage worldwide. According to Roosevelt: "This treaty possesses a spiritual significance far deeper than the text of the instrument itself."

Each signatory country was asked to draw up a list of culturally significant sites that would be marked for protection in times of war. But with another war threatening, the Roerich Pact was apparently forgotten as the signatory countries turned to other, less benign aspects of war preparation. Only Mexico prepared the list of sites.

After World War II, other conventions were established to preserve art and cultural monuments, notably the UNESCO convention on the protection of cultural and historical sites of universal value. But while less known, the Roerich Pact, unlike the UNESCO convention, is an international treaty with the force of law.

In the late 1940s, Roerich, now labeled a mystic and eccentric, saw his reputation suffer, and Wallace, campaigning for the presidency, distanced himself from the painter.

In his writings, Roerich argued that art was the expression of the essential unity of humankind and the natural world, and that achieving enduring peace depended on recognizing the centrality of art. The decade of the 1990s may be a good time to resurrect Roerich's concept of beauty and culture as a path to peace.

## Nicholas K. Roerich Idealist and Visionary

LESLIE BRENNER

**O**n October 9, 1874, Maria Vasilievna Kalashikova gave birth to her first son and named him Nikolai, "one who overcomes." He had little to overcome in material terms, however. His father, Konstantin Fyodorovich Roerich, was a well-to-do lawyer in St. Petersburg who provided him with a superior education and a rich cultural life. The family was surrounded by distinguished friends—archaeologists, Orientalists, artists.

Roerich studied at home with private tutors until he was nine, and he enrolled at the Gymnasium of Karl von May in 1883. Classes were taught in German, but Roerich also studied Latin, Greek, English, and French, and he was an exemplary student.

The Roerich family spent its holidays at its country estate, where Roerich loved to hunt and roam the woods. Influenced by family friend L.K. Ivanovsky, an eminent archaeologist, Roerich embarked

on archaeological digging around the estate, sketching the specimens he found and the sites on which he found them. As a teenager he published essays and articles on archaeology, hunting, and folklore, as well as short stories and poems.

The *wunderkind* also showed promise in the visual arts, and the artist Mikhail Mikeshin took him on as a drawing student. Soon Roerich began painting, and though his father wanted him to become an attorney, he allowed Roerich to apply to art school, on the condition that he simultaneously apply to law school. In 1893, at the age of 18, Roerich enrolled in both the University of St. Petersburg School of Law and the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts.

Roerich's interest in Russian history showed up in his paintings. His graduation project, a painting called "Messenger: Tribe Has Risen Against His Tribe," was so well-received at the Academy that Vladimir Vasilievich, a prominent histo-

*continued on page 20*

## Text of the Roerich Pact

### Protections of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments (Inter-American)

Treaty signed at Washington April 15, 1935. Senate advice and consent to ratification July 2, 1935. Ratified by the President of the United States July 10, 1935. Ratification of the United States deposited with the Pan American Union July 13, 1935. Entered into force August 26, 1935. Proclaimed by the President of the United States October 25, 1935.

The High Contracting Parties, animated by the purpose of giving conventional form to the postulates of the Resolution approved on December 16, 1933, by all the States represented at the Seventh International Conference of American States, held at Montevideo, which recommended to "the Governments of America which have not yet done so that they sign the 'Roerich Pact,' initiated by the Roerich Museum in the

*continued on page 18*

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## Treaty . . .

United States, and which has as its object the universal adoption of a flag, already designed and generally known, in order thereby to preserve in any time of danger all nationally and privately owned immovable monuments which form the cultural treasure of peoples," have resolved to conclude a treaty with that end in view and to the effect that the treasures of culture be respected and protected in time of war and in peace, have agreed upon the following articles:

### Article I

The historic monuments, museums, scientific, artistic, educational and cultural institutions shall be considered as neutral and as such respected and protected by belligerents. The same respect and protection shall be due to the personnel of the institutions mentioned above. The same respect and protection shall be accorded to the historic monuments, museums, scientific, artistic, educational and cultural institutions in time of peace as well as in war.

### Article II

The neutrality of, and protection and respect due to, the monuments and institutions mentioned in the preceding article, shall be recognized in the entire expanse of territories subject to the sovereignty of each of the signatory and acceding States, without any discrimination as to the State allegiance of said monuments and institutions. The respective Governments agree to adopt the measures of internal legislation necessary to insure said protection and respect.

### Article III

In order to identify the monuments and institutions mentioned in article I, use may be made of a distinctive flag (red circle with a triple red sphere

in the circle on a white background) in accordance with the model attached to this treaty.

### Article IV

The signatory Governments and those which accede to this treaty, shall send to the Pan American Union, at the time of signature or accession, or at any time thereafter, a list of the monuments and institutions for which they desire the protection agreed to in this treaty. The Pan American Union, when notifying the Governments of signatures or accessions, shall also send the list of monuments and institutions mentioned in this article, and shall inform the Governments of any changes in said list.

### Article V

The monuments and institutions mentioned in article I shall cease to enjoy the privileges recognized in the present treaty in case they are made use of for military purposes.

### Article VI

The States which do not sign the present treaty on the date it is opened for signature, may sign or adhere to it at any time.

### Article VII

The instruments of accession, as well as those of ratification and denunciation of the present treaty, shall be deposited with the Pan American Union, which shall communicate notice of the act of deposit to the other signatory or acceding States.

### Article VIII

The present treaty may be denounced at any time by any of the signatory or acceding States, and the denunciation shall go into effect three months after notice of it has been given to the other signatory or acceding States.

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(continued from p. 17)

rian and critic, and composer Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov invited Roerich to bring the painting to Moscow. In Moscow, they showed the painting to Roerich's favorite writer, Leo Tolstoy, who admired it.

Roerich went to Paris in September 1900 and moved in fashionable artistic circles. He was particularly influenced by Gauguin, Degas, and the muralist Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, part of the Symbolist movement of the 1880s and 1890s. He studied under Fernand Cormon, who had also taught Van Gogh and Toulouse-Lautrec.

In 1901 he returned to St. Petersburg. Roerich's interest in Russian history and legends took him in 1903 and 1904 to the ancient Russian cities of Yaroslav, Rostov, Vladimir, Suzdal, Pakov, Novgorod, and others. There

he made drawings and paintings of ancient Russian architecture (now at the Oakland Museum in California). These renderings, along with several articles on the subject, became the basis for a public campaign for the preservation of ancient Russian art, foreshadowing the Roerich Pact and the Banner of Peace of 1935.

Roerich enjoyed critical success as an artist. He exhibited 130 paintings at the Exhibition of Contemporary Russian Art in Paris in 1907, and he also exhibited in Italy, Austria, and Germany.

He spent the summers of 1909 and 1910 again in Europe, painting the stage settings and designing the costumes for the Diaghilev production of Borodin's opera *Prince Igor* in Paris. In 1913 he designed the sets for Diaghilev and Nijinsky's startlingly

original ballet of Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps*, also in Paris. The ballet offered the first "modern" innovations of ballet's conventional movements and was also the first to use primitive society as inspiration for a dance. The sets and the costumes, designed by Nijinsky, were considered no less revolutionary to the ballet tradition. Roerich must have drawn on his own studies of symbolism, folklore, and religious art when painting his impressionistic sets. (In 1987 the Joffrey Ballet recreated Roerich's sets for its revival production of *The Rite of Spring* in Los Angeles.)

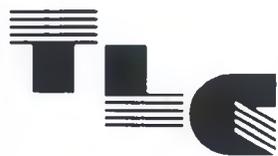
Roerich's fame as an artist grew during the next decade; he resided in the United States for four years and exhibited in New York, Chicago, and other American cities to great acclaim.

A man with a worldwide vision, in 1923 Roerich went to India and thus began his five-year artistic and scientific expedition to the heart of Asia, crossing the Tibetan highlands through India, Tibet, Mongolia, Turkestan, and Altai. It was in the Himalayas that he became fascinated with Indian and Tibetan Buddhism, painting over 500 works on the subject. Many of these paintings, Tibetan landscapes, lush in color, eerie, mystical, can be seen at the Roerich Museum in New York City (319 West 107th Street).

Roerich settled permanently in Naggar, Kulu Valley, in the western Himalayas in 1928, where he established the Himalayan Research Institute, devoted to studying the natural history, archaeology, and anthropology of the region. Roerich's endeavors in central Asia brought the Himalayan mountains to the attention of the Western world.

Jawaharlal Nehru said that Nicholas Roerich was "a great artist, a great scholar and writer, archaeologist and explorer; he touched and lighted up many aspects of human endeavor." Roerich died in the Himalayas on December 13, 1947. □

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# Anno 1990:

PETER SEMLER

The Bundesbahn train was familiar from eight years of prior service in Germany; pictures of idyllic snow-covered Bavarian villages still adorned the compartment, three on each side. But I sensed something absent as I passed through the cars in search of the *Speisewagen* and coffee. The old map of Germany showing its 1937 borders with Silesia, Pomerania, and East Prussia—"under foreign administration"—had been removed. Moreover, the timetable showed simply "Chemnitz," no longer a parenthesis under its East German name, Karl-Marx Stadt. The Bundesbahn too was anticipating a new future for Germany.

At the old demarcation line, the watchtowers stood empty, and the dogs were gone. The train, now pulled by an East German Reichsbahn locomotive, reduced its speed by half, as it meandered through the slower of the two German states. I used the enforced leisure to mark the deterioration of the scene outside. The houses looked comfortable enough, but they lacked the fresh coat of paint on each dwelling in West German Hesse, where we had just been. Intersections no longer showed the sign: "Being with the Soviet Union means learning how to win," and sheets hanging from windows proclaimed "Down with the SED" or "We are the People." But as proof that even German efficiency never reaches 100 percent, there would appear from time to time an overlooked banner urging men and women in overalls to fulfill some industrial plan.

We passed Bitterfeld's vast chemical combine, spewing noxious flames from its chim-

neys to be trapped by the low cloud cover. Inching our way through Leipzig, we pulled into the cavernous main station from which the first scheduled train service started across Germany almost a century and a half ago.

In the station, two points collected a crowd: the Intershop, selling West German and foreign goods tax-free, and the newspaper kiosk. I stood in the kiosk line to learn that all the GDR press save *Neues Deutschland*, "New Germany," the Communist Party daily, had been sold out.

My two-week visit to Germany and Czechoslovakia in January coincided with the decision of most East German newspapers to give up their affiliation with the SED, the ruling Communist Party. The old *Leipziger Volkszeitung* disaffiliated itself the day I arrived in Leipzig, and though no one could say who now ran it, owned it, and paid the bills, the independent newspaper turned overnight into lively, informative material for its readers. In Berlin, Leipzig, and Prague, newspapers had become precious tidbits to be waited for in long lines and devoured from start to finish. It seems that revolution thrusts forward not only new political figures, but quantities of journalists as well.

With a copy of a somewhat revamped "New Germany" under my elbow, the hammer and sickle removed along with the slogan "Proletarians of the World Unite," I went out to the streets of downtown Leipzig, breathing in the smell of brown coal and soot that characterizes East Germany in wintertime. Pedestrians dutifully waited for the green signal before they stepped into the street, despite the complete absence of traffic. What had Lenin said? Something to the effect that there could never be a Bolshevik revolution in Germany, because German

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# Impressions from Germany

workers would not step on the grass. But he was wrong once again. There had been a German revolution and a few German regulations had been broken. Chipping at the Berlin Wall is after all destruction of state property. And the media deregulated itself, even as the citizens continued to observe scrupulously the traffic signals.

## *Hero City*

From Leipzig station, I walked over to the brightly restored Nikolaikirche, birthplace of the 1989 revolution, and joined the parishioners streaming into the now traditional Monday 5:00 p.m. service. The church filled 15 minutes before the service was to begin. Here Pastor Fuehrer and the church fathers had decided in 1982 to hold a weekly Monday afternoon prayer for peace. They had wanted to do something at a time when missiles were coming into Germany from east and west and the talk was of nuclear winter. Over time, they had attracted a courageous group of followers willing to pay the price for what was deemed anti-Socialist behavior. Fuehrer had devised a workable blend of religious service and political rally.

We prayed for peace, recited the Lord's Prayer, sang the Lutheran hymns, and listened to the organ prelude and postlude, J. S. Bach of course. In place of the sermon four young men and women read from and commented on some among the many thousands of letters the Church had received. One speaker warned against being taken in by the government warnings against right-wing radicalism—the regime was only trying to justify its existence. A woman asked the congregation to pay heed to those in their midst who are totally forgotten. I thought

she was speaking of old people in nursing homes but was wrong. She meant the guestworkers, mostly Vietnamese, who help to compensate for the perennial labor shortage of the GDR. The service was transformed into a town meeting, but the themes were universal: peace, respect for people, renunciation of rancor, vengeance, and violence.

A memory surged up in me of a beautiful spring day 10 years earlier when I was in the nearby Thomaskirche, Bach's parish. The church doors had opened at the start of the service and hundreds of uniformed Free German Youth teenagers had filled it to the brim. They had just completed an obligatory parade on the Ring outside and had decided spontaneously to attend the service. The pastor delivered an eloquent and moving sermon. Without attacking the regime, through careful selections from the Bible and the force of ideas, he had given a simple explanation of the difference between Christian conduct and what the teenagers saw around them every day. The Leipzig youth listened attentively to every word. I became convinced then that however long it took, the GDR would eventually crumble, more because of the eternal verities put forward at the Thomaskirche than because of West German opulence.

I visited Pastor Fuehrer at his apartment, where he told me how the Monday evening service had gradually been emulated throughout the country. When the mood had darkened last spring and summer, his congregation had taken to talking to the public on the streets after the service. At first there had been a hardy few but then the street discussions had taken on a life of their own, the size of the rallies growing into the hundreds, then thousands, and finally hundreds of

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*For better  
or worse,  
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thousands. The mail, the TV crews, the visitors from West Germany, and the Leipzigers themselves had besieged the Nikolaikirche staff. There had been threats from the State Security people, the infamous "Stasis." Once the Stasi agents had come early, occupied every seat in the church and heckled the priests. The congregation had stood firm during the years of regime pressure. I wondered how Honecker, Mielke, and Mittag, the infamous GDR troika, had allowed such subversion of "real existing socialism" to continue for so long. Perhaps because toleration of the church had been one of the modifications in Stalinism that Walter Ulbricht had chosen to introduce when he returned from Moscow in 1945. Stalin would have stamped out such a counterrevolutionary nest easily enough: executions, deportation to labor camps, the church torn down.

