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MARCH 1991

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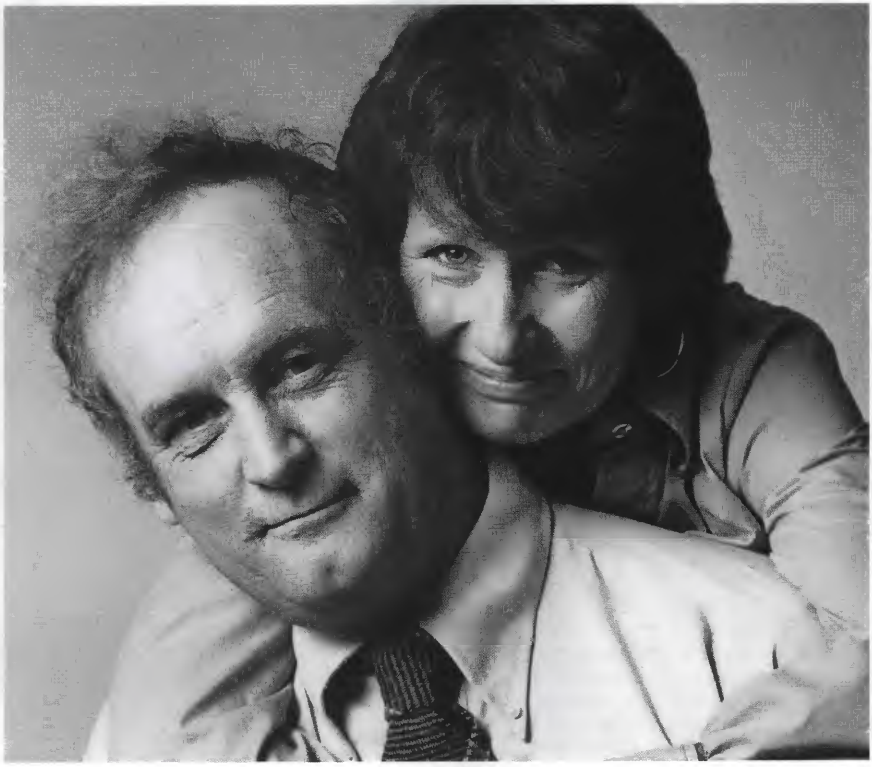

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AFSA VIEWS

Fossil Fuels and Foreign Follies

President Bush got a standing ovation from Congress on January 29 for his tribute to "every man and woman now serving in the Persian Gulf." Sharing in this tribute are the Foreign Service personnel within the zone of hostilities; for example, in Riyadh and Tel Aviv. But the president only touched upon another theme of crucial interest to Foreign Service people for the post-war future—putting into effect a comprehensive national energy policy. Central to any decisions on energy policy is the future of the international oil market, about which AFSA conducted a discussion in depth during a day-long symposium on February 7.

No single domestic issue has more significance for our foreign affairs, and it's high time for the administration to deliver on its two-year-old promise to propose a strategy. There is room for debate about the primacy of oil in the U.S.-Iraqi confrontation, but there can be no doubt about the importance of a coherent national energy policy for the reconstruction phase, and conservation has a special urgency for our entire international agenda.

Economics and national security both demand that we stop disbursing more for one import (oil) than we earn from any single export. Beyond contributing heavily to our trade imbalance, our current over reliance on foreign oil is again becoming a strategic liability. With our nuclear industry withering and our oil reserves dwindling, we're in danger of sliding back into the kind of vulnerability to an oil embargo to which we fell prey in the 1970s.

What serves our own national interest will also serve everyone else's. We need to curtail drastically the rate at which we're pumping carbon into the atmosphere. Whether we're warming the earth 1 degree per decade, per century, or per millennium may be the least important uncertainty. There's no telling what other biospheric damage we've been doing by changing the formula for air. As the world's largest consumer, the United States must provide leadership toward a framework convention to confront this problem. And we cannot lead without setting an example in conservation.

Nearly everyone can agree we must increase costs for consumption and rewards for savings. The difficulty is to spread the burden evenly and avoid slowing down a recession economy. The answer probably lies in gradualism, i.e., pursuing conservation in small steps that allow producers and consumers time to adjust to incremental change. We are already doing this domestically in several ways. Last fall's 5 cent-per-gallon gasoline tax increase probably didn't cross most peoples' threshold of pain. The Clean Air Bill contains a number of phased rewards and penalties for "clean" and "dirty" producers. The concept of "feebates" (fees for polluters, rebates for the saintly) is gaining greater currency, and we may see it in other legislation.

Any new federal revenues from energy legislation will of course bring out each agency's lobbyists in full force to reap the benefits for their impacted budgets. The foreign affairs agencies must not be forgotten in the free for all. For one thing, we will have to pay through enhanced foreign aid programs to get the developing countries to take the painful conservation measures that our common interests demand. For another, we need to restore the health and vigor of the United Nations and other international organizations that will increasingly be called upon to implement international conservation measures. It goes without saying that we cannot put in place essential new international programs by cutting the budgets of those in State and AID who will be charged with the job.

Ted Wilkinson

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Editor
ANNE STEVENSON-YANG
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JULIA T. SCHIEKEN
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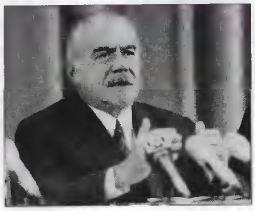
Cover:

A supporter of Namibia's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance outside SWAPO headquarters, 1989.

Photo by Christopher Ayers.



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PHOTOGRAPHS BY JULIA SCHIEKEN

ILLUSTRATION BY GEORGE HOLTON

LETTERS

To The Editor:

Congratulations on your new feature, the Foreign Service quiz, which began with the December 1990 issue on page 9. I like quizzes. But I'm sorry to say you missed two of our presidents who served overseas in important U.S. diplomatic posts.

In addition to the five you mention (Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, Buchanan, Hoover, and Bush) there were John Adams and William Henry Harrison. In fact, my article on Harrison's service as minister to Colombia was published in the *FSJ* in January 1978.

Perhaps you do not agree that John Adams' assignment constituted "service overseas in an important diplomatic post." In 1777 Adams joined Benjamin Franklin as joint commissioner in Paris. Upon arrival, he learned that France had already entered into an alliance with the United States. Franklin was the official envoy to France, and Adams found little to do, so returned to Boston. He was sent back to Paris three years later, in 1780, to work on the peace negotiations. In the meantime, he went to the Netherlands, to which he was also commissioned. Returning to Paris in 1783, he and the other American commissioners—Franklin, John Jay, Harry Laurens, and William Temple Franklin (Benjamin Franklin's son)—signed the definitive peace treaty on September 3, 1783. David Hartley signed for the British. It is for this treaty and for the Dutch loans that John Adams' diplomatic career was most noteworthy.

Before returning to America in 1789, John Adams served three years as the first minister plenipotentiary in London. Historians and biographers describe this as a frustrating experience. He was rebuffed by British officials and unsupported by a weak Congress at home. Attempts to negotiate a commercial treaty and to clear up issues carried over from the revolution were unsuccessful. He was recalled at his own request in February 1788. The following year he became the first vice president, and in 1797 the second president of the United States.

Robert E. Wilson
The writer is a retired Foreign Service officer.

Editor's note: *Thank you for the correction. We hope we haven't missed anyone else, but readers are invited to let us know otherwise.*

To The Editor:

The article in the November issue, "How to Win Friends and Influence Congress," by Congressman Ralph Regula, hits the nail on the head. He particularly pointed out the importance of Foreign Service personnel's meeting with their congressional representatives to discuss issues and their concerns. It is too bad all members of Congress do not feel the same way as Congressman Regula.

My personal experience in attempting to meet with my representative or his staff member has been very poor. They just did not want to talk with anyone from the Foreign Service. I had the distinct impression they had "more important things to do" with constituents back home rather than listen to someone wanting to discuss foreign affairs operations. Once I actually was allowed (by pre-arrangement) to meet the congressman and walk with him from a meeting he addressed back to his hotel, where he hopped into a car and sped off. The elapsed time could not have been more than four minutes.

James F. Prosser
Green Bay, Wisconsin

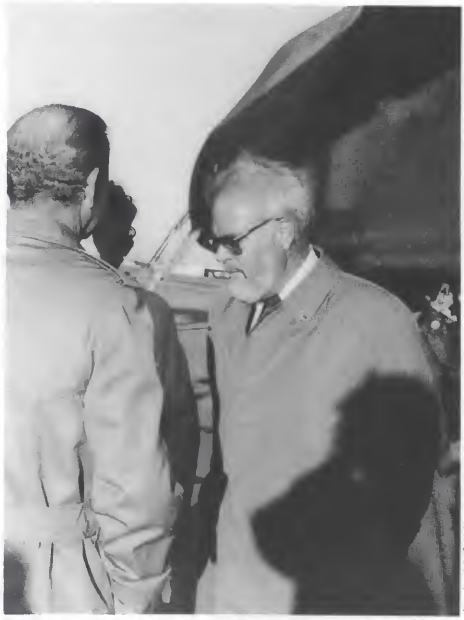

photo by: Julia Scheleen

Ambassador Nat Howell being greeted at Andrews Air Force Base by Secretary of State James Baker, on his return from Kuwait.

The following letters were sent to Ambassador Nat Howell by Americans who found themselves or their relatives caught in Kuwait after Iraq's invasion. They are reprinted by permission of the authors.

I wish to express my heartfelt appreciation to the gutsy members of the staff of the American Embassy in Kuwait. I can only imagine what the conditions were in the embassy compound. And I don't *want* to imagine the situation for our people in Kuwait if you had not stayed and kept communications going, as lim-

ited as they might have been under the circumstances.

Sherry Vintson
St. Petersburg, Florida

I was one of Saddam Hussein's guests in Kuwait and had met you at the Easter function at the embassy (I brought the "bunny").

I am happy that we are all home, and I insisted that the family not remove the yellow ribbon until the last of the staff had left Kuwait. With much relief, we saw you come home and were able to take it down.

I wish to thank you for your support to all the Americans who were "in hiding"—I prefer to call it artfully eluding detention—in Kuwait.

I am now waiting for the situation to be resolved, I hope peacefully. Should all work out well, I intend to return and complete my contract with the company.

I wish you all the best of luck and a less eventful 1991.

Pete Dooley
Hopkinsville, Kentucky

I would like to express my appreciation to Ambassador Howell and his staff for their exemplary courage and service to the people of the United States. I am dismayed that the media have not afforded them the acclaim they deserve.

Having lived long enough to see the United States of America passport change from a symbol demanding respect to a document best concealed while traveling overseas, I am heartened to see members of our Foreign Service acting with strength, courage, and dignity.

Leon Schwarzbaum
North Woodmere, New York ■

POLICY STATEMENT AFSA ELECTION 1991

The Committee on Elections and the Governing Board have agreed to the following policy related to materials submitted for publication in the *Foreign Service Journal* and/or AFSA News during the election period.

1) The Committee on Elections will not authorize publication of letters to the editor, editorials, or articles, on, by, or referring to the candidates, or bearing on the election in a manner not compatible with the Election Committee's responsibility to assure that the *Foreign Service Journal* and AFSA News are not used to support or oppose any candidate or slate.

2) During the election period, beginning February 1, 1991 and ending June 30, 1991, an Elections Committee member screens the April, May, and June issues of the *Foreign Service Journal* to assure compliance with this policy. The February and March issues of the *FSJ* are excluded, as they go to press before candidates are nominated.

CLIPPINGS

NEW POSTINGS TO IRAQ AND BRITAIN

The Washington Post, January 30, 1991, by Al Kamen and Ann Devroy

The State Department has selected career diplomat A. Peter Burleigh to represent the United States in postwar Baghdad and career diplomat Raymond G.H. Seitz to be ambassador to Britain, sources said yesterday.

Burleigh, deputy chief of the department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, is an expert on the Middle East and South Asia and has specialized in Persian Gulf matters for much of his 24-year career in the Foreign Service.

. . . Despite the war, the United States has not broken relations with Iraq, and the U.S. Embassy, while vacant, is not technically closed. The last U.S. diplomats left Baghdad in the week before the war started.

. . . Seitz would be the first Foreign Service officer to get the prestigious posting to the Court of St. James.

The 50-year-old Seitz, who is assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, has served in London twice before, once in 1975 and again from 1984 to 1989 when he was the deputy chief of mission. Seitz also has served in Canada, Kenya, and Zaire.

The administration has not decided what to do about two other nominees whose confirmations were blocked last year by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), the ranking minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Some administration officials considered nominating John Bushnell, who had been tapped earlier to serve in Costa Rica, but for the Dominican Republic. But according to administration officials, Helms sent back word that he "will be held up for any diplomatic post anywhere in the world." The same was said to be the case for George Fleming Jones, who had been nominated to be ambassador to Guyana.

TURKEY'S MILITARY MUSCLE

The Washington Post, January 29, 1991, by Jonathan C. Randal

CIZRE, Turkey—Rumbling tank transporters today brought in more war materiel, beefing up the array of tanks, armored personnel carriers and artillery in the hills overlooking this strategic city close to Turkey's borders with Syria and Iraq.

The message intended by the massive display of these old, refitted American tanks, 105mm artillery pieces, M-113 armored personnel carriers, recoilless rifle-mounted jeeps, self-propelled artillery and other equipment, according to diplomats, is that Turkey is determined to be a major player in the Middle East of the future.

With more armor and bridging equipment just out of sight in the plains on either side of the international highway leading southeast to the closed Iraqi border crossing at Habur, Turkey has taken a high-profile position that worries neighbors Iran and Syria almost as much as it does Iraq.

The message intended by the massive display of these old, refitted American tanks, 105mm artillery pieces, M-113 armored personnel carriers, recoilless rifle-mounted jeeps, self-propelled artillery and other equipment, according to diplomats, is that Turkey is determined to be a major player in the Middle East of the future.

Trucked in from the railhead at Batman 110 miles away, the tanks and much of the equipment came from armored garrisons far to the north and east that, during the Cold War, were considered vital bases in NATO's southern flank opposite the So-

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viet border.

Turkey has massed 120,000 troops along its 206-mile border with Iraq. Syria's military force facing Iraq to the west is tiny by comparison, and there have been no reports of Iranian muscle-flexing since its army held maneuvers along Iraq's eastern border at mid-month.

Derwinski was, in his words, "the designated non-attendee.". . . In one of Washington's best-known but little-discussed secrets, one member of the Cabinet traditionally is asked not to attend the president's State of the Union message or other speeches to joint sessions of Congress.

VOA'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The Washington Times, January 4, 1991, by George Archibald

In an apparently unprecedented revolt, Voice of America employees started circulating a petition to Congress yesterday to prevent the U.S. Information Agency from taking over control of VOA operations.

The petition is aimed at USIA Director Bruce Gelb, who, without approval from the White House or Congress, took over VOA's budget and personnel operations Dec. 14.

Mr. Gelb's move was the latest chapter in his yearlong feud with VOA Director Richard Carlson, who has retained White House support despite the USIA director's efforts to get him fired over budget and policy differences.

"We represent the professional staff of the Voice of America—the people who write, produce and deliver radio programs in 44 languages and keep this unique American institution running 24 hours a day, seven days a week," the petition said.

"In recent months, we have noted with alarm the degree to which USIA and its director, Bruce Gelb, have sought to control the Voice of America, down to the content and tone of what goes on the air," the petition stated.

To prevent this, the petitioners said the Congress: "We urge you to amend the VOA charter to [require that] the Voice of America shall be administered separately from other United States Information Agency programs."

SPEECHLESS

The Washington Post, January 29, 1991, by Bill McAllister

Veterans Affairs Secretary Edward J. Derwinski is not likely to soon forget listening to President Bush's State of the Union message last year—Derwinski's first as a member of the Cabinet.

While his fellow Cabinet members sat in rapt attention in the House, Derwinski spent the evening in the basement of a Northern Virginia pizza parlor, watching the speech on a big-screen television set with a Secret Service detail and a few White House staff members.

Derwinski was, in his words, "the designated non-attendee."

In one of Washington's best-known but little-discussed secrets, one member of the Cabinet traditionally is asked not to attend the president's State of the Union message or other speeches to joint sessions

of Congress. Fearful that some catastrophic event might kill the president and all 17 officials in the line of presidential succession, one Cabinet member is kept away to ensure there will be a president.

White House officials declined yesterday to give details of the practice, citing security concerns. "There will be one who stays home, but we never say which one it was," said press secretary Marlin Fitzwater.

FIGHTING SUBSIDES IN SOMALIA

THE *NEW YORK TIMES*, JANUARY 29,1991 BY JANE PERLEZ

NAIROBI, Kenya, Jan. 28—Fighting subsided in Mogadishu today after rebels took the war-ruined Somali capital and forced President Mohammed Siad Barre to flee.

The airport, where Mr. Barre maintained a well-fortified bunker, was the last important point to fall to the rebels of the United Somali Congress, the British Boradcasting Corporation reported today. The deposed president and top aides were reported to have fled in a convoy of more tha 40 vehicles, some of them tanks, the BBC said.

A spokesman for the Somali Congress in Nairobi, Ali Mohammed Hirabe, said the group was preparing to form a "broad-based democratic government." Other opposition forces would be invited to join, he said.

Clan-Based Politics

The three groups that are to be included in the new government, the spokesman said, were the Congress, which is drawn from the Hawiye clan from the center of the country; the Somali National Movement, based on the Issak clan from the north, and the Somali Patriotic Movement, whose members are Ogadenis from the south.

But the other major rebel groups are also based on clans, and there is some question about how they can work together for the government of "national reconciliation" that the Somali Congress is calling for, experts on Somalia said.

"The New Importance of Electrical Communications," prepared for the FSJ by the Federal Communications Commission, March 1941:

Radio's development makes it possible for voices to be wafted between Europe and America in one-sixtieth of a second! Operation of electrical apparatus capable of such farflung and almost instantaneous communication has been a commercial boon. But in war, as in peace time, broadcasts cut across time and distance to challenge any claim of isolation.

The current war is the first major conflict to be fought on the land, on the sea, and in the air to the inclusion of the ether. The World War had no radio problem of the magnitude now so evident. Then there was only the dot-and-dash signal to consider. Today there are commercial, amateur, and program transmissions to perplex the international picture.

"Policing" the ether has become an important duty in connection with the national defense program. . . .

FOREIGN SERVICE QUIZ

Answers appear on page 62.

1. When U.S. commissioner Nicholas Trist was recalled to Washington during the final stages of treaty negotiations, he disregarded his instructions in order to complete the treaty. What treaty was he negotiating?

2. In December 1923, which former senator from Minnesota was appointed ambassador to Great Britain? (Hint: He served at this post little more than a year, because he was appointed secretary of State upon the resignation of Charles Evans Hughes.)

3. Secretary of State William Learned Marcy requested that envoys appear at foreign court functions "in the simple dress of an American citizen." Faced with the prospect of being dressed exactly like the court servants at a reception given by Queen Victoria, this U.S. envoy to Great Britain distinguished himself from them by wearing a "very plain black-handled and black-hilted dress sword." Who was this envoy?

4. Who was the wealthy editor and publisher of the New York *Tribune* who began his service as ambassador to Great Britain in 1905 and received a degree from Oxford University during this mission?

5. Ruth Bryan Owen, daughter of William Jennings Bryan, and Florence Jaffray Harriman were the first women to head diplomatic missions. Who appointed them, and where did they serve?

SPEAKING OUT

CHRISTOPHER F. LYNCH

What Eastern Europe Should Learn from Latin America

The countries of Eastern Europe have broken free of the Soviet stranglehold and are moving quickly to integrate themselves into a Europe without East-West divisions. The most dramatic example is reunited Germany, where the hated wall is now but a memory. Most countries in the former Warsaw Pact are moving toward a pluralistic parliamentary system. Various reforms are moving the economies away from central planning and toward greater reliance on prices and markets.

In this moment of optimism, a note of realism should be introduced: The path to successful reform is at best difficult, and poorly executed changes can make the situation worse. The former German Democratic Republic is having the easiest adjustment, since it is receiving West German money and, more important, West German institutions. The rest of Eastern Europe, however, will have to reform or create new institutions and legal frameworks. The countries have the opportunity to start over, but before pressing ahead, policy-makers should look at success stories and failures. One of the best places to examine is Latin America, because it has experimented with just about every kind of economic model over the past 20 years.