That Monday evening about 100,000 people gathered in the rain in the city center for the first demonstration since Christmas break. There were no speakers, but not because of pressure from the authorities in Berlin. The Church itself had so requested: in the past the presence of microphones and West German TV crews had led to extremist speeches by rightwing radicals. The crowd was disappointed at being deprived of oratory. Nevertheless, they chanted in unison and loudly the *Deutschland, einig, Vaterland* (Germany, united, the fatherland) that was the theme of the evening. A sea of red, black and gold flags of Weimar Germany and the Federal Republic bobbed up and down with each refrain. Here and there the green and white flag of Saxony provided contrast. The crowd was peaceful and, I judged, representative of the population at large. One young man held aloft a banner showing a large fish—the FRG—swimming with his mouth open toward a minnow—the GDR. "Is that the revolution?" read the inscription. I heard people muttering "How did he get here?"

By this mid-January night the future of the GDR had already been decided: it was to have none. West German film crews were passing live to their audience Leipzig's quasi-unanimous vote for unity. Jens-Otto Reich of *Neues Forum*, Rudolf Bahro, Pastor Fuehrer himself, all those who thought the second German state should have the chance to show that it could develop into something decent, durable, and socialist, had been overrun. For better or for worse—and I met many ordinary East Germans who regarded unity as an unavoidable necessity rather than a patriotic duty—the revolution had become

all-German.

Why? A few hours in the inner city observing and talking with people provided the answer. I befriended Leipzigers, starting with two soldiers. They recounted to me the events of November 2, when Leipzig earned the title of "Hero City." Kurt Mazur, the director of Leipzig's *Gewandhaus* orchestra, knew that a large demonstration would take place that evening and expected trouble. He had invited a small group including three local Communist Party secretaries to his home. Over coffee, they agreed that the police should not use force against the demonstrators. One of the Party officials called the police chief and told him so. No force was used, despite Honecker's supposed order to shoot along with other orders to vacate hospital beds to make way for the wounded. My soldier friends, anti-SED to the core, omitted from their account the cooperation of the Party secretaries. The story, with variations, has become part of Leipzig lore.

My visit coincided with rediscovery of the East German exodus. There had been a New Year's hiatus when people were leaving at the rate of about 1,500 a month, while some had returned to the GDR from the 1989 westward flow. The hiatus had been a deception. Convinced by Christmas that the wall and the demarcation line were gone for good and that they could therefore depart in an orderly way, the new wave had sold some possessions, said goodbye to their friends, made advance arrangements in West Germany, and only then left. Now the westward flow had become perhaps 2,000 a week.

Leipzigers thought that only the promise of unity might staunch the flow of "*Ubersiedler*" (those who go "over") as opposed to the "*Aussiedler*," (those who go "out" of Poland, Romania, and the USSR). Modrow of the East and Kohl of the West found themselves linked in mutual disaster prevention. For the FRG to take a quarter or more of the GDR population would be only slightly less of a catastrophe for the West Germans than their departure would be for the GDR.

Another soldier told me that in his home town of Zittau, the morning *Semmel*, or roll so beloved by Middle Germany from time immemorial, now arrived in the afternoon: the baker had no helpers. The TV panned on the haggard face of the director of Leipzig's largest hospital. He said that of a staffing pattern calling for 33 doctors, he had 13 left. The same held true for the

nurses and the service personnel. The hospital operated on patients into the early hours of the morning. Soon there would be fatalities caused by the mistakes of exhausted surgeons and medical personnel. The director had no choice but to ask the closest West German hospital to send an ambulance and operate on patients in less than critical condition.

A West German charitable organization had collected money and bought special hospital beds for a nursing home in Suhl. The West German Red Cross delivered the beds and some burly West Germans carried them up the stairs and installed them. On the ground floor stood the new heating plant also donated by West Germany. It stood there because the home could not find any workers to install it. When the hospital beds were needed, West Germans had also provided the labor.

Almost all of Leipzig's stores and workshops had help-wanted signs in each window. Once-solid office buildings were vacant because of structural damage. The facades were crumbling. After my stay, the garbage disposal problem became so severe that Hanover provided a fleet of bright orange garbage trucks with their crews to do what was desperately needed but which could not be done by the Leipzig city administration for lack of people. On my return to Washington, I saw Jens-Otto Reich of Neues Forum bristle when a questioner implied that pure materialism was causing East Germans to go west. They supposedly craved only cars and stereos. Is it materialism, he asked, when the people of Leipzig/Lindenu are confronted with sewers that back up into their already crumbling apartments and want something safe for their children?

### *Political unification*

The term "East Germany" reflects the postwar division of Europe running through the center of Germany. "Middle Germany," with its sandy marshes in the north and industry in the south, had turned into something vaguely eastern. The GDR regime had sought unsuccessfully to coopt the pan-German past: Weimar, which had become home to Goethe and Schiller; Leipzig, where Bach, Schumann, and Wagner had lived and worked; and Wittenberg, where Martin Luther had posted his theses. Yet the inhabitants of the old Soviet occupation zone were still from Mecklenburg, Bran-

denburg, Saxony, and Thuringia, their accents reflecting this continuing cultural identity. Unsullied by Germany's past excesses, these states could come into a new all-German federation or confederation with a status equal to the West German *Laender* in the Federal Republic.

In East Berlin, I tried out longer-term ideas on think-tankers and academics. Would the future united German state benefit from the East German experience? This question occasioned some reflection. My interlocutors concluded that the answer was yes, that the East German component in Germany would dilute to some degree the excessive materialism and selfishness they saw in the "Wessies." One East German speaker was warmly applauded when he remarked, "The value of a human being is another form of currency." FRG President von Weizsaecker had made the same point. While cautioning that 56 years of Nazi rule, Soviet occupation, and Communist tyranny does not turn people into heroes, he said East Germany's dowry in the end will be "character and values."

My interlocutors were people who for years had recited the ritual GDR creed that never again should war break out from German soil. How would the future secure this? Here the standard answer was Germany imbedded in a new European security system. The condition sine qua non was a strong U.S. presence. The other givens were acceptance if not negotiation of the system by the 35-country Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) conference along with a solemn pledge to retain the German borders of 1945. They hoped that a politically oriented NATO would help to ensure the U.S. presence in Europe and check anyone who mounted a white horse in Moscow to try for a world restored.

On the issue of Soviet troops and membership in the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the East Berliners did not want to annoy the Soviet Union by pressing for withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, an organization they considered defunct. Let it wither away slowly was their idea. Nor did they want to press openly for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. Those troops had not intervened during the upheaval, in fact the Soviet Army commander in Saxony is widely believed to have let it be known at the height of the crisis that his soldiers would not go in the streets for any reason. Letting the conventional arms and forces reduction talks in Vienna reach a solution was one way of not provoking the Russian bear.

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*Almost all of Leipzig's stores and workshops had help-wanted signs in each window.*

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*I doubted then  
as I do now  
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A blank page in all my discussions was Prussia. The gigantic slice of German history represented by Prussia had had a short-lived afterlife during the celebrations of its founding some years before. East and West Berlin had vied to present Prussian history, its good side highlighted. In anno 1990, no German let the word pass his lips in hours of discussion. The allied decision to remove Prussia from the European map stands unchallenged.

Ex-Polish Prime Minister Rakowski had said it first. Asked some months ago whether he considered German unification possible, he had replied, "It is already happening." Political unity was everywhere in evidence. The leading West German politicians were all over the GDR, sponsoring nascent political groups. All save the putative SPD chancellor candidate Oskar Lafontaine, the perennial maverick who now worries not about German unity but the cost of accommodating refugees. The West German speechmaking made clear that the key purpose of these West German political visits was the Bundestag election of December 1990. They were campaigning in the other part of Germany, the better to appear on West German TV.

The same held true for the obscure GDR leaders thrust into prominence by the revolution. Their visits to Bonn and elsewhere in the Federal Republic also led to extensive TV coverage and hence additional recognition in the GDR. The playing field for the two separate elections had become all of Germany. The favorite was the East German SPD, the proud descendant of Germany's oldest party founded in Leipzig in 1875. Its new leader was one Ibrahim Boehme, something less than a nationally known figure. I asked an East German about how the SPD could do well with an unknown at its head. He replied that it does not matter a bit, everyone in the GDR knows that the real SPD standard bearer is West Germany's Willi Brandt. Willi was everywhere, beloved, cheered, as his incredible political career approached yet another climax. The Soviets muttered something about this West German political tutelage amounting to interference in the GDR elections. As if the GDR was anything more than a country in receivership with trustees taking over its assets.

West German financial analysts said it will be easy to produce the hundred billion marks needed over time to bring the GDR up to or close to FRG standards. A govern-

ment official noted that since the GDR immigrants are so much younger than the West German average, they will be contributing disproportionately to the West German social security system. Cash-rich West German banks will lend money to infrastructure-starved East German cities and the money will be spent by the large West German corporations, most of them owned in part by the same banks. All this will lead to a one percent increase in West Germany's GNP translating into lower unemployment. Recently this pretty picture has come under some attack. Yet Karl-Otto Poehl of the Bundesbank, publicly sceptical of making the Deutsche mark the currency of East Germany, reassured his compatriots that they had nothing to fear from economic integration with the East. The West German stock exchanges continued their climb upwards during my visit, foreign money coming in from Japan and elsewhere.

I doubted then as I do now that East Germany is as economically bankrupt as its people say. The revolutionary theorists of the past, Marx and Lenin above all, could not conceive of a peaceful revolution with its quality of hysterical elation giving way over time to a kind of trough in popular mood. I discerned an air of expectancy as I watched people in Leipzig and East Berlin go about their business in a normal manner. The people seemed to be waiting to start off on a massive reconstruction drive. I remembered the U.S. Army documentary showing the June stillness in the destroyed Berlin of 1945, everything closed down to the last stalled tramway, and experts estimating it would take a half-century to rebuild the city. Then the rubble ladies set to work passing bricks one to the other and began what a few short years later came to be known as the German economic miracle.

I expect the same to happen in the former GDR. Never mind that there are no large private corporations, nor is there a solid class of entrepreneurs, both of which played a large role in the success of the Marshall Plan in West Germany. The presence of an affluent West Germany commanding world markets is more than sufficient compensation. Moreover, East Germany will be part of a unified German state that will not have come into existence by humiliating powerful nations, as was the case with the German Empire in 1871. If ever a region was primed for a takeoff, it is the current GDR. □

# Czechoslovakia's Dawn

PETER SEMLER

Czechoslovakia, like the rest of Eastern Europe, is in the process of redeveloping its political culture, stunted by decades of totalitarian rule. Its universally admired President Vaclav Havel had involuntarily become the subject of a personality cult that in January put his picture in virtually every shop window in the Czech capital. The vaguely organized Civic Forum was confident even then that it would receive 80 percent of the vote, if the elections were held immediately. The umbrella for political groupings from the idealistic left to conservative centrists, the Forum planned to field candidates under its own name who would then be free to work for their own political parties within parliament. One friend cynically remarked to me that Civic Forum is replaying the old National Front technique of the communists: "They simply could not think of any other way to do it."

The "velvet revolution," like Havel himself, had inspired tremendous national pride. In a few short days in November, the Czechs and Slovaks had thrown off their reputation for passivity or "Schweikism," as their detractors call it. As some of them noted, the Germans and especially the hated Saxons had played a major role. If East Germans could take to the streets, so could they.

Unlike East Germans, who have indicted former leaders for high-handed and often criminal misrule, Czechs often claimed they completely support Havel in not seeking vengeance. One insider said that the single pending case, that of the former first secretary of Prague suspected of having ordered repression of the November 19 demonstration, will not hold up in court; the confusion that evening was total, and blame cannot be correctly apportioned. Nor are there many people in Czechoslovakia eager to bring treason charges in connection with the 1968 invitation to the

Soviets to intervene. Both the statute of limitations and the doctrine of executive privilege would make a treason charge unlikely to stick. My source did believe, however, that the financial shenanigans of the old leadership that will come to light over time could stir up enough indignation to warrant at least some trials.

Like the East Germans, most Czechs wanted a continued and strong U.S. presence in Europe, hoping the United States will become Eastern Europe's *deus ex machina*, ensuring against resurgent German nationalism, political backlash in Russia, and even ethnic flareups between countries freed from Communist strictures. Like the East Germans, the Czechs claim no territories—not even that Transcarpathian tail that gave the country its crocodile shape on the prewar maps. The Sudeten German issue has been resolved, and the Czechs, eyes firmly on the United States and the European Community, express little interest in East European confederation. They seem to have no faith in the efficacy of a reborn little East European entente, its prewar model having failed them so badly in 1938. As they see it, the United States can help them avoid overdependence on Germany, as can special ties to Austria and Hungary, as well as association with and eventually membership in the European Community.

The traces of Communist rule in Czechoslovakia were vanishing before my eyes. Klement Gottwald's name was being chiseled out of museums and subway stations, while empty rooms in the Historical Museum on Wenceslas Square awaited new exhibits—presumably on the "velvet revolution"—to fill the space once allotted to the glories of the Czech Communist Party. Work was beginning to discover who owns what in the beautiful city. The Communist Party had achieved great wealth through the required 1 percent of salary contribu-

tions by Party members and the receipts from the communist press. Since the old leadership never expected any of their inside dealings to be challenged, State, Party, and personal property had been interchangeable. Who really owns the lovely palace in which scholars continue their unwanted labors at the Institute for the Study of Marxism-Leninism? If it is the State, then it is the nation's property to dispose of. If not, then a court, legislature, or government will have to look at whatever deed may exist and assign the building to someone else. The Communist Party was trying to hang on to its crown jewels, the better to form a base for the day when its solid core of diehard members could function as the opposition in parliament. The Party's Hotel Praha, at a prime location on the banks of the Vltava, was the subject of a joint-venture negotiation with none other than Marriott Corp.

Since January Vaclav Havel has received Secretary Baker in Prague and gotten a tumultuous reception from the U.S. Congress. The Soviet Union has begun to withdraw its troops from his country. Havel's message of respect for humankind and the environment has traveled around the world. One fully expects that if Thomas Jefferson played his part in the gentle quality of the Czechoslovak transformation, Havel will have his own influence on the development of democracy in the Soviet Union. These positive impulses are coming from a country that has suffered war, foreign invasions, and a communist rule of more than average brutality. They correspond to the urbanity of life in the country's beautiful capital, where 20th century horrors have not removed the city's gentility, which matches the fading Hapsburg yellow of the architecture. Soon Prague, which once administered 70 to 80 percent of the industrial capacity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, will find itself at the center of the new Europe. Chances are good that this time, Prague will not be the object of conquerors, but a major European center, from which a much-needed message of moderation and civilization will spread. □

# NATO's Defense in the New Europe

*The INF Treaty provides a model for success—if properly managed*

DAVID T. JONES

**D**rawing lessons from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty is something like staring at the clouds: The viewer sees what he or she is ready to see. A negotiator may be blind to certain non-government viewpoints, while an outside observer may not appreciate the intra-government technicalities. More than two years after the negotiations concluded, supporters and critics still read opposite meanings in the legacy of the INF.

With the signing of the treaty in December 1987, the INF negotiations, unlike some other arms control treaties, ended in resounding success for the United States and the NATO Alliance. The INF experience will be closely examined in coming years, as analysts attempt to determine the potential for duplication. It may seem risky to analyze INF now, with Eastern Europe's political constellations changing like colors in a kaleidoscope, drawing NATO's future into question. For the middle term, however, NATO's continued existence is a political

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*David T. Jones was a member of the U.S. team at the INF Treaty negotiations.*

given. While NATO's responsibilities for pure defense may wane, its arms-control negotiation and implementation concerns will continue, if not increase.

## *Alliance cohesion*

NATO is frequently considered the worst-dressed alliance—always in disarray. But NATO was never so unified as during its 10 years of preoccupation with INF (two years for decision-making and eight for deployments and negotiations). The West is fortunate that this unity persisted, as the alliance's continued utility would have been questioned, had the INF deployment decision been reversed under Soviet pressure. The unity helped maintain NATO intact, for two reasons. First, failure to deploy U.S. INF systems in 1983 (before *glasnost* had a Western translation) would have been interpreted as a failure of NATO. More important, the deployments were accomplished only after careful diplomacy that could easily have failed. Basing missiles became a partisan political issue in Europe, and the battle had



to be fought repeatedly in each basing country. A single loss could have unraveled the entire fabric of agreement, but in the end, the incumbent political party in each basing country fought and won an election against political opponents critical of U.S. INF deployments. This resolute stance may have been instrumental in convincing Gorbachev that Moscow's intimidation tactics would no longer work. Thus, NATO's response to INF may be regarded as a "midlife crisis," galvanizing an aging alliance to face a new challenge, and preparing it for the turmoil of the 1990s, as the opponent of a generation undergoes radical change.

### *Consultations worked*

No issue in alliance history was subject to more comprehensive consultations than INF, and the United States' NATO allies were instrumental in several decisions, such as the requirement for parallel deployment and negotiating tracks; the decision for a "double zero" (elimination of both long- and shorter-range INF systems); and the firm exclusion of third-country systems (UK and French nuclear weapons) from the negotiations.

Consequently, the United States reaped a harvest of comprehensive allied support for the treaty—receiving endorsements from virtually every alliance leader in and out of government. Opinion polls showed that the INF Treaty was universally popular throughout Europe—and has remained so halfway through its elimination of INF systems.

Rarely do negotiators conclude bargaining believing they have gotten what they originally sought. But the depth and intensity of alliance cohesion on INF clearly yielded results that were very close to NATO's guidelines for the negotiations. The INF Treaty set precedents for future negotiations—including negotiations on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE)—by obtaining Soviet agreement to principles such as asymmetrical reductions to equal limits and comprehensive on-site inspections. A lesson of INF has been that it serves the alliance well to take time and not be boxed in by artificial deadlines, whether a ministerial meeting or an international summit. It is hard to ignore pressures for a dramatic gesture, but the United States and the alliance are stuck indefinitely with their proposals, whether made at leisure or under pressure for a public relations coup.

**NATO's conventional strength in Europe is considered key to negotiating success**

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*After INF political affiliations began to matter a great deal, as the Socialists in almost all basing countries espoused a substantially weaker defense policy than the United States.*

### *The price of success*

Success, however, can become a strait-jacket. The negotiations left the United States strongly inclined to follow the successful INF consultation model as a NATO management tool on alliance arms control issues, even if the United States might prefer a looser arrangement. Being chained to the INF model has helped make negotiations on reductions in Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) an exercise in frustration, for example, epitomized by the six-week delay in tabling the NATO draft CFE treaty at the end of 1989, while allies papered over a dispute. At the same time, negotiations for reunifying Germany are officially limited to the "two plus four" forum—East and West Germany and the four World War II occupation powers. Critical reactions by other NATO allies have prompted detailed consultations to make up for the perceived diplomatic slight.

The INF's success also took a toll on the defense consensus in Europe. Previously, it did not really matter for U.S. policy if conservatives or socialists held power in the European basing countries; both supported a strong NATO defense policy. Subsequent to the INF Treaty, however, political affiliations mattered a great deal, as the socialists in all basing countries except Italy espoused a substantially weaker defense policy than the United States supported. The Soviets, hoping one or two basing countries would lose a critical election—or lose their nerve—tried very hard to win the INF negotiations through the domestic politics of our allies—and NATO had some near misses. Indeed, only the 1986 Dutch decision confirming they would also deploy INF missiles, if necessary, guaranteed the success of the deployment program. Although it has helped basing country incumbents to run on the INF success story, the vibrancy of the success weakens over time, particularly in view of the dramatic political developments of 1989 to 1990. Normal democratic turnover will doubtless bring the "outs" to power in one or more basing countries over the next decade, and with "peace breaking out all over," their interest in defense issues may be marginal.

The INF experience has also limited NATO's military flexibility, particularly in nuclear modernization. After the treaty, no NATO government wanted to repeat the domestic political upheavals of 1983 to 1984

by deploying new nuclear weapons systems or even modernizing old ones. Consequently, although technically permitted under the terms of the INF Treaty, the chances of deploying a new Pershing IC are practically nil. Indeed, the proposal to deploy a modernized "follow-on" Lance missile with less than 500 km range is also dead for all intents and purposes. Popular aversion to nuclear modernization has grown beyond Bonn, even though the INF Treaty leaves Soviet short-range nuclear forces (SNF), including SCUDS and FROGS, unconstrained. Despite previous ministerial commitment to selective nuclear modernization, the NATO summit in May 1989 recognized the depth of German concern by deferring a nuclear modernization decision until 1992 and implicitly linking it with a conventional forces agreement.

### *Ho-hum modernization*

Although Lance modernization has a military logic, without the Soviet threat it appears superfluous. Deployment is even more dubious in light of the Soviet Union's professed willingness to eliminate all SNF. In this instance, deployment deferred will become deployment denied for what would have been a ho-hum modernization program without INF. Nuclear force modernization, routine before the INF Treaty, has since been questioned, regardless of the level of Soviet forces.

Indeed, the alliance is in danger of learning the wrong lesson from INF—that nothing is better than anything. "Zero" may look like the magic answer to the alliance deadlock on the level of residual forces: zero short-range missiles, zero nuclear artillery, zero dual-capable aircraft, zero nuclear weapons in Europe. Trends toward denuclearization may be hard to stave off, and public support for nuclear-free zones in Europe will probably grow. Europeans appear to be convinced that arms control works, forgetting the corollary that military strength has made it work. The continued positive operation of the INF Treaty will make public opinion more receptive to Soviet promises about a new doctrine of "reasonable sufficiency" and reduction of conventional, nuclear, and chemical weapons. Combined with the sea changes in Eastern Europe, this public mood appears to be emerging irrespective of whether residual Soviet strength remains disproportionate to Moscow's purely defensive needs. The public seems to be more willing to accept

Soviet promises and less willing to make defense commitments to assure that promises become treaty language. They are ready to take up life in a common "European home" that has barely had the roof beam raised.

The successful INF Treaty, the evolving Vienna CFE negotiations, and German reunification may also create difficulties for NATO's conventional improvements. Opponents of these improvements may try to use the INF and CFE Treaties to prove that arms control is a proven, inexpensive alternative to build-up or to maintaining current force levels, and to suggest that the allies place their bets on a conventional force reductions agreement. Some allies seem to believe it's useless to spend money on forces that may be eliminated, and to consider treaty force limits as ceilings rather than floors.

### *Balance sheet*

The best thing to be said about NATO in the INF negotiations is that it identified a specific set of objectives and fulfilled them, with patience and determination. The Soviets basically bought NATO's terms. If, on the other hand, the United States had categorically rejected Gorbachev's "double global zero" proposal, the INF negotiations could well have collapsed.

Nonetheless, the INF Treaty had a shock effect on the alliance. Many conservative Europeans were visibly discomfited by the treaty, which spelled the end by mid-1991 of painfully deployed U.S. INF systems. Consequently, Europeans remain twice shy about committing to new nuclear systems.

Still, if carefully managed, European concerns in general and their perception of the INF experience in particular can be guided to serve the NATO Alliance's long-term interests. For example:

**Conventional strength is key to negotiating success.** Despite Gorbachev's December 1988 commitment to unilateral Soviet force reductions, subsequent narrowing of the Soviet-NATO gap on a CFE agreement, and dramatic developments in the Warsaw Pact, the United States should continue to encourage the allies to maintain their conventional-force capabilities, which will contribute to effective negotiation.

**Glasnost is not enough.** Pending any CFE agreement, the United States should link Europe's concerns about Soviet conventional superiority to reviving NATO's long-

standing effort to enhance effectiveness through standardization, coproduction and interoperability, and use of advanced technologies. Europe should insist on these efforts despite any unilateral Soviet reductions in conventional forces—fireproofing the common "European home" doesn't mean the alliance should cancel its fire insurance.

### *A wider allied role*

Faced with the probably rapid decline in the defense budget, the United States should reemphasize that its interests are not threatened by a stronger allied national security role in NATO. The United States should press to strengthen further the recently revived Western European Union and enhance Franco-German cooperation, now strained by reunification politics. Regardless of the timing of a CFE agreement, such European politico-military cooperation is long overdue.

The United States can turn NATO's concerns over the INF Treaty and the changes in Eastern Europe to allied advantage, if it makes every effort to hammer home to European opinion one INF lesson: NATO can bargain successfully with the Soviets only from a position of strength. Changes in the Warsaw Pact demand firm, clear NATO positions. NATO's strength, both military and political, will not guarantee agreement, but weakness and disunity guarantee failure.

The basing debates provided a useful reminder that characterizing allies as "weak links" can be quite wrong. The apparently monolithic Warsaw Pact ultimately proved disunited, while NATO's flamboyant discord coalesced into unity. This surprising result suggests that in vexing questions, such as how to handle relations with a dynamically disintegrating Warsaw Pact and a reunifying Germany, NATO can absorb astonishing pressure, if its members fully and freely accept the objectives to which they are committed.

Decisive U.S. leadership and sensitive allied management will be required to ensure that the INF Treaty ultimately strengthens and does not weaken the alliance. Improvements in nuclear weapon systems may prove difficult or impossible to make, but coming years may offer opportunities to improve conventional strength and enhance intra-alliance cooperation, both between individual allies and throughout NATO. □

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*The United States can turn NATO's concerns over the treaty to allied advantage.*

# Romania's

## *May's scheduled elections offer*

DANIEL N. NELSON

In late December, the West applauded the courage of Romania's citizens and army in fighting to end the Ceausescu dictatorship and the tyranny of the Securitate. A shadowy group of erstwhile establishment figures who had been critical of Ceausescu came out of exile or political oblivion to fill the power vacuum. Although some of these people had been in touch with one another, they had communicated surreptitiously, always sure the Securitate were watching and listening, and prepared no plan or agenda.

The National Salvation Front, with branches it quickly established throughout the country, has tried to establish a government, making ministerial appointments while going ahead with military tribunals for Ceausescu's close associates (Emil Bobu, Tudor Postelnicu, Ion Dinca, and others who served on the Party's Political Executive Committee) and family (two sons, a daughter, and a brother). Ion Iliescu, acting as interim president; Prime Minister Petru Roman, a former university professor and a political novice; and a few others formed a core group that issues edicts. This ill-defined, 11-man Executive Council speaks for more than 100 people—The Front.

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*Daniel N. Nelson, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, DC, has written extensively on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.*

### *Obstructions to democracy*

Little in Romania's recent politics has been clearly defined. Front leaders, who understandably had no clear plan for assuming and maintaining power, have been conducting the government, by and large, in reaction to the loudest protests, with leaders making panicked promises to surging crowds. The Front's headquarters building, still protected by a phalanx of army tanks, has been besieged by throngs backing opposition parties. Mid-February protests by both young Army officers and crowds of angry citizens further heightened the Front's sense of its own fragile hold on power. Crowds once attacked Vice Premier Gelu Voicani-Voiculescu, who was rescued only by army intervention.

Just weeks before the country's first free election in more than two generations, currently scheduled for May 20, a democratic future in Romania is not probable—but also not impossible. An imposing list of difficulties faces both the elections themselves and the legitimacy of any government that follows. Most obviously, Romanians lack experience with anything like a competitive democracy, and few understand either its guiding principles or specific procedures, and there is no time to engage in a massive re-education effort. Far more than Poles or Hungarians, Romanians lived for decades under true totalitarianism, and no one under 65 can recall legitimate public debate or legal

# Uncertain Path

## *slim chances for democratic change*

demonstrations not mobilized by a ruling party.

Thus, many of the opposition political parties participating in the electoral campaign have their roots in the pre-Communist era. A number of elderly emigrés have returned to Bucharest to play leading roles in several revived "historical" parties with direct lineage from pre-war parties. Most prominent among these are the two dominant parties of the 1918 to early 1930s period, which also played roles in the 1944 to 1947 coalition governments—the National Liberals and the National Peasants.

The National Liberals, evoking pre-war, monarchist sentiments mixed with a nationalist agenda built on strong central government, is headed by Radu Campeanu and Sorin Botez, who was a post-World War II Liberal sentenced to 20 years at hard labor for his anti-Communist politics. In the inter-war period the Liberals were the political expression of Romania's business elite—a tiny but very powerful stratum.

Cornel Coposu, 74, has reactivated the National Peasants Party. The party's leader immediately after the war, Coposu has now resumed that role more than 40 years later. Bukovina province native Ion Puiu, also over 70, who was Coposu's colleague from 1945 to 1947, was named vice president, with younger people being tapped for other posts. Although harboring some monarchist sentiments themselves, the National Peasants have always been advocates of less govern-

ment, as well as regional and local autonomy. A Social Democratic Party led by Executive President Sergiu Cunesco (an engineer by training) has also reemerged. Dr. Adrian Dimitriu, who had been the Social Democrat's chairman four decades earlier, represents the post-war older generation as honorary chairman. This party seeks links to Romania's industrial workers, but it is far too early to say whether their appeal will have any success. Between the wars, Socialists, not Communists, held the loyalty of Romania's small industrial working class, and an effort to recreate such an appeal within today's huge stratum of labor will be a key test for Romania's political future.

### *Building party bases*

Among more than two dozen other political associations that have announced their intentions to seek votes, only four groupings have a chance of long-term viability, each formed around a distinct issue or segment of the population: intellectuals, environmentalists, students, and ethnic Hungarians. None of these foci is of sufficient breadth to draw more than a fraction of the vote, although all are likely to be left of both the National Liberals and National Peasants. The National Salvation Front, competing as a party, will probably command the loyalty of most urban workers, with Social Democrats also garnering some of that vote; miners and employees of the huge "23rd August" enter-

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*Observers  
can be  
sanguine  
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the Romanian  
army nor the  
Securitate.*

prise in Bucharest have, for example, been foremost among pro-Front demonstrators in early 1990.