State-led model

It may appear at first that Eastern Europe, with its heavily industrial economic base, has little in common with Third World Latin America. However, Latin America has faced a remarkably similar set of problems since the mid-1980s. In the past several decades, both areas of the world relied on a state-led model of economic development, supported (with a few exceptions in Latin America) by an authoritarian or totalitarian government. Planners looked to the state, largely due to a shared suspicion of the ability of markets to address social concerns.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

President José Sarney of Brazil ended his term with public confidence shattered, as economic package after package failed.

In Latin America, this suspicion translated into a corporatist approach to economic policy, where government, business, and labor divided up the pie. Instead of being created, wealth was redistributed year after year. This meant limiting competition, particularly from imports, and emphasizing exports of commodities. The strategy led to good growth through the 1970s, when commodity prices were high and international bankers eager to recycle petrodollars. Unfortunately, much of the money that came in to Latin America quickly went out as flight capital.

The 1981 Mexican debt moratorium led international bankers to cut off lending throughout the region. At the same time, the recession in the industrialized countries led to declining commodity prices. Latin America thus began its "lost decade." The countries in the region tried to implement various reforms to stem the decline. Most didn't work. First, the debt crisis cut off the possibility of international financing, and a significant chunk of internal savings was going to service past foreign debts. Second, economic reforms, such as opening the economy or reducing the size of the state, ran quickly into opposition from established interest groups, not the least of which was the entrenched bureaucracy. Not surprisingly, most political leaders chose to try to patch up the corporatist strategy.

In Eastern Europe, the Communist Party, backed by the Soviets, decided on who got what shares of the pie. Eastern Europe ran into a dead end for most of the same reasons as in Latin America: bloated government, inefficient parastatals, etc. Similarly, economic change threatened the political structure. Eastern Europe also tried to keep up with the world, but without reforms to the underlying economic and political structures, the result was economic stagnation and social discontent. With a monopoly on power, the Communist Party was able to forestall the inevitable for several years longer than in Latin America. However, once the Soviets allowed change, the Eastern European governments quickly collapsed under their own weight.

Surprisingly, the common result of the changes in both Eastern Europe and

Latin America was a return to democratic institutions, rather than the emergence of other totalitarian regimes. The wave of democratization had reached Latin American countries some five years earlier, and as their experience demonstrates, making economic and political changes at the same time is much more complicated.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez was forced to make a major devaluation when he came into office, and the resulting austerity, which hit hard at the poorest sectors, set off unprecedented riots.

Avoiding easy solutions

Overall, the experience of Latin America in making economic reforms has yielded more lessons on how not to do things, but there have been some interesting successes. In countries where the process has failed, inflation has skyrocketed and living standards have fallen. Those countries that seriously approached reform have been able to contain inflation, and in some cases also make improvements in living standards. Generally, the successful countries have moved quickly on reforms, before special-interest groups could stop or dilute the program. Certain strategies, however, have been more successful as object lessons in how not to reform than as truly progressive measures. For example:

• *Halfway reforms.* Presidents Raúl Alfonsín of Argentina and José Sarney of Brazil ended their terms with public confidence shattered, as economic package after package failed. Their reforms had largely consisted of price controls and knocking zeros off the currency. Merchants quickly figured how to get around price controls, and the ones who suffered the most were those on fixed incomes, i.e. workers, elderly, and the poor, who were supposed to be protected by the controls. Major reforms were avoided.

• *Deficit spending.* Hyper-inflation in Brazil, Argentina, and Peru resulted when the central bank printed money to cover the deficits of the government and state entities. The newly elected congresses were not able to come to grips with the budget and responded to interest groups in the absence of effective economic policies by the executive.

• *Allowing the currency to appreciate.* There is a great temptation to keep imports cheap in order to spur consumption (generally of the urban elites), while at the same time keeping down domestic inflation. Venezuela's currency was so overvalued in the mid 1980s that it was cheaper to take weekend flights to Miami than a vacation to the local beach. President Carlos Andres Perez was forced to make a major devaluation when he came into office, and the resulting austerity, which hit hard at the poorest sectors, set off unprecedented riots.

Possible pitfalls

Ultimately, the most important goal for Eastern Europe is to quickly establish clear and consistent laws. First it must move to clarify its muddled and archaic legal systems. This is probably where Eastern Europe can learn the most. Hernan de Soto's milestone book *The Other Path* documented how complicated laws for starting a business or owning property were at the root of the problems for the working-class Peruvian. De Soto also points out how the lack of public input into administrative rule making allows existing interest groups to manipulate the system to their advantage, thwarting the development of small enterprise.

Second, don't scare off foreign investors. Foreign investors accept that there is greater risk (and greater return) in developing countries, but they become nervous when the rules change. Argentina's changing policy on privatizations led a number of potential investors to back out of deals in that country and to put their money instead in neighboring Chile.

Third, Europe must avoid lax supervision of the financial sector. Chile went into a deep recession at the beginning of the debt crisis in 1982, but the drop in GDP was exacerbated by the near collapse of the entire financial system. No one questioned why owners of banks were allowed to shift assets through a variety of companies which existed only on paper. When foreign loans were cut off, the house of cards came tumbling down. Eastern Europe is just starting to develop a financial sector. It must steer between two rocky shores of over-regulation, where transactions are expensive or complicated to carry out, and under-supervision, where the markets can be manipulated by a few unscrupulous dealers.

Successful strategies

Move quickly and across the board on adjustment policies. The public will accept austerity only for a limited period of time, and it is easier to introduce reforms at the beginning of a new government, when there is a mandate for change. Later in the term of office, interest groups will have had time to organize. Without across-the-board changes in internal markets, the foreign trade regime, and the financial system, markets and prices will be distorted, leading to further crises, as in Argentina. The key to success in Mexico, Bolivia, and Chile was in addressing the economy as a whole, rather than introducing piecemeal reforms.

Get the fiscal side under control. One key to Bolivia's success in reducing inflation was to broaden the tax base. Many countries, most recently Argentina, have moved toward value-added taxes, which are easier to enforce. On the other side of the ledger, bloated bureaucracies need to be cut back drastically. In order to finance the budget until the tax base matures, many countries have sold off state enterprises.

Modernize and streamline the legal system. One of the key factors in the ability of Chile to create so many businesses and jobs was the guarantee of property rights, along with the enactment of simplified laws on investment and mining. Other countries have also

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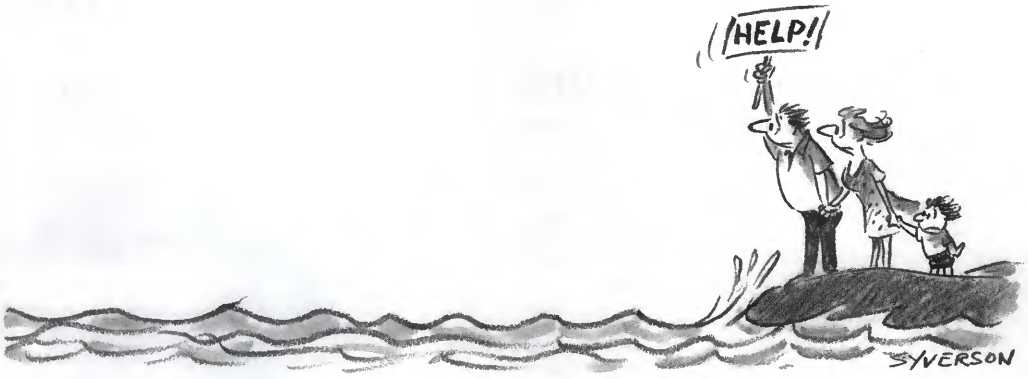

The last thing you need when you're living far away is coverage that doesn't go far enough. Unfortunately, many people mistake the benefits provided by the U.S. Government Claims Act for insurance coverage. And that can often lead to near-total disappointment.

In fact, the Government encourages employees to buy private insurance. If you rely solely on the Claims Act, you may not adequately protect personal articles like jewelry, furs, and fine arts. You'll have no coverage if you're not on government business. And, you'll have no coverage for personal liability.

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focused on improving the judicial system. Successful economies require some method for settling of disputes in an impartial manner that equalizes the rights of the little guy versus the entrenched interest group.

Encourage development of capital and financial markets to mobilize local savings. In Chile, the government instituted various "popular capitalism" schemes to encourage workers to buy stock in privatized companies or intervened banks. In a number of Latin American countries, foreign investors have profitably set up a variety of funds which are invested in the local stock market. The presence of these funds helps boost demand, allowing companies to raise cash through equity rather than borrowing.

Let business take care of business. With the right kind of institutional and legal frameworks, the entrepreneur will come to the fore and start creating businesses. The experience of northern Mexico and its growth in the last few years underscore this point. This doesn't, however, imply a complete laissez-faire attitude, since the government still must maintain a regulatory role in areas of public welfare such as government, protection of minorities, etc.

Consider using debt-swap programs to reduce foreign debt. Chile reduced its debt from 125 percent of gross domestic product in 1985 to 66 percent in 1989 through its innovative debt-swap programs.

What can Eastern Europe learn from the Latin American experience? Economic reforms require decisive across-the-board action. There is undoubtedly an initial cost, but avoiding the tough choices simply leads to an eventual decline in living standards. In back of those reforms, countries need to have in place an institutional and legal framework that allows the economy to develop. That means, for Eastern Europe, abandoning decades of state planning and shifting the emphasis to the private sector. At the same time, it means developing institutions that can prevent abuses of the economic system and protect the public welfare.

Modernize and streamline the legal system. One of the key factors in the ability of Chile to create so many businesses and jobs was the guarantee of property rights, along with the enactment of simplified laws on investment and mining.

The events of the last year and a half in Eastern Europe have been breathtaking, and the area has a unique chance to start anew. Using these insights along with hard work, Eastern Europe can finally enjoy the peace and prosperity it had been denied under four decades of Communist rule. ■

Christopher F. Lynch is a Foreign Service officer posted to Madrid. He recently finished a tour in Santiago, Chile.