This means the only competitors with a chance of securing a plurality are the National Liberals, National Peasants, the Front, or, perhaps, the Social Democrats; a coalition drawn from among these is almost a certainty. Yet neither historical parties nor the Front will be able to govern effectively without acknowledging "green" populist or ethno-nationalist interests embedded in the new parties.

### *Ceausescu's leftovers*

Apart from the paucity of experience with democratic norms and the dubious capacity of any party to gain more than a fraction of the vote in May, substantial gaps in Romania's socioeconomic infrastructure plague the electoral process. Autonomous organizations, from trade unions to professional associations, had no underground existence during the Ceausescu years. The notion that mass organizations operate as adjuncts to a ruling party may not be easily broken in Romania; the Front continues the practice of mobilizing factory workers for supportive demonstrations. That Iliescu has not broken this Ceausescu-like tactic is not lost on the Front's many detractors.

Observers can be sanguine about neither the Romanian Army nor the Securitate that the army defeated in December. General Militaru, Iliescu's first defense minister, who was ousted from his command during the Ceausescu period, had dubious credentials as a democrat. The Romanian Army's opposition to Ceausescu was not surprising, given Ceausescu's policies denying the armed forces their primary mission of national defense, instead increasing the army's economic role in construction, enterprise management and so on. Army personnel believed such tasks detracted from their professionalism. But dissatisfaction with Ceausescu is not equivalent to support for democracy. The older echelon of officer corps, including Militaru, who is 74, intervened on December 22 not "for the people" but rather for the most palatable option—establishment figures like Iliescu. Younger officers found Militaru and the Front tardy in introducing democratic reforms within the army and in society generally, but the selection of General Victor A. Stanculescu as defense minister is unlikely to quiet their concerns.

Likewise, the Securitate remains an unknown in future Romanian political struggles or unrest, and the thousands of Securitate who were not killed or captured will remain a disquieting factor for years to come. Indeed, the Front's failure to pursue vigorously the disbanding of the security establishment has been another key problem for Iliescu's legitimacy. Protesters in major cities have called for the ouster of Internal Affairs Minister Mihai Ghitac, who has been accused of moving too sluggishly.

Many remain uneasy with rule by the Front and Iliescu. The Front, an ad hoc coalition of various establishment, but anti-Ceausescu and pro-reform, socialists, has made numerous mistakes, starting from the composition of the Executive Council, which drew far too extensively on people with Communist Party pasts, thus delegitimizing the Front in the eyes of many Romanians. The Front also erred in mobilizing demonstrations, constraining media access, and moving cautiously on the Securitate. The Front wasted popular enthusiasm for the revolution by failing to shake off a Communist Party identity. Yet these errors may be simply difficulties of transition rather than a "theft of the revolution," as crowds have charged.

Further complicating the move toward democratic processes are Romania's media, which remain very underdeveloped despite a highly literate population. The Ceausescu regime cut back on television transmissions and made newspapers and journals unappealing because of their crude propaganda and glorification of Romania's "Conducator." Nevertheless, taking over and controlling the studios of Romanian radio and television was a key part of the December 1989 revolution. Through impromptu televised news conferences, the Front announced itself to the Romanian people and issued its first proclamations. Thus far, however, only one newspaper, *Romania Libera*, has sought to facilitate genuine debate about issues facing Romania, featuring "point/counterpoint" front-page statements by principal Front and opposition figures. Petre Mihai Bacanu, editor of *Romania Libera*, formerly the organ of the Democratic and Socialist Unity Front and a mouthpiece (like all other media) for Ceausescu, has been architect of such an independent approach, and the paper now has a circulation in excess of 1 million copies. In coming months, television and radio must become the arena for similar debate, and printed media must help educate

the public to alternative voices.

Having noted the imposing obstacles to a Romanian democracy, there are nevertheless encouraging signs. Iliescu and others who have been visible members of the Front's Executive Council are not attempting to reimpose anything like the totalitarianism of the past two decades. Iliescu has acquiesced to popular demand by forming a temporary Council of National Unity, in which the Front and 37 other parties have a role, to operate as a de facto legislature until the May elections. Half of this 253-member interim assembly, however, is allocated to the Front, a matter of considerable antagonism in Bucharest politics.

### *Moderate policies*

The Front is "socialist" in orientation and uncomfortable with the free play of critical ideas. Front spokesmen such as Silviu Brucan (former ambassador to the United States) and Iliescu himself have eschewed labels, but they articulate policies that would maintain wide State ownership. However, these policies would be carried out without police repression or one-party rule. Iliescu's ill-chosen words threatening to punish "counter-revolutionaries" in the aftermath of the February 20 and 21 demonstrations raised fears about the nature of the Front. But these words do not necessarily suggest lethal measures might be used against protesters.

Of those popular aspirations, moreover, there can be no doubt that Romanians yearn for liberty. Maligned for years as a people unwilling to challenge authority, Romanians now have a renewed self-esteem that they will not relinquish. Although Romanian university students, workers, and peasants may lack the well-established means of political expression we expect in the West, their commitment to preserving free expression is obvious.

Although its loyalties may not be focused on democracy, the Romanian Army too wants stability and has no institutional interest in assuming control of a chaotic situation. Most of the army's factions would prefer to be needed by struggling parties rather than to be seen as an enemy of popular aspirations. If the army declares martial law, it will still want to see elections and the identification of a civilian government that has a popular mandate. The army's own disunity impedes intervention and would make it more difficult to effect a quick coup, if younger officers disagreed vehemently

with the political orientations of their commanders.

The Soviet Union sees Ceausescu's demise and the presence of the Front as a positive development. Gorbachev wanted the departure of the Ceausescu clan, and we may yet find out that the Soviet leader had a more active role in Ceausescu's downfall than is now known. A military junta in Bucharest would not be treated graciously by the Soviets, given that Gorbachev has worked for civilian authority, as he seeks to reduce the USSR's armed forces while confronting massive internal unrest. Any Soviet leader is also certain to prefer leadership by a moderate reformist like Iliescu, since a more traditional party is sure to emphasize the "return" of Moldavia. The Moldavian Republic in the Soviet Union, where Romanian is the principal language and historic ties are strong to Romanian culture, was sought by Romania during World War II and has been seen as an irredentist issue for the past four decades.

### *Helping hand*

The United States and Western Europe, given both the possibility for a stable, democratic Romania and the numerous impediments to such an outcome, should not abdicate responsibility for assisting in this transition period. With the exception of France, aid to Hungary, Poland, and now Czechoslovakia has been more quickly and generously given than to Romania. Secretary Baker did announce an \$80 million food-aid package during his four-hour stop in Bucharest in early February, which was undoubtedly welcome in Romania. Yet for a nation of 23 million who have suffered greatly, this represents a fairly small effort.

Free elections in Romania and the inauguration of a legitimate parliamentary government are clearly in the U.S. interest. Any elections held this spring would probably result in an uncertain coalition in Bucharest, but one with the inherent legitimacy of an open electoral process. If the scheduled elections are smooth, an important step toward institutionalizing democracy will have been effected. Army intervention is not out of the question in conditions of ongoing unrest, but a rescheduling of elections would then be critical. As the United States and European democracies help to rebuild free societies in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, Romania's needs should be high among U.S. priorities. □

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*Although the obstacles to democracy are imposing, there are encouraging signs.*

# After the Revolution

JIM ANDERSON

On a slushy Moscow night in early February, the embassy snack bar was practically deserted, except for some off-duty Marine guards, a few dependents, and one State Department official whose seniority was not quite sufficient to include him among the inner circle meeting with Secretary of State James Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Next to the not-so-senior official's cafeteria tray lay the *International Herald Tribune*, displaying a headline usually reserved for declarations of peace: "Victory in the Cold War," marking Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal to end the Communist Party's primacy in the Soviet Union.

But the realization of a prime goal in American policy of the last 40 years did not inspire the official with optimism. He glumly recalled the breakdown of central control in the Soviet Union, riots and arson in Tajikistan, and violence in the Caucasus. Gorbachev's analysis of the breakdown of the Soviet economy has proven correct, the official remarked, but by making it public, he has hastened the process, putting the whole system on fast-forward, while the black market is coming into the open (with packs of Marlboro cigarettes apparently the currency of choice). A transition to a modified free-market system could create a vast pool of unemployed, steep inflation, and a rapid influx of demobilized military men who may

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*Jim Anderson is UPI's State Department correspondent.*



be unemployable, at the same time there is a wave of rising expectations. It is not far-fetched to imagine the breakup of the Soviet state and the creation of a radical Muslim state of Azerbaijan along Iran's northern border, or a resurgent Ukraine, bent on revenge for the humiliations and mass killings of the Lenin-Stalin years.

My table companion further speculated that if a streamlined, efficient Soviet Union turned hostile, it would pose an even graver threat than before, while recent weeks have seen the stirring of dark currents of anti-Semitism and neo-fascism.

Later in the visit to Moscow, a member of the Supreme Soviet told a member of Baker's group that some of Gorbachev's opponents in the internal political struggles described him as "the tool of the Jews and the Free Masons." The reference to the Free Masons, which even the Catholic church no longer bothers to attack, appears to date the opposition but doesn't make it less dangerous. Suppose the dead hand of communism were removed from the Soviet Union, and this economic giant were reawakened. The only reason American farmers sell all of their wheat is that the Soviet system cannot produce its own. But what if it can? What if it starts exporting? What will American farmers grow then?

Indeed, the *Herald-Tribune* headline brought to mind Oscar Wilde's words: "In



Dept. of State

this world there are only two tragedies. One is not getting what one wants, and the other is getting it."

Despite our apprehensions, we had a sense of history being made that night, though in ways not planned. The Baker caravan, so presidential in size and pretension that it required two Boeing 707s to carry all the team (41 negotiators at the Moscow talks, not including translators, security, and support staff, plus 24 reporters) had a feeling that something was different, and even members of the jaded press corps unashamedly took out their cameras to capture scenes from the secretary's tour through Eastern Europe. Some snapshots included:

- An official's unseemly fall on an icy Moscow sidewalk that had been left unshovelled. Injuring his arm, he became one of the early victims of the breakdown in central authority in the streets of the capital.

- After five days in Moscow, Baker was running out of steam. So was everybody else. But the high point was yet to come: his appearance before the International Relations Committee of the Supreme Soviet (the equivalent of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House Foreign Affairs Committee combined). On the basis of his opening statement, it appeared Baker was expecting the kind of deferential treatment and featherweight questioning he usually

## Snapshots from Baker's February trip to Eastern Europe

gets from Congress. Almost immediately, he found (probably like Mikhail Gorbachev before him) that the Supreme Soviet is no longer a bunch of pushovers.

They kept hammering at him: on Panama, on why the United States is doing nothing on the Soviet POWs in Afghanistan, why the United States refuses a nuclear test ban, on why the U.S. government refuses to talk about naval arms limits. When Baker bobbed and weaved, the questioners came back at him again. Did he realize that there are hawks and doves inside the Soviet Union's defense establishment and did he realize that the Panama invasion gave ammunition to the hawks and undermined the doves? As a politician he acknowledged that the invasion "energized the hawks" but he defended the bottom line as a plus for the forces of democracy.

Evidently tired, Baker made a couple of uncharacteristic miscues. Asked why the United States will never accept any form of naval arms control, he answered that "The United States is an island nation," . . . long pause and looks of puzzlement . . . "unless you count Canada and Mexico."

Silent groans on the part of his staff people as they anticipated the diplomatic flak from Mexico and Canada. Again asked about Cuban fears of U.S. action against Cuba, Baker said Cuba had nothing to fear from the United States. "We have not used force in the western hemisphere since 1965" . . . another long pause . . . "unless you count Grenada." Some chuckles in the hall and murmurs of "what about the contras?"



Secretary of State James A. Baker (second from right), meeting in Sofia, Bulgaria, during his February visit. Seated from left are Douglas Smith, Embassy Sofia's political/economic officer; Curtis W. Kamman, deputy assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs; William Montgomery, Embassy Sofia's deputy chief of mission; Raymond G.H. Seitz, assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs; U.S. Ambassador to Bulgaria Sol Polansky; Baker; and Robert B. Zoellick, counselor of the Department of State.

● As the whole world knows, the newest public spectacle in Moscow is the McDonald's in Pushkin Square. It lived up to its billing. On a Friday afternoon, a line of perhaps 2,000 people snaked through the park across the street, a line longer than the one outside of Lenin's tomb in Red Square. All 900 places inside the restaurant were filled and all 27 cash-registers were working at capacity. Policemen stood by and watched, but there was nothing for them to do, since the crowds were orderly, cheerful, and hungry. The restaurant manager has had to limit each customer to five "Beeg Meks," since some budding capitalists have been buying as many as 20 at a time and selling them around the corner on Gorky Street for premium prices.

● The central part of Sofia (the next stop after Moscow) turned out to be a combination of Leningrad and 18th-century Paris, with occasional outbursts of Stalinist architecture. Outside of Baker's hotel, a hastily organized friendly demonstration of anti-Communist opposition parties was there chanting, "U.S.A., U.S.A.," and, in the new mutinational language of Eastern Europe, "Vive Democratic, Bye-bye Dictature." Baker's caravan finally drove up, and he held up the V-for-victory sign and quickly went into his hotel. His spokesperson, Margaret Tutwiler, whispered something into his ear just inside the revolving door, and he shrugged and returned to the glare of the TV lights

outside and with his two arms raised over his head, to offer a sound-bite about "free and fair elections."