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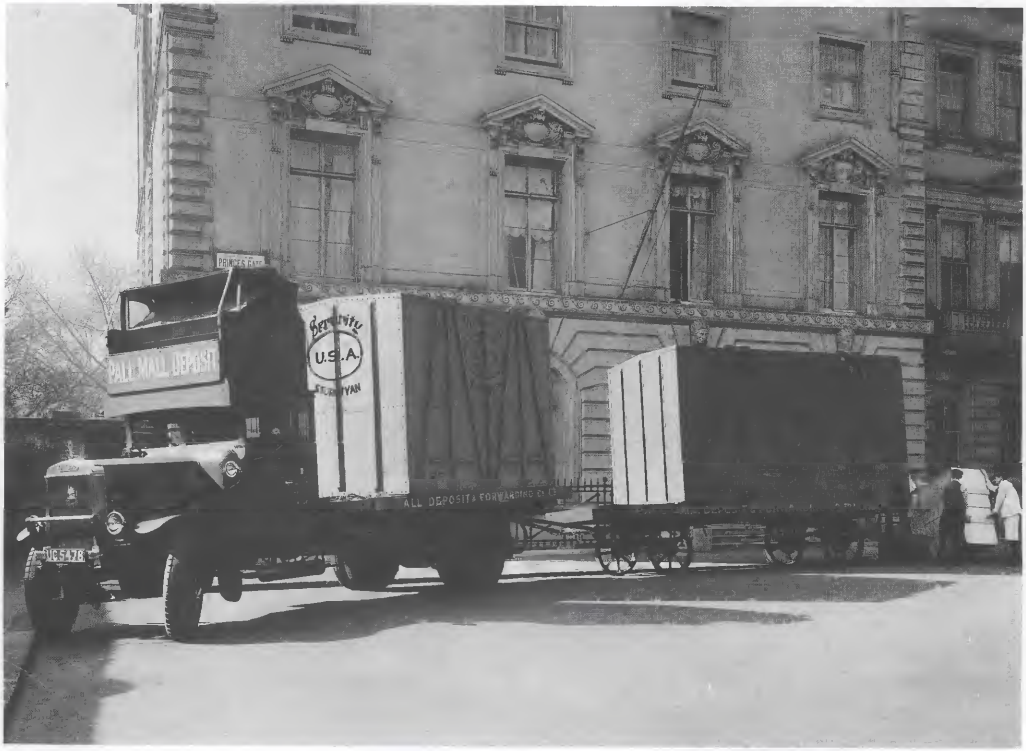

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The Hidden Economy

How to give Africa's troubled economies a fresh start

JEROME WOLGIN

In the mind's eye, Africa conjures up pictures of parched earth, children with swollen bellies and wasted limbs, and women picking with hoes at arid land. Over the last decade the misery has taken on the apocalyptic proportions of the Book of Revelation—famine, war, plague, and death besiege Africa as they do no other continent. The statistics are no less appalling than the popular image. Whether we examine debt, economic stagnation, infant mortality, birth rates, the number of people who are HIV positive, or the destruction of forests, the past looks grim, the present hopeless, and the future disastrous.

Both the pictures and the numbers present, at best, a partial view, however. Famine, war, debt, and AIDS are all real, but affect only a minority of Africa's 500 million people. There is another Africa often hidden from view, and it is a continent peopled with energetic entepreneurs, skillful craftsmen, strong families, and a vibrant economy. Africa's future depends on strengthening this hidden economy.

Understanding the reality and complexity of African economies requires two things. First, one must disregard official statistics about almost all elements of the economy—GDP, exports, agricultural production, infant mortality rates—which cannot be trusted to be even sketchily accurate. Second, one must think of African economies as having two separate, but interrelated parts, a formal, official economy and an informal, unofficial, hidden, sometimes illegal, and largely unmeasured economy.

The formal economy comprises the government sector, large-scale firms and farms (many owned by the government), and that part of the informal economy that the government is able to control directly. The informal economy encompasses the rest—millions of small-scale farmers, traders, manufacturers, money lenders, traditional healers, mechanics, miners, water carriers, taxi drivers, herders, food processors, brewers, and so on.

The formal economy of most African countries went into a deep recession in the late 1970s, as international stagflation caused by the two oil shocks led to serious trade declines. Oil prices, interest rates, and the prices of manufactured goods all rose significantly faster than the prices of Africa's major exports—tropical agricultural products and minerals. These external shocks exposed and accentuated the weaknesses of undiversified economies, dominated by the government. As tax revenues and foreign exchange availability fell because of this recession, governments responded in a number of unhappy ways: they borrowed, they printed money, they increased their direct control of the economy, they increased marginal tax rates on the private economy, and they rationed scarce goods.

ILLUSTRATION BY THOMAS ROSE

There is another Africa often hidden from view, and it is a continent peopled with energetic entepreneurs, skillful craftsmen, strong families, and a vibrant economy. Africa's future depends on strengthening this hidden economy.

Economic free fall

The results should have been predictable. Government and government-guaranteed debt grew much faster than did the ability to service such debt. Inflation increased dramatically, leading to widening distortions between officially controlled prices and the scarcity value of many goods and services. This was particularly true for the most important price in the economy, that of foreign exchange. As official prices became more distorted, more and more economic activity moved from the formal to the informal economy. Real tax revenues declined, leading to declines in government services and the erosion of real wages in the government sector.

All of this resulted in the African economic crisis that has preoccupied donors and governments since 1984 and led to the mushrooming of World Bank and International Monetary Fund adjustment programs in Africa. The official figures tell a dismal tale. Excluding oil exporters and the war-ravaged countries of the Horn and Southern Africa, official figures show the following economic deterioration between 1973 and 1987:

- *Annual decrease in agricultural production per capita* **0.95 percent**
- *Annual increase in debt per capita* **17.64 percent**
- *Annual decrease in GDP per capita* **1.08 percent**
- *Annual decrease in export revenues per capita* **1.68 percent**
- *Annual increase in consumer prices* **23.62 percent**

But we are only now learning how badly these figures misrepresent what has actually happened in the lives of most Africans. What has new research, conducted over the past five to 10 years shown us?

Informal remedies

First, African farmers manage complex income-generation strategies. Most rural households generate substantial portions of their income from activities off the farm: trading,

seasonal labor, and processing agricultural products—brewing beer, for example. Most households depend on an extended family network for income, frequently receiving remittances from family members working in cities, other rural areas, and even overseas. This differentiated network of income sources helps households to reduce the risks they face when prices for cash crops fall, rains fail, or a recession affects the formal economy.

Second, informal markets (including markets for capital and foreign exchange) are efficient and dynamic. Transaction costs are generally high, because traders may be operating on a very small scale and because there are high costs in bribing police and government officials. Nevertheless, these markets work, and when a farmer cannot get credit from the agricultural bank because cheap subsidized credit has been allocated to the politically connected, he or she can get credit from a trader or a money lender—albeit at high real rates. When the government ration shop that sells controlled food is empty, a consumer can buy food at the local market at an unsubsidized price. When the local marketing board pays only 10 percent of the world price for cocoa, a local trader will pay 40 percent and smuggle the cocoa over the border.

Third, it has been possible, in fairly limited circumstances, for donors to circumvent the failure of governments to provide key services. Nowhere has this been more evident than in the campaign to provide immunizations and oral rehydration salts to Africa's children. These "child survival" programs have been successful because they are cheap and thus can be funded almost entirely by donors. As a result, infant and child mortality rates in Africa continue to decline even when other parts of the social infrastructure are deteriorating. There is little doubt that donors will also be able to mount programs to provide voluntary contraceptive services as broadly as they have been able to provide immunizations.

Fourth, countries that experienced the implosion of the formal sector (for example, Ghana, Guinea, Zaire outside Kinshasa, and Tanzania) quickly saw the growth of the informal economy to offset this collapse. For example, as real wages plummeted for government workers, government work became valuable only insofar as it provided access to key perks such as housing and the ability to barter influence or authority for what economists call "rents," and what the world calls bribes or extortion. Most government employees diversified their income sources and became part-time farmers, traders, etc. The formal economy with its official prices set artificially low, became the venue for a small number of limited transactions, while the bulk of market activity took place in the informal economy.

Fifth, African economies have always had porous borders. The many economic dislocations, the prevalence of high rates of inflation and unrealistic exchange rates, and the predatory nature of marketing boards, have led to increased smuggling and informal trade. During the depths of Ghana's economic crisis, almost all official imports (be they petrol or fertilizer or consumer goods) were so highly subsidized that they quickly made their way to one of the borders to be exchanged for hard currency. Similarly, exports, even low value items like cocoa, also crossed borders.

Hidden strength

As a result, things were never as bad in most countries as they seemed. For example, during the long day's journey into night of the Ghanaian economic collapse, real food prices actually fell. The decline was more likely to result from increasing supplies rather than declining demand. Over the entire period, the population shifted from urban to rural areas, thus reversing a post-independence trend. And in 1983, over 1 million Ghanaians were expelled from Nigeria and absorbed into Ghana's rural economy without any difficulty, at a time when drought and economic policies had brought the economy to its lowest point.

In Tanzania, food prices also declined during the economic collapse. Evidence suggests that farmers shifted from cash crops (coffee, cotton, and sisal) to food crops, and that the land planted to food increased substantially during the 1974 to 1987 period.

In Zaire, the failure of the government to provide rudimentary education, health, and transport services has led to a total shift from the government to the voluntary (mostly church) sector for schooling and health care, and to the fragmentation of the country into a number of largely independent regions, more linked to their neighbors (Tanzania, Zambia, Rwanda, Uganda, etc.) than to each other or to the central government in Kinshasa.

This economic resiliency has eluded official figures. As the informal economy has grown in importance and government capacity eroded, our ability to accurately measure economic activity has declined. In some countries, national accounts are made up of whole cloth. Even trade figures, traditionally the most accurate of all macroeconomic aggregates, are off by 100 to 200 percent. For example, estimates of informal exports from Tanzania are $600 million, while recorded exports are about $300 million.

Finally, since most households, and particularly most poor people, had already adjusted to economic crisis by increasing the share of their "informal" incomes and expenditures, the adjustment programs prescribed by the World Bank and IMF were much less Draconian than they appeared at first blush. Raising the price of foreign exchange does not reduce real incomes if most purchases are already at the parallel rather than the official exchange rate. The same is true for food purchases and other items subject to price controls. In Mali, for example, the elimination of price controls led to a decrease rather than an increase in prices, because shopkeepers were including in their prices a markup reflecting the "tax" they paid the economic police.