● Baker met with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel in the Prague Castle. President Havel has the charming quality of being slightly disorganized, so that the carefully choreographed hand-shaking scene in the meeting room, in which Baker and Ambassador Shirley Temple Black were supposed to meet Havel midway across the room, didn't work. Baker and Black entered the room but Havel wasn't there, so the Americans, programmed to go forward, advanced relentlessly, waiting for Havel's door on the other side of the room to open. Baker and the ambassador arrived nearly at Havel's door. Aides looked helplessly at each other. Finally the other door opened and Havel, unkempt and grinning and apparently unaware of the protocol break-down, shook hands with everybody as a photographers' feeding frenzy broke out, and Czechoslovak and U.S. security agents joined to drive away the unruly press corps. Some reporters wondered if the playwright-president perhaps stages little dra-

#### The new hero, Havel



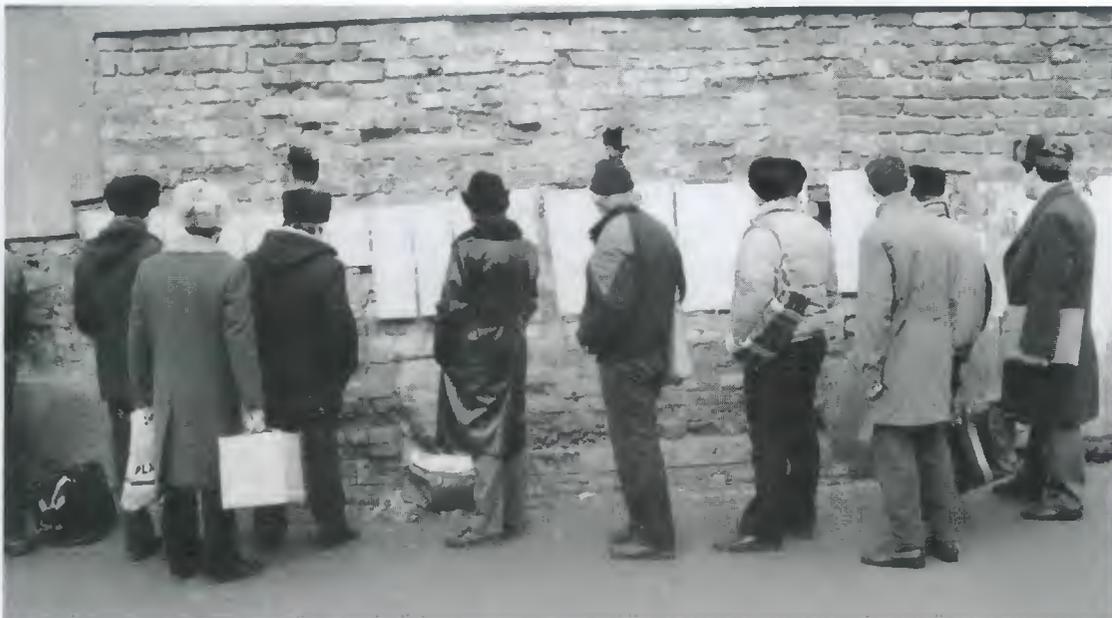
mas like that, maybe subconsciously. In any case, Baker and his party seemed entranced by Havel and kept remarking on how he had been in jail only a few months earlier. They marveled at how well he had kept his balance and perspective, including his suggestion that one of the things that will keep Europe stable in these parlous times is the continued presence of American troops.

- As Czechoslovakia begins to dismantle its authoritarian past, it has created a thriving new sub-industry: The destruction of the heroic statues of former Communist rulers. The pedestal of a statue of now-disgraced-and-disappeared party leader Milos Jakes is all that is left on the bank of the Moldau as workers cart away the slabs of marble. Later that afternoon, even the pedestal and its bronze letters were gone. The only name and

let the Communists back in." He announced an immediate \$80 million in humanitarian food aid, but no economic aid until FFFE.

- In Bucharest, the overwhelming impression was one of disorganization, with nobody in charge and a lot of rushing back and forth and then waiting while those putatively in charge worked things out or failed to do so. One week after Baker's visit, the foreign ministry—where some of his meetings took place—was trashed by demonstrators, graphically illustrating how difficult it will be to domesticate the revolution and bring it into government.

- On the way to Ottawa, Baker came to the back of the plane to chat with reporters. He was exhilarated, but tired; friendly, but wary of the press. He answered one question about strategic arms talks offhand, saying



Muscovites reading posted newspapers

the only face that can be seen in public places is the new hero, Havel, whom Jakes had put in jail one year ago. Is a new personality cult emerging?

- In Bucharest, Romania, the landing, on a fog-shrouded frosty airport, was so rough that some passengers feared for the bargain crystal glasses they had bought in Prague. Baker, apparently unfazed, met 22 opposition and trade union leaders and then some student leaders. Earlier, he had met with President Ion Iliescu and other officials. On each occasion, he repeated the code-words "free and fair elections," with reporters jotting down "FFE." Later he made it "fully free and fair elections" which was dutifully marked down by the reporters as "FFFE."

After meeting with Baker at the U.S. ambassador's residence, officials told reporters that they urged him to "be tough, don't

that there was no agreement on rules limiting ballistic missiles. He left, and then thought over what he had said and how it could be misinterpreted, and came back to make sure the reporters understood that mobile missiles never came up in his Moscow talks. Five minutes after that, he was back again, just to make sure they understood he was not misleading them. Only half-jokingly, reporters asked Tutwiler to keep Baker in the front of the airplane while they wrote their stories in the back.

- The last day of the Ottawa "open skies" conference (discussing President Bush's plan for aerial surveillance of military installations in the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries) turned out to be a diplomatic ant farm, with 23 foreign ministers from the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries gathered in one big conference room while reporters in the back



Adam Pertman, Boston Globe

The author poses in front of Moscow's newest tourist attraction

of the room tried to read lips to see what was going on. There were rumors that a deal was in the making on cutting conventional forces in Europe, but nobody was willing to say just what, until British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd gave the game away to a reporter: the Soviets had accepted, almost intact, an American proposal to cut U.S. and Soviet troops to 195,000, while giving the U.S. forces a 30,000 reserve in Britain and Italy to make up for geographic disparities.

In the conference room, Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze huddled for a while, and then they swept out with their teams and translators. Shevardnadze came back and had a mini-summit with the Polish and Czech foreign ministers. Baker and West Germany's Hans-Dietrich Genscher met momentarily, then Baker was off to talk to Canada's Joe Clark on the other side of the room. East-West diplomacy was becoming as unstructured and disorganized as the conduct of democracy as practiced by most legislatures, but somehow it worked.

Meanwhile, officials briefed reporters on the encouraging but painstaking progress

being made in formal talks on conventional forces in Europe being held in Vienna, dealing with the number of NATO and Warsaw Pact tanks, artillery, and troops. But the world in Eastern Europe is on "fast-forward," while the negotiators are still on "play." The Warsaw Pact has disappeared, and is no longer a political unit, much less a military entity capable of launching Blitzkrieg invasions through the Fulda Gap, the favorite starting point for all NATO planners.

The surreal nature of that situation was summed up neatly in an interview broadcast over Hungarian TV while the briefings about the painstaking negotiations on cut-backs of tanks and planes were going on in Ottawa. (Text and translation supplied by FBIS and slightly edited here for length.)

Announcer: The Hungarian Peoples Army has made it known that owing to the troop reductions, it wishes to free itself of some tanks and aircraft which could be used for peaceful objectives, for example in agricultural production. . . . MiG 21s, T-52, T-54 and T-55 tanks are being sold.

Reporter: How much is the T-55?

Salesman: We are selling the T-55 for between 55,000 and 65,000 dollars.

Reporter: Is this not a bit too much for a 25-year-old vehicle, especially since on a dirt road it consumes some 300 liters of gasoline every 100 kilometers?

Salesman: Without a doubt it consumes a lot, but it can be put to very good use in forestry because it has enormous strength. . .

Reporter: Is it possible to bargain?

Salesman: Naturally, like in every business, it is possible to bargain here, too. □

Demonstrators in Prague



Susan Bennett

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# E DAY IN PHNOM PENH

J.D. MCHALE

**O**n April 12, 1975, some 50 Americans, the remnants of the official 200-person mission in Phnom Penh, climbed aboard helicopters and bade a painful farewell to Cambodia. Few of us had any doubts about the unhappy fate awaiting the Cambodian government leaders after our departure and the Communist takeover. We did not yet know, however, what trials ordinary Cambodian civilians would be subjected to. Nor were we certain that we would be able to extricate ourselves without incurring sizable casualties.

At 0800 hours on April 11, Voice of America had broadcast a long-awaited policy statement by President Ford, directed at congressional inaction on his military aid requests for Cambodia and Vietnam. The hour-long speech made only two mentions of Cambodia, once to say that the gallant people of Phnom Penh were still holding on and once in a reference to the \$222 million in military

## *Memories of Operation 'Eaglepull'*

aid requests that still lay "on the Congress's table." The rest of the speech concerned Vietnam; Cambodia had been written off, and we were sitting in a doomed capital.

By "E Day," Communist pressure on Phnom Penh had grown intense. On the east bank, opposite the capital, Khmer Communist forces were virtually within shouting distance. To the west, they were positioned four and a half kilometers north of Pochentong airfield. To the north and south they were also within striking distance. The noose around the capital was tightening by the day.

The airport was under intense shelling by captured 105mm U.S. howitzers and 107mm Chinese-made rockets. On peak days, 50 to 60 rounds hit the airfield. The attack had killed or wounded a dozen cargo or rice handlers and disabled a half-dozen

aircraft. Only two days before the evacuation, the first American death since the beginning of the Communist dry-season offensive had occurred when a plane belonging to one of the internal Khmer airlines was hit during take-off and the American pilot killed. The pilot's decapitated corpse remained behind in a hospital morgue, a grim reminder of the costly, five-year American effort to keep Phnom Penh and Cambodia alive.

It was a miracle no other Americans were killed. A few weeks prior to the evacuation, the embassy itself had been targeted. Rocket attacks became part of the pattern of daily life. After each heavy *crump*, there followed the jarring wail of the embassy warning siren, as the 50 or 60 Americans assembled in the foyer waited and wondered where the next one would hit.

By April 11, we knew only that the evacuation could come at any moment. From a total of 1,100 evacuees, we had already scaled down to about 500: The exact number would depend on how many Khmer "Key Indigenous Personnel" (KIPs) accepted the U.S. offer to evacuate. The em-

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*James D. McHale, a retired USIA officer, is currently an international trade consultant.*

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bassy was responsible for the American personnel of the embassy, the local Khmer staff who chose to go, and registered and unregistered Americans in Phnom Penh. My own prime responsibility was for the evacuation of the American press. We subsequently added third-country nationals (TCNs) who were on their payrolls, as well as the foreign press. My list of American journalists and their TCNs totaled 32 persons. There were another dozen European and Asian journalists in the city for whom I accepted responsibility.

The evacuation, code-named "Eaglepull," was not risk-proof. Fixed-wing evacuation had been ruled out due to the peril of incoming enemy fire at Pochentong airfield. We finally settled on option three, a helicopter lift from a nearby landing zone. The location of that landing zone was another closely guarded secret. In President Ford's speech the day before, the near-total omission of Cambodia in his appeal for more aid for Indochina was a warning bell. Would the morale of the government soldiers collapse overnight? Would a frustrated, enraged people turn against their government and the Americans? Could we control mobs that would inevitably build up at the Embassy gates at the height of the evacuation? The first helicopters that arrived would signal to enemy artillery and rocket gunners the exact location of the landing zone. They would then have two hours to zero in. Enemy agents operating within the city might already have enough information to "zap" us before we boarded the waiting choppers.

For all of us who had worked to support the Cambodian people and their infant republic, evacuation day came as an agony.

Stay or go?

On Friday night, April 11, I was not certain whether the evacuation would come on Saturday or Sunday. I told Te, my Vietnamese cook, that the next morning might be my last in Cambodia, and she was moved close to tears. I could think of no way to console her. Then I told her I would leave her all the kitchen goods. An hour later, when I strolled back into

the kitchen, I found bedlam; Te and her three daughters had packed everything neatly into boxes, leaving nothing behind. She smiled sheepishly at me: "It's good to be ready, M'sieu."

An employee from my office arrived on the morning of the evacuation with the announcement that he had now made his decision and desired evacuation for himself and his family. I accommodated him without hesitation. The decision to stay or leave was agonizing for every Cambodian on our staff. Of the 183 Khmer employees on the embassy staff eligible for evacuation, only 19 chose to stay behind. I spoke to my driver, Chan, a dignified, older man who had worked on and off for the Embassy and USIS since 1950.

"Will you go or stay?" I asked.

"I will stay," he said simply.

"There will be no second chance, Chan. Think it over carefully. What about your wife and children? What is their view?"

"We have spoken of it. We're a Khmer family. It is too late to begin a new life as refugees in a foreign country. My family will remain together. We will try to . . . adjust to the new regime." Chan and others like him made a painful decision that day. I don't know what happened to him, but the odds against his survival are high.

At the entrance to the compound, I witnessed another scene that was to be repeated many times that day. A Cambodian general was talking to an officer from the U.S. Defense Attaché Office, telling the American that he knew we were leaving.

"Oui, mon general. I am very sorry it has come to this." The American could not continue.

"No, I understand. You are following orders. As for me, I will go with my fellow officers and our men to the end. And I am afraid it may be very near the end."

Many of these officers, I knew, had been marked for elimination by the Communists. A few might take to the hills as guerrillas against the occupying Khmer Rouge forces, but how long could they hold out? Some of the officers had spoken openly about forming suicide pacts.

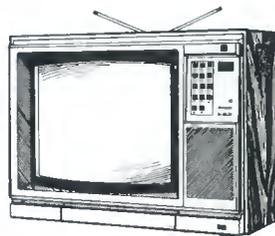
The entire cabinet had chosen to stay. Apparently some believed they could avoid execution. Pan Sothi, minister of education, stated privately, "We are all Khmer. We went to the same schools, many of us. We will just sit down and argue about our different views and gradually work out some kind of Cambodian solution." Other high Khmer officials shared this marvelously naive view, which ignored Khieu Samphan and his forces' mentality and their five years of guerrilla conditioning. Prince

Minister Long Boret, for example, who had flown out with Marshal Lon Nol several weeks earlier, returned a few days before the evacuation. That gamble cost him his life.

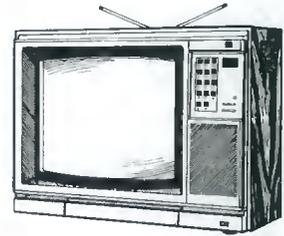
At 0700 hours on April 12, a Saturday one day before the Khmer New Year, the "Eaglepull" drama opened. Communist offensives often coincided with the New Year's celebration, which factored in the timing of the evacuation. At 0815 hours I learned by radio communication that the American news networks and

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wire services were planning to fly in their own chartered aircraft to evacuate many of their American representatives and TCNs. The plane would arrive at 1100 hours, about a half hour after the last evacuee had left and an hour and a half after our front gate closed. The press plane jeopardized our entire operation; their airlift would signal the Khmer Rouge of the U.S. evacuation, putting us in danger of being trapped. At 0820 hours, Deputy Chief of Mission Bob Keeley and I raced to the Hotel Phnom, the pre-evacuation assembly point for the press.

"You are endangering the entire evacuation," Keeley roared at the press's designated liaison man for the evacuation. "Tell the press they either reach the embassy by 9 a.m. and go with us, using our 'assets,' or they will be left behind." All of the press had been fully alerted weeks earlier to the possibility of an imminent evacuation. We left not knowing whether they would follow our directive or gamble on their incoming aircraft.

By 0830 hours the embassy had fallen into a sort of organized chaos. A cordon of tough-looking, well-armed Marines surrounding the embassy formed part of a 360-man Ground Security Force, which had also secured the landing zone. The procedure for evacuation was not complicated: An incoming evacuee came through the embassy front gate, was identified and given a blank tag, on which he wrote his name and a number categorizing him as American or foreign. This was his ticket to board the chopper. Then, after a quick march through the embassy to a rear vehicle area, he boarded a truck for a five-minute drive to the landing zone. At the landing zone the evacuee watched the famous "Jolly Green Giants," CH-53s, landing and departing every 10 minutes in groups of three. Overhead was a comforting umbrella of "tacair," U.S. military planes ready to "hose down" every enemy fire position that might threaten the landing zone.

At 0910 hours I spotted several American and foreign journalists standing outside the gate.

"What the hell are you guys doing



**Ambassador John Gunther Dean, carrying the flag, DCM Robert Keeley, and J.D. McHale, disembarking from the helicopter that evacuated them from Phnom Penh, April 12, 1975.**

out there? Hurry up and get in here or you'll be left behind."

"We're not going," one of them told me. I looked at him in amazement. He was a well-known fixture in Phnom Penh, an American freelance photographer.

"You are out of your mind. You're all dead men if you stay. Get in here." It was no use. They had made their choice. Inside the embassy compound I saw another American journalist furiously photographing the frenzied last minutes of the evacuation drama. He worked for one of America's leading dailies. I repeated my plea to get moving, but he laughed, telling me he did not want to miss this story and would take the afternoon plane out.

"What afternoon plane?" I was furious with him and tried one more time to get him in the truck. It was useless, and I left angry and frustrated that the U.S. embassy did not have the authority to order American citizens to heed our demands in such an emergency. (My understanding today is that all of the journalists did succeed at leaving the country within the next five days, before the airport closed for good.)

By noon it was over. The last of the Marine Ground Security Force had boarded the choppers and headed south to the Gulf of Siam and the

aircraft carrier *Okinawa*. The last of 276 American, TCN, and Cambodian evacuees had departed an hour before. A single tragedy marred a perfect operation. A salvo of incoming fire that missed the last of the departing choppers killed a Khmer child.

During two hours in the air, the landscape changed, and we found ourselves flying over the sparkling blue waters of the Gulf of Siam. Ambassador John Gunther Dean rode my helicopter, one of the last, with a grave expression, holding on his lap the American and ambassadorial flags from his office. These were now souvenirs of a tortuous period in our country's history. A journalist and a young American Army officer wept. We had seen families torn apart and witnessed the end of an era. We had left behind seven million Khmers, half of them now refugees. Before the day was out, many Cambodians would curse the United States. We felt we had abandoned them, but we also felt a deep sense of relief that it was over and we were safely out. Our early calculations had estimated that two to three would be killed and a dozen wounded, but we were out without a single casualty. Our armed forces had performed an incredible feat. It was the single consoling thought, our sole remaining source of pride, on a day we will never forget. □

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## Alternative Strategies for NATO

### NATO in the 1990s

*Edited by Stanley R. Sloan, Pergamon-Brassey's, 1989, \$30 hardcover*

*Reviewed by David M. Adamson*

Four decades after the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty, the Atlantic Alliance confronts sweeping transformation in its economic, political, and security environment—notably, fundamental political and economic reforms in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, progress in arms control, and changes in public opinion. Now the alliance needs to reevaluate its purpose, lest it be left behind.

With contributions from prominent European and American political and defense analysts, *NATO in the 1990s*, a publication of the North Atlantic Assembly, is intended to provide just such a reassessment. The authors sound a number of common themes. They argue that NATO is still needed, both to balance Soviet power and to promote comity within the West—though the alliance should perhaps be reconfigured with a stronger European pillar. They assert that the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) undercut Western security by eliminating the coupling NATO intermediate-range missiles provided between U.S. central systems and the defense of Europe. They speculate that reform in the Soviet Union, instead of serving Western interests, could ultimately produce a leaner, and possibly meaner, adversary. And they assert that the role of conventional forces will become more important as the legitimacy of nuclear forces erodes, though the denuclearization of Europe must be avoided.

Few new prescriptions emerge. Exceptions are Pierre Lellouche's recommendations that an exclusively European nuclear planning group be formed and that France declare "the defense of Germany is . . . one of its

'vital interests'" and readjust its nuclear posture so that "the Soviet Union rather than the . . . Federal Republic of Germany . . . is under direct threat, should France use its nuclear weapons." Otherwise, the emphasis of *NATO in the 1990s* is on reaffirming established verities, such as the enduring need for the United States to assume a unifying role within the alliance and to extend deterrence to Europe. Encouragingly, Stephen Szabo's analysis of public opinion finds support for NATO in Western Europe and America stronger than ever.

Although this book was published in the first half of 1989, its chapters clearly were prepared at least a year earlier. Nevertheless, *NATO in the 1990s* contributes to the inevitable reassessment of the alliance as it enters a new era.

### Collective Defense or Strategic Independence?: Alternative Strategies for the Future

*Edited by Ted Galen Carpenter, Lexington Books, 1989, \$18.95 softcover*

*Reviewed by Frederick C. McEldowney*

If it weren't so important, U.S. security policy would best be left to specialists. The arguments are Byzantine, the probability of widespread conflict low, and the assertions so tenuous that most people prefer not to think about the subject, let alone read a book on it. Unfortunately, our defense budget—second only to housing as the American family's biggest expense (through taxes)—is shaped by our assumptions about security. So we must wade in.

This collection of essays may not be the best introduction to U.S. security policy, however; though the

viewpoints represent a wide range of the political spectrum, one side of an issue is often portrayed without a countering perspective. Instead, consecutive pieces jump to related but different topics. Moreover, this book is dated, even though it was written within the last year. Gorbachev is mentioned in passing, but the Soviet Union remains depicted as a competitor for nuclear and conventional superiority even in the pieces most critical of current U.S. policies. Reform in Eastern Europe and China are barely mentioned. Even for those who judge solely on the basis of capabilities, not intentions, these developments are more relevant to U.S. security policy than the book implies.

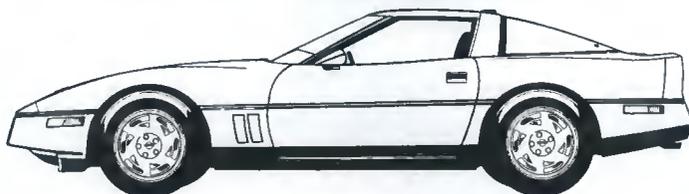
The discussion on Europe and NATO presents the reader with the conveniently two-sided argument that a partial U.S. withdrawal from Europe would let the Soviets make a "Bonaparte's breakfast" not only of England but of the whole Eurasian landmass. Meanwhile we're told not to worry if the Americans leave, Europeans will take up the slack, and besides, the threat's decreasing. The Pacific Basin presentation is straightforward but one-sided. Japan and Korea should do more, so the United States can do less. Meanwhile the Australian-New Zealand-United States defense treaty (ANZUS) is outmoded. Treatment of the Third World is cast primarily in Cold War terms, arguing the defects of the Reagan Doctrine and the virtues of neutralism (client states cost money).

The most satisfying (if one can use such an upbeat word for so morbid a subject) parts of the book are the editor's own discussion of a new U.S. security strategy for the Third World and the section on containment. While asymmetry and polemics remain, the discussion is more creative and forward-looking. If countering a hegemonic

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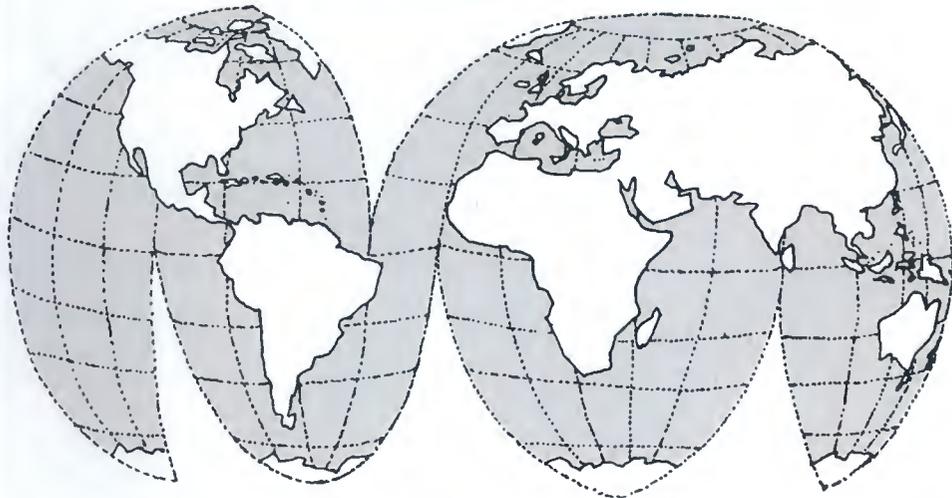


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## Books

power recedes as the basis for decisions on U.S. defense and security policy, what do we use to replace it? Or, as another essay suggests, it was much easier to define what we were against than it will be to define what we are for. All of these ideas are touched upon; they deserve a more complete examination.

It might be recommended that readers look for another book, particularly as an introduction to a troubling and complex topic. It would be difficult, however, to find one that offered all the issues and viewpoints covered here. Many of the pieces are quite good; it's only the whole that falls short.

### Two NATO Allies at the Threshold of War: A First- hand Account of Crisis Management, 1965-1968

By Parker T. Hart, Duke University  
Press (Institute for the Study of Diplo-  
macy), 1990, \$37.50 hardcover

Reviewed by Daniel O. Newberry

To detached observers Cyprus must sometimes seem like the Kashmir Question. Kashmir has been on the agenda of the United Nations for more than 40 years, and the question has never been resolved, but it has long since ceased to cause world chanceries to shiver, except vestigially in New Delhi and Islamabad.

Cyprus, on the other hand, since 1955 has commanded on a daily basis the attention of at least five governments and a full-time staff of the United Nations secretary general. In the U.S. Department of State there is a congressionally mandated Cyprus coordinator (separate from and senior to the country director for Cyprus).

Ambassador Hart's new book provides a compelling reminder of why Cyprus matters so much. It is a case study in how a concerned, but impartial government (the United States) exerted itself to nudge two allies away from war in 1967.

In boxing terms, the book is an account of how the referee (Cyrus Vance) with help of two seconds (Pete Hart in Ankara and Phil Talbot in Athens), helped break the two fighters (Greece and Turkey) out of their clinch and rated it a "no decision."

There are portraits of other notables: Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil, Glafcos Clerides, King Constantine, Suleyman Demirel, Brigadier Harbottle, Constantine Kollias, Zeki Kuneralp, Iltar Turkmen, Toby Belcher, Bill Burdett, and many more. Hart or Vance talked with each of them in the strenuous shuttle diplomacy of November 1967.

Much of the detail is heretofore unreported, because Hart had to get large chunks of his own memoranda of conversation declassified for this book.

It is grotesque, as Hart makes clear, that Cyprus should have twice threatened Free World security. Today it need only be a question of federating two working democracies with 15 years of separate experience. It is no longer a live question of any Enosis movement to unite Cyprus with either Greece or Turkey or of annexation by Greece or Turkey. Today there are strong signs that self-awareness in both sectors of Cyprus is replacing gradually the old feeling of unwilling separation from a "motherland."

### Peace for Our Time

By Robert Rothschild, Pergamon  
Press, 1988, \$27 hardcover

Reviewed by Jack H. Shellenberger

When *Peace for Our Time* was published two years ago, its relevancy to the seemingly frozen Europe of 1988 was marginal at best. But reading it in light of the Europe of 1990, one has to wonder. The great events between the world wars—the Manchurian affair, invasion of Ethiopia, Spanish civil war, Anschluss, the Munich debacle and the demise of Czecho-

slovakia, the Pact of Steel and invasion of Poland—may seem overplowed terrain, but Baron Robert Rothschild's 342-page account nevertheless manages to be remarkably fresh and perceptive, the product of prodigious research, presented in a spry and snappy style by someone who was there.

Rothschild joined the Belgian Foreign Service in 1937. As a 26-year-old junior officer, he was a member of the entourage of Belgian diplomats shuttling among the capitals, frantically and futilely trying to deter Hitler and Il Duce from further conquest. He takes the reader back to 1931, when a Japanese general disembarked at Mukden and set the stage for full-scale attack on China six years later. And to Germany's Great Depression of 1932 and the rise of the Brown Shirts, which Rothschild observed as a summer student in Germany.

Some of the book's more entertaining parts are intimate descriptions of the period's principals, including Mussolini, Hitler, Daladier, Schuschnigg, Ciano, Goering, Molotov, Chamberlain, and Blum, with vignettes like this one: "[Goering] made his appearance in a splendid sky-blue uniform, encrusted with gold braid and studded with decorations, his fat fingers sparkling with rings, sweating profusely, mopping his brow nervously with a handkerchief which wafted clouds of scent." Rothschild reports Leon Blum's remark that Edouard Daladier was "a reed encased in iron," and of Chamberlain, Rothschild says, "For some people 'appeasement' was only the mask of fear or impotence. For Chamberlain it was a priesthood."

Translated from the French by Anthony Rhodes (and unfortunately full of typos), *Peace for Our Time* is a lively evocation of a fractious Europe that was.

### **Bananas, Beaches, and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics**

*By Cynthia Enloe, University of California Press, 1990, \$35 hardcover, \$10.95 softcover*

*Reviewed by Anne Stevenson-Yang*

The first wave in latter-day American feminism brilliantly, if erroneously, fused feminist with Marxist thought to make of women a social class. Cynthia Enloe's somewhat eccentric study belongs to the second wave, which uses femininity as an overarching metaphor for social and economic powerlessness. Enloe makes a two-pronged argument to prove that women exert influence over foreign policy. Specifically, they mold policy by accepting supporting roles, such as conventional wives and mothers, allowing men to do higher-profile work. Generally, women's influence is felt through their acceptance of the male-defined power structure, permitting it to frame international discourse.

Unfortunately, waging this already tenuous argument on two fronts undercuts both its credibility and its grace. The chapters describing women's more general political influence, including "Nationalism and Masculinity" and "Carmen Miranda on My Mind: International Politics of the Banana," absurdly conflate feminist with other economic and political issues. While she has interesting (if shopworn) points to make about the linkage between sexual and class expectations, the process used to relegate women to low-paying jobs, and the subversion of nationalist goals to continue the subjugation of women, the influence that Enloe describes in chapters on military base women, diplomatic wives, and domestic servants is clearly so tangential and indirect that calling it a factor in foreign policy begs the question.

By stretching to spin a cosmic schema from discrete clumps of fact and anecdote, Enloe devalues the

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sometimes valuable observations she presents. On Iran-contra hearings, for example, she observes: "A theme that surfaced repeatedly during the weeks of the Iran/contra hearings was 'We live in a dangerous world.' . . . No one even attempted to redefine 'danger' by suggesting that the world may indeed be dangerous, but especially so for people who are losing access to land or being subjected to unsafe contraceptives." Such a radical conjunction of two unlike elements can be useful to jolt readers into new recognition. But when carried to these lengths, it makes extremely important issues—land and contraception—seem strikingly irrelevant.