In Senegal, removing foreign exchange controls increased competition and allowed the informal sector access to spare parts, enabling refrigerator, air conditioning, and auto repair firms to underprice the monopolistic formal sector. In Cameroon, the government was able to reduce fertilizer subsidies without raising prices to farmers by privatizing fertilizer marketing, thus saving millions of dollars in "marketing costs." In Mali, liberalizing food markets allowed rural people (who are very often net purchasers of food) to purchase food more cheaply and more conveniently; previously, they had had to travel long

distances to buy large quantities from government depots. Finally, in Madagascar, the liberalization of the rice market and the elimination of subsidies never hurt the poor very much, because most subsidies had been received by the urban middle class rather than the rural poor, for whom they were intended. These folks always had to depend on local markets for the bulk of their purchases.

It should not be surprising, then, that despite the gloom and doom surrounding discussions of African economies, many, if not most, Africans are engaged in economic activity that leaves them no worse off, if little better off, than they were in 1973, when the bloom first began disappearing from the rose.

. . . these economies are closer to turning things around than many of us have realized. What is needed is vision, political will, and patience. Donors and pundits alike have been imprisoned by stereotypes of African politicians and civil servants as lazy, incompetent, and incorrigibly greedy.

Formidable obstacles

None of this need gloss over the truth of Africa's social and economic weakness. Labor productivity in Africa remains very low, and, consequently, so are real wages. Welfare, whether measured by health and education indicators or income, is also probably lower than anywhere else in the world. African entrepreneurs, workers, and farmers still operate in a very constrained environment that raises transaction costs, lowers the rate of return on investment, and discourages channeling savings into areas with the highest long-term rates of return. Africa's share of world trade and access to private foreign capital has declined precipitously, and, consequently, Africa is in danger of becoming completely marginalized from the world economy. In many ways, because of high levels of population growth, a weakening world economy, and continuing political instability, African economies are more poorly positioned today to move onto a path of sustained growth than they were 20 years ago.

On the other hand, these economies are closer to turning things around than many of us have realized. What is needed is vision, political will, and patience. Donors and pundits alike have been imprisoned by stereotypes of African politicians and civil servants as lazy, incompetent, and incorrigibly greedy. There is enough truth in this image to make it difficult to get through the image to reality. But clearly, while greed and corruption abound, there are many dedicated people who want desperately to turn their societies around, and who are frustrated by the system within which they work. They are shackled by organizations that are centralized, provide limited opportunities for growth or choice, discourage creative behavior, and subordinate the interests of the society to the interests of the individual. In short, the rules and institutional structures that dominate public and regulate private economic life in most of Africa need to be profoundly restructured.

For example, A.I.D. is involved in an education reform program in Mali. Among other elements of this program is a training module for administrators, inspectors, and school principals. Prior to the beginning of this program, the educational sector in Mali was moribund and peopled with dispirited, discouraged educators who came to work, picked up their checks, and tried to find something useful to do. These were well-educated, competent people, imprisoned in a dysfunctional organization. A.I.D., together with the World Bank and the French, developed a sectoral reform program that combined training, unilateral reform, decentralization, and financial assistance. By giving these people relevant training, a professional job, and an important and attainable mission for their organization, the reform program has energized the Ministry of Education and led to a new spirit of professionalism and competence among the staff.

Standing Marx on his head

What, then, should be the development agenda for the next decade in Africa? In the broadest possible sense, African institutions, governments, political structures, legal systems, and economies must be radically and quickly restructured. This means deregulation of the economic system, empowerment in the bureaucratic system, and democratization of the political system.

First, African countries must intensify efforts to scale back the state's role in the economic affairs of the continent. Where possible, government production and regulation must be reduced to a minimum.

Second, governments in Africa must be totally restructured to become service-oriented, decentralized, enabling institutions that release rather than stifle the energies and creativity of those who work in them.

Third, political structures in Africa need to become more representative, more democratic, and more pluralistic than they are now. Only a pluralistic political system that represents the needs and interests of the various sub-groups of the polity can lead to a sustained restructuring of the economic and bureaucratic system. Indeed Marx had it wrong. The political system, not the economic system, is the substructure upon which society is built.

Can this be done in Africa? Are the values of African cultures consonant with a pluralistic, democratic, decentralized system? Can the haggling and barter of a pluralistic society be permitted in fragile, young nations, wary of the ever-present danger of tribalism and possessing a limited sense of national identity? These questions have not been answered in Europe, let alone Africa. Nevertheless, one cannot know and love the people of Africa without believing them capable of rising above their recent history and achieving the aspirations that have been dashed so cruelly during the last 20 years. ■

Jerome Wolgin is chief economist for the Africa Bureau of A.I.D. and has been working on African issues all of his professional life, since his tour as a Peace Corps volunteer in Malawi. The views expressed are not necessarily those of the U.S. government.

The Kindness of Strangers

How foreign aid helps perpetuate Africa's agony

FRANK RUDDY

Africans are beginning to see the folly of three decades of African mismanagement that has been aided and abetted by Western aid. Encouraged by the revolutions in Eastern Europe and the now obvious failure of the despotic economies which many of their own countries closely imitate, people are taking to the streets in Nairobi, Accra, Cotonou, Niamey, and Lusaka, calling for a voice in government. While leaders try to laugh them off (Kenneth Kaunda called the public demand for a multi-party system an appeal for the "return of Stone Age barbarism"), these are the winds of change, and the Kaundas and Ahmed Kerekous, and maybe even Mobutu, would be well advised to brush up on their de Tocqueville. Along with this awakening of political freedom throughout the continent, there are signs, wrote David Ewing Duncan in July 1990's *Atlantic*, that Africans are more and more taking economic matters into their own hands, as they become disillusioned with their own governments and the advice of outsiders.

The monstrosities of Idi Amin, Mengistu

Haile Mariam, Samuel Doe, Jean-Bedel Bokassa, Sudan's General Bashir, and the like are widely known. But international judgment has been far more lenient on other African leaders with equally disastrous policies and shocking records of brutality: people like Tanzania's former President Julius Nyerere (called "Mwalimu"—the teacher), who forced practically the entire population into thousands of *ujamaa* (familyhood) villages; and the "saintly" Kaunda, whose delicate conscience doesn't get in the way of torture or election rigging. The list of horrible leaders doing horrible things, and of demagogic leaders doing dumb things, goes on and on in Africa (there are, perhaps, four free countries among 45 in sub-Saharan Africa.) In March of 1990 Bishop Desmond Tutu told a nairobi audience: "I long for the day Africa will be truly free. . . It is true God's children in Africa suffer because there is less freedom in their countries that during colonial times. African leaders need to be reminded that there is depotism nearly everywhere in Africa." This not only spells terrible suffering across the continent, but makes of Africa a graveyard for investment, domestic and foreign, and, consequently, an economic horror story.

ILLUSTRATION BY THOMAS ROSE

No way but up

After 30 years of independence and foreign aid, Africa's economy is having to start all over again. "The past 30 years have set it back 50," writes Clive Crook in an extraordinary survey of the Third World in *The Economist* (September 23, 1989). Africa has hit rock bottom. The GNP for the continent, advises Duncan, is $135 billion, or roughly the same as Belgium's; 26 of the 34 poorest countries in the world are in Africa, which also has the lowest per capita income in the world. The good news is that many African countries are now disposed by necessity to implement sensible economic policies, but structural adjustments and other solutions of the day have had, and will continue to have, no more than mixed results until they deal with root causes of economic malaise. That, apparently, neither the World Bank nor the International Monetary Fund has the will to do.

The issue, really, is one of will, because we now have extraordinary data on what works and what doesn't in economic development. There are, for example, the Asian tigers, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore, which confounded all the development experts when they created an economic miracle by exporting simple, labor-intensive manufactures. That wasn't supposed to happen. Keynes had told us that trade could not be the engine of growth for the less-developed countries, and so these Asian impertinences have to be argued away. Crook gives a good sampling of the current sophistry: the tigers are special cases and not translatable to Africa: "Hong Kong and Singapore are too small (small used to be a disadvantage); they are former colonies with traditions of excellence in public administration (like India and many others); they have been generously provided with foreign capital (like Latin America). Taiwan and South Korea have the advantage of having no natural resources (yes, this has been suggested), as well as generous foreign aid (like many other developing countries)."

The underground economy in Africa works. Farmers smuggle their products across borders for better prices; market ladies travel hundreds of miles to sell their goods then conceal their earnings from customs officials. . .men, women, and children operate small stands in the streets day and night, selling peanuts and Sonys and whatever they can get their hands on. . . These are hard-working, ordinary Africans who take risks to beat the system and provide for their families. . .

Another argument Crook cites, and the only one he treats seriously, is the claim that since all but Hong Kong have had highly interventionist governments, their success is not so much an argument in favor of free markets as it is proof that some governments intervene more effectively than others. True enough. Government intervention is a fact of life in less developed countries, with this difference: Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea intervened to pursue outward-

looking trade policies while leaving the price system intact as a signal to the private sector.

Beating the system

Beneath the economic jargon, the real objection to the Asian model for African development is the belief that Africans are just not up to it; they don't have the discipline or drive. This is an unstated, condescending premise, much like what Hernando de Soto encountered in Peru: "Peruvians have a more family-oriented philosophy. They are better at the guitar than at work." Nonsense in Peru, as de Soto demonstrated, and nonsense in Africa, as anyone who has lived in Africa knows. The underground economy in Africa works. Farmers smuggle their products across borders for better prices; market ladies travel hundreds of miles to sell their goods then conceal their earnings from customs officials, who hustle in their own way, using their underpaid positions to cadge bribes and booty from travelers; men, women, and children operate small stands in the streets day and night, selling peanuts and Sonys and whatever they can get their hands on; and bootleggers' canoes carry champagne, whiskey, and other luxury goods from entrepots hidden in the forest to buyers across an open sea. These are hard-working, ordinary Africans who take risks to beat the system and provide for their families, because suffocating government policies keep them from making a legal living.

De Soto observed much the same thing in Peru, as he recounts in *The Other Path*. There, 60 percent of the population is employed in the informal economy and produces 40 percent of the GNP. De Soto's message, directed as much to donors as to governments, is that the poor are an active economic force whose industriousness and assets should be integrated into national economies by reducing bureaucratic controls on enterprise, establishing private ownership and making rules affecting business democratically. De Soto's book shows the remarkable persistence and ingenuity of Peru's entrepreneurs, and, as Crook observed, "Africa awaits its De Soto" someone who will shatter the stereotypes and show Africans as the hard-working, clever businesspeople and traders that they are now and have been for centuries.

Killing them with kindness

America invented foreign aid after World War II to help countries get on their feet and provide for themselves. In Africa, however, aid hasn't worked as planned. The Ghanaian historian George Ayittey calculates that the West has poured more than $230 billion in aid in various forms into Africa since the 1960s, more than $100 billion in the 1980s alone, yet Africa is worse off now than when we started.

Why? Part of the answer, according to the Harvard professor Nicholas Eberstadt, is our fault. What was meant to eliminate foreign poverty became in some cases a way of solving domestic problems. Donating Kansas wheat to Tanzania, for example, amounted to a nice subsidy for Kansans but not so nice for Tanzanians, when farmers could not compete with donated food.

A more elemental cause was the rise of the Bandung generation, an ex-colonial variety of what Paul Johnson calls the great scourge of the 20th century, the professional politician. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana was the foremost African among the Bandung leaders, and he left a legacy that has plagued Africa to this day. Briefly stated, he maintained that ex-colonies were poor because of the political fact of colonization, and therefore they could be made wealthy by other political decisions. There were political solutions to economic problems. It was also believed, as Johnson points out, that new nations required charismatic leaders who could become spiritual leaders as well. (Nkrumah became *Osagyefo*, the Redeemer.)

Ghana and other newly emerging African states followed the Bandung-Leninist model, instead of laissez-faire policies of colonial times, and adopted protectionist systems designed to create self-sufficiency. The idea was that government planners could easily anticipate whatever level of exports and imports a country required and the rest would be just a matter of bookkeeping.

Of course it didn't work and, as planners made adjustment after adjustment to keep output and input tables up to date, governments grew and economies crashed.

In providing assistance to African states formed along this model, the United States and other donors were actually underwriting poor economic decisions and subsidizing inefficiency. Instead of encouraging countries to provide for themselves by creating markets and encouraging investments, our aid all too often relieved them of any such obligation. Why go to all the trouble and run the economic risks associated with free markets, when there are donors who will come to your aid, whatever you do or don't do. It's not so much that donors encourage ridiculous and wasteful projects (although they have done so often, see Books, page 35). Rather, by providing funds to inefficient governments, they free up for white elephants—ike the Inga Shaba power line in Zaire—funds the country would otherwise have had to meet real needs.

The rich get richer

We now know that the main beneficaries of social aid programs in such countries are not the poor but the subsidized middle classes, that more is spent on university education for future bureaucrats than on elementary education for the masses, that well-intentioned programs like the U.S. Import-Export Bank's foreign credit insurance encourage foreign borrowing instead of investment, and, as Ayittey has pointed out, more money goes out through the back door ($10 billion) every year in the form of money squirreled away in foreign bank accounts and embezzled funds, for example, than comes through the front door as foreign aid.

Charles Murray's *Losing Ground* argued that Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs, for the very best of reasons, offered so much to those they reached that they took away the incentive to get ahead on one's own. Inertia was a rational response to those programs, as Murray documents, even though society lost as education declined, unemployment increased, single-parent families increased, etc. A similar phenomenon has been occurring in Africa.

Let me give an example from my own experience: Equatorial Guinea, where I lived for a little more than three years, receives more than $30 million a year in foreign aid

for a population of 300,000 people, making it one of the highest per capita recipients of aid in the world. The Bank and IMF officials would come to Malabo looking very serious and would lay down very tough terms for the IMF agreement and structural adjustment loan. The government would pledge austerity, civil servant reductions, whatever was required, and go its merry way until the team turned up to measure progess; then the government would lie. At first I was shocked. Then I had to admit I was somewhat impressed that the Guineans played the game better than their visitors from Washington.

On one occasion, after pledging all kinds of austerity measures, including not spending any government funds on an annual Central African states meeting which Equatorial Guinea was to host in 1986, the government went ahead and built five villas for visiting heads of state and purchased 29 Mercedes for the participants' use, just as we knew they would. When the Bank and IMF people returned to check on the country's progress under the austerity program, the government denied doing any of these things, even though state television had regularly showed the president inspecting the villas in progress, and everyone in town saw the Mercedes arriving. When I asked the Bank and IMF people why they did not pursue this, since all of it was common knowledge, I was told the government had denied it, and that was the end of the matter. Of course, the Guineans knew all along it would be the end of the matter.

On another occasion the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), after spending several years trying to arrange a donors' conference for Equatorial Guinea, scheduled a preliminary meeting of donor countries in Malabo to work out what donors might be prepared to offer at the formal donors' conference in Geneva. Notice for the Malabo meeting was sent out many months in advance, and a date agreeable to all was set. On the day of the meeting, donor representatives from all over the world came to Malabo. Only one country was missing: Equatorial Guinea. The foreign minister had decided to take a trip somewhere, leaving that morning, and couldn't the donor representatives stay around another week or so until he got back? They could not. As a result, donors were even more convinced that Equatorial Guinea needed help and proposed even more aid, including instruction to Guinean officials on how to get it. Like offering to teach Ivan Boesky how to play the market, I thought.

The infuriating part, of course, is that a small group of embezzlers were doing exactly what the international aid system encouraged them to do, for which they were being maintained in the style to which they had become accustomed, while the people and institutions of the country, which were supposed to benefit from the aid, never would. The great British economist Lord Bauer referred to foreign aid as a tax on poor people in rich countries which goes to rich people in poor countries. He noted as well that "if all conditions for development other than capital are present, capital will be generated locally or from abroad. If the conditions for development are not present, then aid will be unproductive and ineffective." It's worth thinking about.

. . . it might amaze us what energies might be released in Africa if our own foreign assistance programs could convey to Africans what East Europeans have so dramatically communicated to the world: the vital link between the rule of law, the right to property, and limited government to human, as well as economic, development.

If there is to be foreign aid, it makes good sense, as Nicholas Eberstadt observes, for it to produce more than it costs, except in the case of acts of God or natural disasters (and most of today's disasters are far from natural. The Sahelian and Eritrean famines, for example, were the direct effect of foolish policies and a deliberate government policy respectively.)

The necessity of liberty

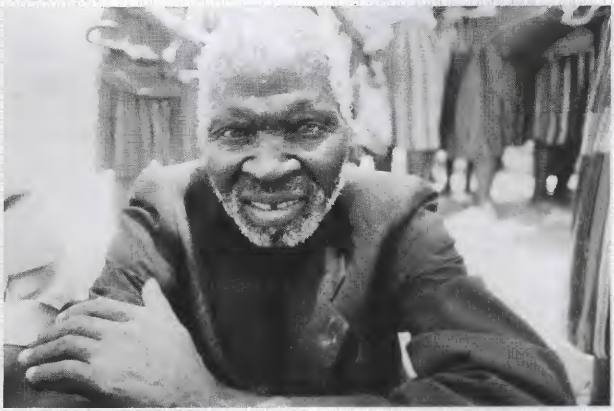
As Carlos Rangel wrote in *Third World Ideology and Western Reality* "Two centuries ago virtually the entire world was underdeveloped, only it didn't know it." What we in the West have learned over time, beginning in England with the Industrial Revolution, is that there are certain conditions for prosperity. People must be able to enjoy the fruits of their labor. That means governments cannot overtax, and private property must be respected. People must know the rules of the game, and that they will be enforced, before they take risks and make the investments needed to make an economy grow and create wealth. "There is probably no single factor which has contributed more to the prosperity of the West," wrote Friedrich Hayek, "than the relative certainty of the law which has prevailed there." And there are other benefits. Daniel Patrick Moynihan has noted, "those nations which have put liberty ahead of equality [have] ended up doing better by equality than those with the reverse priority."

But there are real political risks in letting people explore the best markets for their services without government interference, it gives them independence, and, in Paul Johnson's words, "a huge access of liberty" which must, sooner or later, be transformed into political liberty. The African dictators know this well and know the mortal threat that free markets pose to their regimes. The late Alan Woods knew this well, but this most brilliant of A.I.D. administrators died before he could carry out his new directions for A.I.D. Let's hope those who come after him are as wise and forceful. If they are, it might amaze us what energies might be released in Africa if our own foreign assistance programs could convey to Africans what East Europeans have so dramatically communicated to the world: the vital link between the rule of law, the right to property, and limited government to human, as well as economic, development. ■

Frank Ruddy, former assistant administrator for Africa, A.I.D., served as ambassador to Equatorial Guinea.

Namibian Journal

PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHRISTOPHER AYERS



Man attending a SWAPO rally, Rundu, 1989. SWAPO, Namibia's largest political party, won the majority of the newly created Constituent Assembly's 72 seats in the 1989 elections.

A woman sells beef and cow shanks at a market in Ondangwa, 1989

During a march through a black township in Rundu, led by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), Namibia's second-largest party. A rally followed the march, which was held in anticipation of November 1989 elections, Namibia's first.

A Namibian man in a cemetery in the black township of Katatura, outside Windhoek. The Namibian war for independence lasted for 23 years, ending in 1989, when South Africa, in accord with Cuba, the Soviet Union, and the United States, agreed to allow Namibia to begin moving toward independence under UN supervision.

Escape from Mogadishu

JAMES K. BISHOP

Editor's Note: *James K. Bishop was sworn in as ambassador to the Democratic Republic of Somalia in July 1990. Three rebel armies were already contesting the government's control of the countryside. Six months later, a popular uprising in the capital was to drive President Mohammed Siad Barre, who had ruled the Horn of Africa nation for 21 years, out of office.*

As violence increasingly threatened their lives and inhibited the embassy's normal business, dependents and non-essential employees were ordered out of Mogadishu in December, and private Americans were urged to leave. The uprising at the end of the year left those American diplomats who remained, and other Americans and foreigners who had taken refuge with them, gravely imperiled by lawlessness. Two U.S. Navy ships sailed from the Persian Gulf to the East African coast. From a distance of 450 miles, the ships sent a team of Marines and Seals by helicopter to secure the endangered embassy compound. Within 24 hours, 281 evacuees were rescued, as armed looters scaled the compound walls.

On Ambassador Bishop's return to Washington, the FSJ *asked him to recount his last days in Somalia, describing both the decisions to evacuate and the manner in which the evacuations were accomplished.*

Bishop is no stranger to conflict-torn posts. Before being posted to Somalia, he served as ambassador to Liberia and then as director of the task force that helped organize the evacuation of that post. Earlier in his career, and in more peaceful circumstances, he served as ambassador to Niger.