Throughout the book, Enloe displays a stunning sense of non sequitur: "British journalists, Members of Parliament and peace activists highlight the US bases as launching pads

for deadly weapons over which the British have no control. There is little discussion, on the other hand, about the dating practices of American soldiers." And, occasionally, bad taste: "Bananas have long been the object of sexual jokes and pranks. . . . But the banana industry, not the banana itself, is far more seriously sexualized."

*Bananas, Beaches, and Bases* contains interesting insights tucked behind the disjointed rhetoric. A chapter on diplomatic wives accuses the British and American foreign diplomatic services of being Confucian in their rigidly hierarchical styles, with the wife of the ambassador or deputy chief of mission at a foreign post taking the mother-in-law's role in the classical Chinese household. The chapter chronicles efforts of Foreign Service wives to stop being considered,

personally and bureaucratically, appendages of their husbands, reporting on how British diplomatic wives pressured the Foreign Office to stop including a wife's performance in the periodic evaluation of her husband's work. It offers statistics on female representation in the Foreign Service in Britain and the United States. A chapter entitled "Blue Jeans and Bankers," on the international textiles industry, chronicles the slippage of hard-won social benefits for women under the pressure of the internationalization of capital.

Enloe has useful points to make; it is unfortunate that she did not see fit to narrow her scope and forego the almost bizarre generalizations that mar her analysis. This beautifully designed book is well indexed and illustrated; the reader misses a bibliography. □



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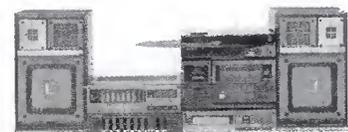
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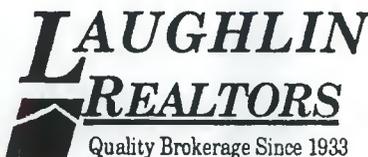


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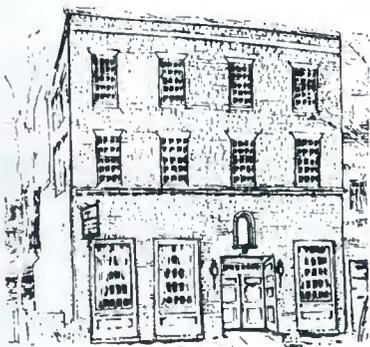
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## Commission recommends increased salaries for Diplomatic Security personnel

The National Advisory Commission on Law Enforcement has published a report on the employment terms of U.S. law enforcement officers. The study focuses on 19 selected law enforcement occupations, including State Department agents employed by the Bureau of Diplomatic Security (DS). The study reports on some of the changes currently affecting these occupations, including the increasing danger, violence and complexity of the work; the growing diversity of the federal law enforcement work force; and the increasingly competitive compensation

packages being offered by their state and local counterparts.

The study found that entry-level federal pay is 11 percent lower than the average state and local compensation. In addition, Diplomatic Security employees (and other federal law enforcement officers) are subject to limitations on overtime pay, while most state and local organizations pay time-and-a-half for all overtime, with no limit on the amount. Low pay levels pose a particular hardship for federal law enforcement personnel in certain high-cost cities (including Washington, DC).

The commission's recommendations for DS include the following: raise the average entry-level salary for DS agents from \$19,493 to \$22,743; introduce local pay differentials to alleviate disparities facing DS officers in high-wage areas; provide relocation payments using market-sensitive housing bonuses in high-cost areas; develop a consistent overtime-pay policy for all federal law enforcement agencies. Other recommendations include guaranteed bonuses and better collection of recruitment and retention data. These recommendations will be forwarded to the president and both houses of Congress.

### Views continued . . . .

the emphasis that Foreign Service promotion panels have placed on *management* experience for the senior threshold, it's not surprising that middle-grade officers have tended to look with a jaundiced eye at long-term training opportunities that increase only their *expertise* but lead perhaps into the very cul-de-sac that they want to avoid.

Assuming that long-term training is basically desirable from every other standpoint, the avoidance syndrome must be breakable. One way favored by Under Secretary Selin, and supported in principle by AFSA, is to link training with desirable ongoing assignments. Another is to upgrade the value placed on completion of training in promotion precepts, which AFSA will have an opportunity to pursue in upcoming biennial negotiations this spring.

The campus is also critical to rebuilding the training pillar. FSI had outgrown the Kent Street closet even before it moved in, and the

Institute has now spread all over Rosslyn. The total annual rent is nearly \$4 million. After an initial investment of some \$70 million in the new Arlington Hall campus (formerly Army Security Agency HQ), FSI in about 1993 will have its own efficient and centralized quarters, with only small annual maintenance costs.

The new FSI campus survived a rigorous review in February by Selin and staff, who are pressing forward with the package of reform measures that all hope will reduce staffing gaps and increase training opportunities. As always, the danger continues that budgetary austerity will remove pieces of this carefully balanced construction. A full program of language and professional studies is a keystone of the Foreign Service that every Service member should support consistently and take advantage of whenever possible.

*Ted Wilkinson*

## AFSA provides model for East Europeans

East German diplomats, concerned about their professional status in a reorganized society, have expressed interest in forming a professional association patterned on AFSA. At the request of foreign affairs ministry officials, AFSA sent general information on its organization and history to Embassy Berlin. Similarly, we are told that Hungarian diplomats drew heavily on the AFSA model in establishing their professional association in December 1989.

To brief others about our activities and stay abreast of our counterparts, AFSA held a luncheon on January 18 for embassy representatives from Argentina, Australia, Canada, France, Germany, India, Korea, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union. We plan to continue these contacts.

## Department initiates work studies

After competitive bidding, the Department of State has awarded a three-year contract to Hay Systems Inc. to conduct an Activities Value Analysis (AVA) of the Department's organization and workflow. The study will begin with interviews or completion of questionnaires by every Foreign Service and Civil Service employee in the Management-related bureaus. Employees will be asked to describe and prioritize what they do, identifying what they consider to be the most and least important of their activities. This information will be collected initially by an action group of employees within each bureau and then analyzed by Hay Systems. The goal is to complete the Management bureaus by the end of 1990 and the rest of the department by 1992. Hay, which has hired Ambassador Arthur Woodruff as a consultant for the study, will not recommend specific changes but will assist the bureau action groups in identifying

opportunities for improvement in organization and workflow and in testing proposed solutions.

AFSA officers met on February 23 with department officials who are planning the study. They characterized AVA as "a modern management tool for systematically analyzing the objectives, structures, functions, procedures, and systems of an organization. The main purposes are to reduce wasted resources, eliminate redundancies, and achieve better central controls and managerial prioritization. AVA is a technique that attacks the underlying problem of workloads by asking tough questions about what employees do and why they do it."

AVA differs in several ways from the functional needs study (FNS), which is also set to begin this year (see *AFSA News*, March 1990). AVA will be conducted only in Washington, while the FNS will involve questionnaires to all Foreign Service generalists, from FS-3 through min-

ister counselor, wherever stationed. The AVA will focus on positions, organization, and workflow. Although FNS will also require those surveyed to describe and prioritize their work, the focus will be on what knowledge, skills, and abilities they need. From the computer analysis of the results, the department hopes to determine how many and what kind of officers it needs, as well as what training they should receive.

Under Secretary Ivan Selin hopes that AVA will identify offices and even entire bureaus that can be merged, and Foreign Service positions that can be abolished, in order to reduce the gap between the number of positions and the people available to fill them. Although many have argued that new challenges, such as developments in Eastern Europe, justify an increase in the size of the service, Selin does not believe the budget would support an increase or that Congress would approve one. On the other hand, he has stressed repeatedly that he has no intention of reducing the number of Foreign Service people, only positions. Furthermore, training positions at the Foreign Service Institute will actually be increased.

AFSA supports the under secretary's goals of increasing training, reducing staffing gaps, and better identifying the kinds of training and specialization we need. Some of the duplication of effort and organizational problems the study may reveal are foreseeable without much expert analysis. One assistant secretary told the group responsible for bidding out the contract, for example, that one of his bureau's functions was being performed by "three bureaus and one mission." Nevertheless, management hopes to use the AVA as outside leverage to reduce duplication and overlap more effectively than internal studies have done. We must admit to considerable skepticism as to whether either the AVA or the FNS will help very much to overcome the political and budgetary and, yes, bureaucratic obstacles to accomplishing the goals we share. We will follow them closely, however, and, for the moment, with an open mind.

## Renegotiating the no-smoking policy

The AFSA-Department of State Agreement on No Smoking Policy expires on May 12. On February 23, AFSA informed the department of its desire to renegotiate the agreement. AFSA told management that the agreement refers inappropriately to employees rather than to physical facilities: there should be no implication of controlling employee conduct "at all times." The policy should apply instead to all Department of State and AID offices and official vehicles throughout the United States, owned or leased. Second, the agreement should make clear how this policy relates to overseas posts, either by explicitly covering all posts or by stating that they will be covered in a separate agreement. AFSA also proposed that there is no need for special smoking areas apart from private offices and a section of the cafeteria. Employees in buildings that do not have cafeterias will presumably eat lunch either in their own offices or outside the building.

In the section headed Enforcement, AFSA proposed that like other department policies, supervisors be held responsible for enforcement, but that employees not be told to report violations to their immediate supervisor. The supervisor may be the violator. Moreover, such administration is likely to be inconsistent among offices. Finally, the agreement presently has no specific appeal mechanism—only a vague reference to the department's "normal administrative procedures"—in the event the employee is dissatisfied with the supervisor's implementation efforts. AFSA suggested that a central office, such as the Office of Employee Relations, be designated in the agreement to receive reports of violations and to make initial efforts to resolve complaints. M/SER/MO is already responsible for implementation of the agreement in AID/W. The agreement should spell out a clear and specific procedure by which an employee may appeal, if those efforts are unsuccessful.

## State Standing Committee



**George Jones**  
Vice President

At this writing, AFSA and the department are still in negotiations on the timing of selection boards, promotion lists, efficiency reports (EERs), and bidding on assignments; the text of the 1990 open assignments message; and the department's proposal to increase sanctions against those responsible for the late submission of EERs.

AFSA has accepted the department's proposal that those who are officially and formally identified as responsible for late EERs "will not be eligible to receive presidential awards, performance pay, meritorious step increases, or any other within-grade increases" for 12 months after the late submission, and that their performance files will be annotated. AFSA believes that the rated officer has an overriding interest in having the selection boards see a complete and current file.

The department has also proposed to move the end of the rating year to May 1 and the deadline for EER submission to June 15, thereby extending the time period for preparation of reports from one month to six weeks. We have accepted this in principle but noted that the specific dates may need revision, depending on the agreement we may reach on the timing of selection boards.

The department proposes to require career development officers to send a "counseling letter" to every employee up for reassignment four months before the employee submits a bid list, and to require the employee to respond with a narrative statement of assignment preferences. AFSA has agreed to this, provided that the employee may also continue to submit a narrative as part of the bidding telegram.

The department proposes to make deputy chief of mission and principal officer assignments much earlier, so those not selected may amend their bid lists. AFSA has agreed but questioned why all bids must be submitted early solely to make "key officer" assignments.

The department proposes to require that all language training or training lasting nine months or more (including Senior Seminar, the war colleges, the economic/commercial course) be linked to an onward assignment for the trainee. AFSA agreed in principle but rejected the original management proposal that non-language training be linked to assignments arranged by PER and the trainee, without competitive bidding. For officers of FS-1 rank and above, that would remove 10 percent of those up for transfer in a given year from the open assignments process. Non-language trainees should bid at the usual time, one year prior to the end of their training, and compete for their onward assignment with everyone else. AFSA proposed, however, that trainees' onward assignments be given priority attention at the beginning of the cycle.

Finally, the department proposed major changes in the timing of the entire bidding-assignment-promotion

cycle. The department proposes August 15 as the deadline for submission of bids and the start of the assignment process; September 5 and October 30 for beginning the two selection board sessions; late February or early March for publication of the promotion lists; and March 31 as the end of the "normal" on-cycle assignment process.

AFSA strenuously objected to breaking what is now perfectly well "fixed"—the relationship between the promotion list (October) and the submission of bids (November 1). To publish the lists in the middle of the assignment cycle is absurd. Also, it would rob potential 1990 promotees of six months' time at their new rank; force them to bid in August 1990 at their old rank; and, perhaps not coincidentally, save the department six months of salary increases.

At the next negotiating session we will see whether agreement is possible on timing and linked assignments. We'll keep you posted.

## AFSA protests Jack Anderson columns

President Ted Wilkinson wrote *The Washington Post* to refute a March 1 Jack Anderson column entitled "Costly Schooling for Diplomats' Children," which had been triggered by an OIG report on Foreign Service allowances. The article misinterpreted the report, to say that "US diplomats serving abroad get a \$14,900 per year, per child education stipend . . . apparently based on the lofty notion that children of FSOs are entitled to attend the best boarding schools. . . . In a fit of philanthropy, Congress designed an elaborate system of fringe benefits to encourage overseas service."

Anderson implied that all Foreign Service families had access to Defense Department schools and claimed that FSOs were free to take the away-from-post boarding school option even at posts where DOD schools are located. Wilkinson's letter corrected Anderson and noted that even at posts where families are eligible to choose the boarding school option, only about 500 children

exercise it.

Vice President George Jones also wrote Jill Kent, assistant secretary for financial management and planning, to protest a statement attributed to an anonymous department official in a February 8 column, headlined, "Traveling in Luxury on Taxpayers' Tab." Anderson said that "an allowance staff member told us embassy officials deliberately distort hotel and restaurant prices to boost per diems, which are part of the basis for their own living allowances."

Jones wrote to Kent, "I hope that you will tell Anderson and/or the Post that this slur on the Foreign Service has no basis whatever. At the posts where I've served, embassy admin staffs faithfully reported prices charged by local hotels and restaurants. And I'm not aware that the per diem for personnel on temporary duty constitutes part of the basis for any allowance paid to employees permanently assigned to that post."

## Scholarships

### Cristin Springet Scholarship Administrator

#### New scholarships

Ambassador Jack W. Lydman and the members of the Committee on Education would like to thank Felix Lapinski and the friends and colleagues of Francesca Bufano Lapinski for establishing a perpetual memorial scholarship in her name.

Francesca Bufano Lapinski joined the Foreign Service as a secretary in 1951 and served until her retirement in 1968. She was at the National Security Council from 1975 to 1988, then rejoined State and served at the mutual and balanced force reduction talks in Vienna.

Lapinski's joins a list of perpetual

scholarships that began with the Oliver Bishop Harriman Award in 1926. In these 64 years, there have been 35 perpetual scholarships established commemorating those dedicated to the Foreign Service and the education of its children.