The illuminated tips of their rotors described five phosphorescent circles above the swirling sand, as the first wave of helicopters was loaded with evacuees. Bob Noble radioded that Major Sayed, the local police commander, had appeared at Gate 1. With a grenade in one hand and a radio in the other, he was threatening to signal prepositioned Somali troops to open fire on the choppers if they tried to take off. Thinking to myself that reality seemed patterned on a State Department crisis management exercise, I told Bob, the manager of our contract guard force, to bring the major to the front of the chancery, where I would talk to him.

It had been a full day since two CH-53 helicopters had dropped over the compound wall at dawn on January 5 and disgorged 60 very welcome Marines and Seals. Their presence presumably would deter the armed looters at whom we had been obliged to shoot the previous morning. As they were deployed, the Marines had pulled down ladders that looters had positioned against the compound wall in preparation for renewed assault.

Soon after their colleagues stationed themselves around the compound, a team of Marines and Seals had driven the quarter mile to the military mission compound. Colonel David Staley, chief of the Office of Military Cooperation (OMC), and other officers safehavened with him, as well as a badly abused Kenyan ambassador, his wife, and staff, were waiting in lightly armored vehicles. The two mini-convoys had emerged and sped back to Gate 1, as our lookouts signaled the absence of Somali military traffic on Afgoy Road outside the gate.

As the sun rose higher in the sky, the volume of fire around the embassy compound had picked up more slowly than it had on the several mornings since December 30. That

was the day when the Somali government's attempt to disarm residents of eastern Mogadishu provoked a spontaneous popular uprising. Nor had we yet heard that day any sound of the artillery and armor fire the army had been employing indiscriminately against rebellious neighborhoods, after having first tried to subdue them with mortars and rockets.

Widening chaos

Violence had been endemic in Mogadishu for many months. During the summer, embassies and government buildings had been bombed by the regime's opponents, and senior police officials had been assassinated. Westerners, including one of our Marines, had been injured, and several others had been killed in criminal attacks. My family and I encountered this violence soon after our arrival, when a shot was fired at my wife by a gang of thieves during a robbery at a supposedly safe beach. The embassy had earlier withdrawn all American personnel to the part of Mogadishu where the chancery and other embassy buildings were located, on a 160-acre compound. Self-imposed travel restrictions and a curfew were intended to keep official Americans out of harm's way. But by December these measures were proving inadequate, as criminal activity grew. Vehicles were being taken and their drivers killed by soldiers, policemen, rebels, and common criminals throughout the city and at all hours of the day. Foreigners as well as Somalis were being targeted, and neither diplomatic personnel nor their vehicles enjoyed immunity. A robbery and gunfight outside the chancery compound in early December made it evident that distance from the centers of earlier violence no longer provided any real protection.

For several months there had been frank discussion of the security situation at the community meetings open to both official and private Americans. Everyone familiar with the embassy knew that our top priority now was to take measures that would improve our physical security and our ability to cope with emergencies. Few Americans, therefore, seemed surprised when, at a standing-room-only special community meeting December 5, I told them I had recommended voluntary departure of U.S. government dependents and non-essential employees to Washington. To underline to private Americans the seriousness of the situation, we read the text of the travel advisory proposed to Washington. I also volunteered that my wife and daughter would be among the early departees. Subsequent telephone calls to parents with children at post emphasized the desirability of the children's early departure.

Well before those leaving voluntarily had flown off, we recognized several of the benchmarks we had set to identify the time when ordered departure for U.S. government employees should begin. The tide of violence was swelling. Another of our drivers, the second in three weeks, was shot, and his vehicle stolen. The daily light-arms fire around the embassy took an ominous turn when a firefight on the road outside Gate 1 sent bullets flying through the air, and into our vice consul's home, just as our employees left for the day. Roundtable talks to include the government and representatives of the three rebel groups fighting government forces in the countryside aborted when the government arrested two of the prospective representatives. Then the United Nations moved to an ordered departure of their own employees and dependents. With our own people instructed to go by December 19, our official community had shrunk from 147 to 37 by that date, and we believed that half of the 90 remaining private Americans also had left.

Between the 19th and the 30th we had been busy packing up the belongings of those who had departed, rehearsing our emergency procedures, and trying to encourage both cabinet members and opposition leaders to curb the violent activities of their followers. But the situation only became more acute, as an eruption of intertribal fighting in the capital added to the lawlessness. Sensational press reports claiming that one of the rebel armies was poised to attack Mogadishu rang alarm bells in Washington. In meetings with the prime minister and the president, I could identify no government game plan for stemming the growing chaos.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SHARON MINICHIELLO

Ambassador Bishop (front, center) on board the U.S.S. Guam after evacuation. With him were (left to right): Chris Swenson, administrative counselor; Karen Aguilar, PAO; John Fox, political-economic officer; Bishop; Robert Noble, manager of the embassy's contract guard force; and Walt Fleming, facilities manager.

Our plans to further reduce our numbers were overtaken by the December 30 uprising. Its nature and extent were not clear for several days, but the firing which broke out throughout much of the city made it evident that we were dealing with violence on a new order of magnitude. The greater danger was personalized the next morning, when our defense attache, Colonel Ken Culwell, arrived at the residence with several bullet holes in his car. One shell had found a gap in the vehicle's armor and cut across the driver's seat an inch behind Culwell's backbone. A bullet hole in the roof of another defense attache office vehicle parked beside the chancery reminded us of the damage the stray rounds flying into the compound could do to less resistant surfaces. That evening an impatient soldier at an impromptu roadblock sprayed a carry-all driven by Lieutenant Colonel Neil Youngman, the deputy OMC chief. He rode it back to the

OMC compound on the rims, thankful that only the front tires had received fatal punctures.

Circling the wagons

Over December 30 to 31, we moved almost everyone into our residence, the marine house, or the K-7 compound across Afgoy Road. As both the government and the political leadership of the tribe which was fighting the government's troops in the city seemed receptive to Italian efforts to promote a ceasefire, we thought this a likely outcome. If not, government forces, already making unrestricted use of their greater firepower, presumably would extinguish the uprising. By staying within the high walls of our compounds, we hoped to keep out of the fray.

On board a helicopter on the U.S.S. Guam. On left: Jim Maher, budget and fiscal officer; Paulette Ripley, the DCM's secretary; and Marine Thomas J. Sheffield, helicopter crew chief. On right: Margaret O'Rourke, A.I.D., and Bill Matthews, communicator.

However, the insurgents would not negotiate or be cowed. They held their own in the eastern neighborhoods and attacked government strongholds at the presidential compound and the airport. In other parts of the capital, including our own, soldiers became the targets of armed youth. The military responded by indiscriminate use of mortars and heavy machine guns as well as rocket-propelled grenades. What proved to be my last early morning jog around the chancery compound was aborted New Year's Day, when small arms fire around the embassy forced me to take cover three times in 20 minutes. Nervous soldiers made Afgoy Road a shooting gallery that same morning, cutting off from the embassy those safehavened outside its walls. As would become the case until the K-7 compound was invaded four days later, we began opening our gate to send armored vehicles to pick up people or to receive evacuees, only when lookouts posted on the roof of the K-7 apartment building radioed that no armed personnel were on the road. Communicator Matt Kula, Administrative Counselor Chris Swenson, and Buildings Maintenance Officer Bill Mueller's sunburned faces became their lookout badges of office.

Among the thousands of Somalis who began streaming past our gate on their way out of the embattled city were members of the families of our employees. Many of the latter, as well as numerous contract guards, were staying on the compound overnight, because their homes were beyond government lines. The new year brought the first requests from private Americans for refuge within the compound. U.S.A.I.D. Director Mike Rugh took on the task of housing and maintaining order for a compound population that ultimately exceeded 500. U.S.A.I.D. Contractor Peggy O'Rourke, our Irish Jewish mother, who had preparing meals for 50 Foreign Service Nationals and guards at the now-vacated A.I.D. compound, took over the embassy snack bar kitchen. There she was ultimately to prepare hot meals for some 350 evacuees, FSNs, and guards. At the OMC compound, Colonel Stanley was preparing more than 100 meals a day, many of them for the local guards and armed policemen who were chasing away the soldiers looting elsewhere in the neighborhood. My executive assistant, Lynda Walker, nurse practitioner Karen McGuire Rugh, and PAO Karen Aguilar took over direction of the embassy and USIS kitchens and began providing gourmet cooking for the embassy staff.

By January 2, the government was employing heavy artillery against the dissidents, whose strength nevertheless appeared to be increasing. Low altitude overflights by government MIGs suggested the regime might bomb the rebels, as it had two years earlier in similiar circumstances in the northern city of Hargeisa, destroying much of that town. Looting was becoming commonplace, and the nervous behavior of the soldiers calling at a supply depot set up across Afgoy Road inspired little confidence in their discipline. Already, uniformed men had broken into several A.I.D. compounds to steal vehicles and were beginning to loot homes vacated by embassy personnel. Although we saw Somali Airline's airbus occasionally use the airport, the firing all around us precluded any movement in that direction. Accordingly, I cabled Washington on January 2 to say we would need U.S. military assistance in departing a city in which the lives of Americans were now seriously endangered.

In Washington, an urgent meeting took place early the morning our message was received, and a task force under Jeff Davidow's very capable and sympathetic leadership was established. Later in the day we were told that the president had ordered C-130s to fly immediately to Mombasa. They would be prepared to fly into Mogadishu as soon as flight clearances could be obtained and arrangements made for us to proceed safely to the airport. In addition, the U.S.S. Guam and the U.S.S. Trenton had been instructed to set course for Mogadishu from their position in the Gulf of Oman. By January 7 they would be able to evacuate us by helicopter from the compound itself, should this be necessary.

Although Mogadishu's phones were out, we were able to communicate with most western European embassies by radio. They reported that the Italians, whom we could not contact directly, were negotiating a ceasefire with the government and rebels. Indeed, several ceasefires were announced by the government radio. However, our efforts to obtain landing clearance for the C-130s at Mogadishu

were frustrated by our inability to communicate with anyone in the government. A runner we sent to the Foreign Ministry found its gates chained and the building vacant. We then passed word to the Italians to ask the government for the landing permission we needed.