The Foxcroft School has just announced a partial scholarship for a qualifying daughter of a Foreign Service officer. Additional financial aid is available based on need. The Foxcroft School is located in Middleburg, Virginia with students from 26 states and 13 countries who attend as full and five-day boarders or day students. Advanced placement courses are offered in all disciplines; a full range of extracurricular

activities is available. Application deadline is May 1 for the 1990-91 academic year. For further information contact Rebecca B. Gilmore, director of admissions, Foxcroft School, Middleburg, VA 22117. (703) 687-5555.

#### Jefferson Patterson fund

As part of the Committee on Education's efforts to increase scholarship opportunities, we are pleased to announce that Mrs. Jefferson Patterson has doubled the original endowment of the Jefferson Patterson Memorial Scholarship Fund. Since this fund was originally established in 1971, it has given scholarship assistance to 15 students.

## Public college: How to put in-state tuition within reach



### Sabine Sisk Executive Director

With college expenses rising 10 to 15 percent each year, parents and students increasingly are looking at state universities, which can cost only 25 to 50 percent of private institutions' rates. For example, a state resident attending the University of Virginia would pay tuition of \$2,708, versus \$7,088 for an out-of-state student.

Recently, however, some Foreign Service families—especially those stationed overseas—have found it increasingly difficult to meet residency requirements. Voter registration and property ownership may not be enough: in addition to legal residence, many state universities also require physical presence and income from the state for one year or more. One family was denied in-state rates for their son at the University of Vermont despite having paid Vermont income taxes during their entire Foreign Service career.

According to a recent article in *The Washington Post*, qualification may become even more difficult: courts have determined that states may erect qualifying barriers. Unlike

voter registration, the courts view higher education as more of a privilege than a right.

If you are considering sending your child to your state's university, request the institution's rules on residency requirements as early as possible and study them carefully. You may also wish to obtain a copy of the "Guide to State Residency Requirements at Selected Public Institutions in the United States" from the State Department Office of Overseas Schools (703-875-7800). If it appears that you don't qualify, or you apply and the school turns down your request for in-state tuition, don't hesitate to appeal.

If all else fails, consider having your child establish in-state residency. It isn't easy, especially for undergraduates, but the potential savings make it worth considering. To establish residence, the prospective student must prove financial independence, by working in the state, getting an apartment, obtaining a local drivers license, registering to vote, opening a bank account, or filing a state income tax return. You should stop claiming the student as a dependent on your tax return.

In determining eligibility for in-state tuition, some colleges also consider the student's community activi-

ties—provided they are not entirely student-oriented. Some schools even look at the amount of time the student spends away from the state during vacations. According to Philip J. Hellmuth, an assistant dean at the University of Wisconsin and chairman of the committee that hears residency appeals, some 100 factors may come into play in reviewing in-state tuition applications. Wisconsin, like many other schools, has a detailed questionnaire for students seeking in-state status.

Achieving resident status may not be the end of the battle, either. Many states require another waiting period of up to a year after establishing residency. Thus, some students decide to put off college for a year and work full time in the state. Virginia specifically allows in-state tuition for people who have worked full time in the state and paid income taxes there. Virginia applies this exception also to students living in the District—even with their parents—as long as they have worked full time in Virginia for a year.

Although some students list a mailing address where they are not physically present in an effort to establish residency, schools are aware of this and check information given on the application.

## Search for allies



**Charles A. Schmitz**  
Director of Outreach

Faithful readers of this magazine will know that since last summer, AFSA's leadership has been working hard to find new ways for AFSA and the Foreign Service to communicate beyond our own kind. It isn't easy. We have come to recognize that the Foreign Service has not only a terrible image problem but a less-than-perfect reality.

At the end of last year AFSA sponsored a major conference of

businesspeople and some of the rest of us in the State Department to look at whether we needed better collaboration between government and business in international affairs. The consensus of the meeting was that both sides could do better. Agencies and embassies need to be more welcoming to businesspeople, and business can make government's efforts more effective by having recourse to agencies and embassies before, not after, they really need

the help. Deputy Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger took a giant step for the agencies in his keynote speech by proclaiming a Bill of Rights for U.S. Business. Ask Public Affairs for a copy of the speech; it is required reading for any Foreign Service person.

The success of AFSA's November conference led us to plan another large world trade and foreign affairs conference at the end of 1990, a mini-conference (on the global environment and international business) in June, and four smaller symposia: Liberalization of Export Controls (March 27); American Business in Eastern Europe (April 18); Doing Business with Korea (September 18); and The Revolution in International Communications (October 11). By these events, AFSA intends not only to help the flow of official information but to stimulate dialogue between Foreign Service people and other Americans engaged in international relations.

To help organize our efforts, the AFSA board has authorized two new classes of associates: International Associates for corporations and companies, and Washington Embassy Associates for our foreign colleagues who wish to participate in some of AFSA's outreach activities and enjoy use of the Foreign Service Club.

AFSA's outreach program extends also beyond the Beltway. By our initial survey of retired members of AFSA, we are drawing a profile of our possible assets. We are working on arrangements with the Foreign Policy Association to equip some of our retired people with information and communications to allow them to be foreign-affairs lightning rods in their communities and stimuli to more effective foreign affairs programs. We plan to be able to send AFSA-sponsored Foreign Service people out on speaking engagements to supplement the efforts now being made by the foreign affairs agencies.

The development pace of AFSA's outreach program has been gratifyingly quick during the past few months. During the next few, we may be able to tell if it will produce more enduring benefits for the Foreign Service and the United States.

## Legislative Issues

### Rick Weiss Congressional Liaison

Congressional authorizing, appropriations, and budget committees are reviewing the president's 1991 budget and the departmental and agency requests. The Department of State and USIA, still operating at FY 1989 levels and with their 1990 budgets not fully approved by Congress, are out of cycle with other executive branch offices. Authorizing and appropriations committees would like to resolve this anomaly.

The budget committees and the Office of Management and the Budget, however, are demanding "offsets" (decreases in spending in other 1990 budgets) if the full appropriations provided by the Smith and Hollings subcommittees are made available to State and USIA. This is because 1990 appropriations for the entire U.S. government are already at the budget ceiling. Until this issue is resolved, both agencies will continue to operate at a level far below that which Congress itself said they should have for 1990.

Congressional staff members call the department a budgetary "orphan," and personal efforts by Secretary Baker and senior department management are clearly necessary to secure minimally adequate resources for the department and USIA. The House Foreign Affairs Committee is discussing the need for a "national

security summit" in which the executive and legislative branches would agree on a foreign affairs function spending level to ensure that foreign affairs did not later lose out to domestic requirements. Other committees have told AFSA that the Republican administration and Democratic Congress are unlikely to reach a budget accord on FY 1991.

AFSA's president and vice president meet regularly with members of Congress, committee chairpersons, ranking minority members, and committee staff to stress the need to restore full 1990 funding and provide adequately for FY 1991, in particular for the U.S. government's operating costs abroad. The administration is seeking major program increases (in AID, for example) in Eastern Europe and Panama, and for Violeta Chamorro's new government in Nicaragua. The FY 1991 budget proposals fail to project added costs and personnel needed to face these new challenges and opportunities. The proposed increased staffing in Eastern Europe is to be offset by decreases in other regions, including Latin America.

AFSA officers will continue to contact legislators, testify, and submit statements to all relevant committees. AFSA is informing State management of our contacts with Congress and related concerns.

## Taking your lumps with the lump-sum credit



**Robert M. Beers**  
Congressional Liaison

Back in the days when the government's fiscal operations were less convoluted and more comprehensible, most employees retiring from the Federal workforce could enjoy the benefits of the "three year recovery rule." Essentially, this rule provided that funds deposited in the retirement trust fund during years of employment and duly taxed as income would be returned to them—tax free—in the form of their initial monthly annuity payments. When the total of these payments equaled the amount of an employee's deposits in the retirement trust fund, the annuity payments would be taxable as regular income.

Sad to say, the "three-year recovery rule" was relegated to history on July 2, 1986 by the Tax Reform Act of 1986. Those retiring after that date will have their annuities taxed under the "general rule"; that is, an "exclusion ratio" would be calculated for each individual from life-expectancy tables, excluding that amount from taxation, thereby ultimately allowing compensation for the taxes previously paid on deposits to the retirement trust fund.

Enter the "alternative form of annuity" authorized in the Federal Employees' Retirement System Act of 1986, otherwise known as the "lump-sum withdrawal option." Retiring employees could elect to withdraw their lump sum, i.e. the amount of their deposits into the trust fund, accepting as an offset a reduction in their monthly annuity payments, usually 8 to 10 percent. On top of this, the Tax Reform Act of 1986 imposed a tax on the lump-sum itself, meaning that 85 to 90 percent of the amount would be subject to federal income tax for the year in which it was received. Moreover, another 10 percent tax penalty would be assessed for any retiree under 55.

Despite what at first glance might seem an ominous tax price to pay for electing the lump-sum option, more than half of all eligible federal

retirees have chosen this alternative. There are so many variables that in some cases the right decision is possible only after careful study.

Initially, lump-sum payments were made at 100 percent. Because this item appeared as an expenditure in the federal budget, however, Congress directed that beginning in 1988, lump-sum payments would be disbursed at 60 percent in 1988 and 40 percent in 1989. Last year the law was again changed to pay out 50 percent the first year and 50 percent the second. (Lump-sum payments to Foreign Service retirees, ironically, are still being made at 100 percent, since the executive orders required to bring the Foreign Service into conformity with the Civil Service were never issued.) Moreover, in the future it is conceivable that this entire issue could become moot, since the president's 1991 budget proposes discontinuing the lump-sum-alternative-annuity option altogether.

A final note: in the fall of 1987 a group of Senior Executive Association members retained a law firm to

determine whether there was a "reasonable basis" for challenging the IRS determination that a substantial portion of the lump-sum payments was taxable. The conclusion was that there appeared to be such a basis, so a lawsuit was initiated. The under-55 10 percent penalty tax was also challenged. Briefly, the SEA case contends that the lump-sum credit paid to retirees is defined by statute as a refund of previously taxed funds. On the contrary, the IRS asserts that the definition of the lump-sum distribution in the federal retirement laws is not binding for income tax purposes, and it cites cases involving annuities paid in the private sector to support its contention that a substantial portion of the lump-sum should be taxed.

With this suit already more than two years in process and with oral arguments just getting under way, it's a safe bet that whichever way the court decides, the decision will be appealed, possibly to the Supreme Court. Accordingly, for those who have already paid their tax on the lump-sum, there is still plenty of time to make plans for spending any possible refund.

### *Take Part in Foreign Service Day 1990!*

Friday, May 4 is the 25th anniversary celebration. Retired Members: See old friends and enjoy the full day of activities. Attend the AFSA brunch on Saturday. Active Duty Members: See your colleagues recognized at the award ceremony at 11 a.m. in Dean Acheson Auditorium. Honor those killed in their country's service at the memorial plaque ceremony at 5:30 p.m. with Secretary Baker and a military color guard. Awards to be conferred: Foreign Service Cup (DACOR), Director General's Cup, AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award, Sinclair Language Awards, Herter Award, Rivkin Award, Harriman Award, Bohlen Award.

## Professional Issues

### OMB official discusses foreign affairs budget

**Richard S. Thompson**  
Professional Issues Coordinator

Frank Hodson, executive associate director of OMB who previously spent 14 years in the Foreign Service, commented on the recently unveiled 1991 budget at a February 27 AFSA speaker luncheon.

Hodson noted that the "150 function" foreign affairs account has been increased to \$20 billion, reflecting the president's desire to pay up on arrears to the United Nations and other international organizations. Of the \$20 billion, \$15 billion is for foreign aid and about \$5 billion for the conduct of foreign affairs, including State and USIA. Defense spending, at \$303 billion, shows a nominal increase of 2 percent, a decline in real terms of 2 percent.

For years Congress has been cutting foreign aid requests, and this is likely to continue in spite of needs in Eastern Europe and the developing world. During the transition years of 1991-92, the "peace dividend" will be small. We might even need more money for defense to move troops and prepare bases in the United States.

Three challenges in the foreign affairs budget were outlined. First, rethinking the form of our aid, which has changed little since the philosophy and mechanisms of our assistance were established following World War II. Reduced support for aid and congressional earmarking have meant our programs suffer from both capping and rigidity. We

need to look at new approaches, such as contingency and regional allocations, and combine accounts where it would make sense. The bilateral versus multilateral aid balance should be reviewed.

Second, we need to look at our representation abroad, which Under Secretary of State for Management Ivan Selin is doing. We must reconsider our personnel, intelligence, and economic requirements. In USIA and public diplomacy, VOA, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty require scrutiny.

Third, we need more economic analysis of our aid flows. Can Panama really use the half billion dollars requested, equal to nearly 20 percent of that country's GDP? Why do we provide PL 480 wheat to Poland, where farms are private and there is a reserve of wheat?

Hodson concluded by explaining his role as the manager of the U.S. government's \$1.3 trillion budget, arguing that government management is better than often alleged. The effect of government actions on the economy must be followed closely. Most mismanagement can be corrected, as Secretary Jack Kemp is doing at HUD, for example. OMB is trying to focus on a few issues and effect change there, since sweeping change is not always practical in our political system.

Several questioners contended that U.S. foreign and domestic needs require new taxes. Hodson responded that the proposed 1991 budget achieves the Gramm-Rudman deficit

reduction targets without new taxes, and it is clear the general population does not want a tax increase. The problem is that there is not a consensus on what should be cut. Also, the world has changed since 1945. The West Europeans can do a lot in aid, especially Germany. The U.S. role is declining. The United States will have a share of 8 percent in the new European bank, compared with 20 percent in the older international financial institutions. We could probably better use the \$15 billion we have for aid if we could change priorities.

Similarly, Hodson rejected a suggestion that we should increase the gasoline tax to avoid growing dependence on OPEC, commenting that any new tax would stimulate proposals for others.

Interest was also shown in moving base rights foreign aid to the Defense Department budget. Hodson said this was under discussion, but Defense was afraid the sums would simply be subtracted from other defense needs, and State was concerned about losing control over this important negotiating leverage. Whether certain bases are still critical is also at issue.

Hodson agreed that other agencies have increasing budgets but said he suspects many cuts can be made overseas. He added that the United States should have as few targets for terrorism abroad as possible.

The final questioner noted that the operations budget of the State department at the proposed 1991 level was not sufficient to make the infrastructure investment necessary to cope with developments such as Panama or Nicaragua. Hodson agreed more resources would be needed in discrete areas, but he warned that every agency has fat. OMB will work with agencies to make sure critical infrastructure needs are included in the 1992 budget, but agencies will be encouraged to look for cuts elsewhere in their budgets.

#### T A X G U I D E

For updated corrections to the AFSA Tax Guide for 1989 (February 1990 edition), please see "Letters" on page 4.

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