The response we received from the Italians was that the president had agreed in principle that foreign governments could evacuate their nationals. Details, he told the Italians, were to be worked out with the Foreign Ministry. More significant than this non-reply was that the fact that noncombattants in both camps were ignoring the ceasefires accepted by their nominal leaders. Increasingly, it became evident that the rebels had no command and control structure. They were fighting as individuals and small groups. It was also becoming apparent that command and control within government forces was eroding fast, and guns were being distributed to members of the president's Marehan tribe. We also began receiving reports that soldiers had shot officers of other tribes when given orders to which they objected. On January 3, I therefore advised Washington that the C-130 option was impractical and evacuation would have to be in a non-permissive mode by helicopter, as soon as the Guam and the Trenton could launch their aircraft.

Golf course gun battle

With artillery thundering, plumes of smoke marking impacts to the southeast, small arms fire everywhere, and looting becoming more widespread, I received notes from several diplomatic colleagues asking for rescue and/or refuge. The response to each was that he and his staff were welcome but that we could not mount any rescue operations. Some took advantage of lulls in the firing to make their way to us. Eventually the heads of 10 diplomatic missions, most of those in Mogadishu, were among the evacuees. Several chiefs of mission, including the Kenyan and the Sudanese, had been beaten and robbed by uniformed looters. Walt Flemming, our tireless and courageous Foreign Buildings Office facilities manager, helped Mike Rugh accommodate them, ducking at one point an AK-47 burst which drew an arc in the wall just over his head.

January 4 was our worst day. Half of our 160-acre compound was a primitive 80-acre golf course. The internal wall separating the recreation area from the chancery, marine house, residence, JAO complex, etc., was perforated, like the wall on Afgoy Road, every 20 yards by 2-foot gaps blocked by thin bars. Normally we did not have to worry about anything more lethal than wild dogs coming through the gaps. But early January 4 we learned that looters armed with AK-47s were trashing the golf club and terrifying the FSN families safehavened there. From the golf course they would be able to fire through the gaps in the internal wall at anyone moving on the embassy half of the compound. Bob Noble, a former Special Air Services trooper always at the point of maximum danger, went to deal with the intruders, accompanied by Elaine York. On her first tour abroad as a security officer, Elaine had come from Abidjan to assist us and was to demonstrate remarkable stamina and physical courage. She and Bob fired over the heads of the looters when more subtle means of chasing them off were unsuccessful. The looters returned fire, directed at Elaine and Bob, who defended themselves, hit at least one looter. Both sides then withdrew.

While Bob negotiated with a militia commander whom he had befriended for armed help fighting off the golf course looters, soldiers broke into the K-7 compound and seized Bill Mueller. They released Bill when he gave them the keys to one of the vehicles in the courtyard. Bill and Chris Swenson then retreated to a safehaven, while the soldiers helped themselves to our vehicles. Back at the chancery compound, commercial officer Mike Shanklin, a retired Marine officer, armed himself and took an armored van to evacuate everyone to the chancery from the glass-walled residence now in the line of fire of any looters on the golf course. We then buttoned up the chancery and the JAO headquarters, our other safehaven. In a series of flash messages, Washington was alerted to our situation.

We could not predict how long Bob's militiamen would stand guard at the golf course. And the army's violation of the K-7 compound clearly put us in greater jeopardy. We certainly could not count on remaining unmolested until the scheduled arrival of the marines three days later. I therefore asked Washington for two platoons of parachutists from Saudia Arabia to hold the compound until the vessels approaching us could launch their helicopters.

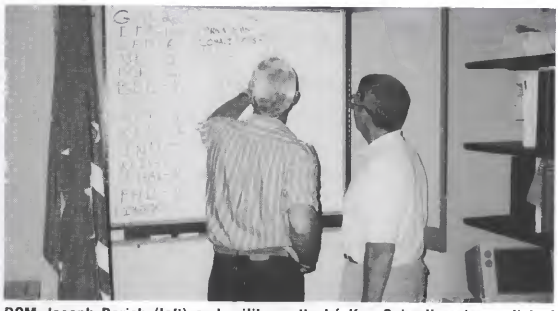
Bob's militiamen came to our rescue, chasing the looters off the golf course in a brisk exchange of fire. Bill and Chris made it back to the embassy compound once the soldiers departed the K-7 area and Bob identified a gap in the military traffic on Afgoy Road. Bill and Chris were replaced later as lookouts by Matt Kula, who kept watch from a trap door on top of the water tower until it came under fire later in the day. In addition to small-arms impacts, a rocket-propelled grenade, probably aimed at the water tower, struck a warehouse near the JAO safehaven.

SOS under fire

We could not predict how long Bob's militiamen would stand guard at the golf course. And the army's violation of the K-7 compound clearly put us in greater jeopardy. We certainly could not count on remaining unmolested until the scheduled arrival of the marines three days later. I therefore asked Washington for two platoons of parachutists from Saudia Arabia to hold the compound until the vessels approaching us could launch their helicopters. After high-level meetings in Washington, we were informed that advance elements of the marines would reach the compound at dawn the following day. Moreover, as the Guam and the Trenton had been proceeding at top speed, they

would be ready to evacuate us a day earlier than scheduled.

During the afternoon our "combat consuls," Brian Phipps, Mark Manning, and John Fox, dressed in flack jackets, ducked bullets at Gate 1 as they decided whom to admit to the compound for evacuation. These were painful decisions, made in a tense and emotional environment, and all three performed superbly. An American woman, shot two days earlier, turned up at the gate and was treated, together with a Sudanese diplomat's wife nine months pregnant, by Karen McGuire Rugh and our contract physician, who was among the evacuees. Beginning to realize we would be leaving, many of the FSNs and guards were asking nervous questions about their safety and future. Meanwhile, we were trying to check out reports that a 50-caliber machine gun had been set up in the K-7 apartment building, from where it could dominate the helicopter landing zone in the chancery compound below. Crowded into the chancery and JAO building, we talked through the night with the task force. Culwell updated the Guam, and we caught some sleep.



DCM Joseph Borich (left) and military attaché Ken Culwell review a list of evacuees from 15 countries.

It is doubtful any of the evacuees will forget the welcome chatter of helicopter blades, as two CH-53s came over the compound wall soon after dawn. Our rescuers had flown for three and a half hours, meeting their refueling aircraft twice in the dark, a mission that reduced safety margins to a razor-thin edge. Despite their ordeal, the 60 Marines and Seals were on top of the situation as they exited the choppers. From the start, coordination between military and civilian authorities could not have been smoother. Marine and Seal officers decided where to deploy their men, and responsibility for use of lethal fire remained mine. While a shot or two was fired as the Marines and Seals took up their positions, the 50-caliber machine gun report proved bogus, and a C-130 gunship flying overhead held its fire. Later in the day, incoming 50-caliber rounds and the impact of a rocket on the compound wall added to the stimulation provoked by the usual small-arms racket round the compound and the sounds of artillery fire across town.

As soon as the Marines and Seals had their gear out of the helicopters, we had boarded 60 evacuees. These included all of the private Americans who had reached the compound, those chiefs of diplomatic missions who had arrived, and Deputy Chief of Mission Joe Borich, who went out to the Guam to coordinate with the naval and Marine commanders aboard.

Repeated rescues

Later in the morning, once the recovery of the group at the OMC compound had reunited our ranks, we focused on what help we could provide to other diplomatic missions. The Soviets had made contact with us by radio the previous day, informing us they had been attacked and lost vehicles to looters the day before. Their ambassador did not want to try to reach our compound without an escort. Bob Noble persuaded a then cooperative Major Sayed to provide one for a fee, and an hour later we had 38 Soviet guests. A similar operation, at a significantly higher per capita fee, brought us 15 British nationals from their embassy, which was in a more dangerous area. Unfortunately, the South Koreans did not trust the *bona fides* of the escort we sent them. Special arrangements made with a senior Somali resulted in the recovery of the British ambassador and German chargé, who had spent five days under intense fire across from the president's headquarters—brave men both.

Leaving our FSNs was an extremely painful experience for many, such as Personnel Officer Sharon Nichols, Bill Mueller, and Walt Fleming, who had particularly strong bonds with those who worked directly for them. Every one was troubled leaving their household help, especially after Mike Shanklin's manservant turned up brutally beaten by looters. We did not even have sufficient cash to pay the FSNs and household staff their wages due. During a break in the firing around us, I met with FSNs under a tree and explained that we would leave what cash we had and the commissary keys with the FSN committee to distribute money and food among them. They also were promised that everything possible would be done from Nairobi to send funds to them. The FSNs agreed that fate gave us few options, and only a handful made futile requests to be evacuated.

Mike Rugh and his helpers had done a characteristically thorough job preparing the evacuees for their midnight departure. As the first of the Guam's CH-46 helicopters landed right on schedule, the passengers went aboard with few hiccups—and only one successful stowaway.

Last-minute escape

Back in front of the chancery, I listened through an interpreter to an excited but disarmed Major Sayed, while Bob, and several Seals beyond the circle of light, kept Sayed and his radio in their sights. After 15 minutes of discussion, the major agreed that the first wave of helicopters could take off without interference. For the next three quarters of an hour, I kept Sayed engaged in sometimes insane conversation while walking him toward the landing zone, as other choppers landed, loaded, and took off. Finally, after gaining possession of the major's radio, Bob and I joined the Marines and Seals in their helicopters and sailed over the compound

walls, as our adrenaline rush ebbed. It was only after our arrival on the Guam that we were told that the C-130 gunship covering our departure had picked up the illuminated radars of the SAM-2 battery at the airport, and that through their night-vision glasses, the helicopter crews had seen intruders coming over the compound walls while we were lifting off. The next day we discovered that rockets had been used to blast open embassy doors within two hours of our exodus.

Before leaving Mogadishu, we learned that General Schwarzkopf had ordered the Guam and the Trenton to return immediately to the Gulf of Oman, canceling plans to have evacuees debark at Mombasa. As we set off on a five-day voyage to Muscat, we were just happy to be aboard and grateful to the Marines and sailors who had put their lives at risk to save ours. The crews of both vessels were justifiably proud of their achievement, certainly the most exciting event of their five months at sea. Officers vacated their quarters to make room for the embassy's senior staff and the chiefs of diplomatic missions. Other embassy members, including several who had been lodged in officer's quarters when last serving on a U.S. ship, found themselves stacked four high in the enlisted men's compartments.

Two hundred marines and sailors volunteered within an hour when the chaplin of the Guam asked those interested to sign up as evacuee guides and escorts. For many of them, evacuee children were surrogates for little ones back home. Several extra-large marines helped bottle feed four-week-old Mary Lynda Rugh, the Somali infant Mike and Karen were bringing home to adopt much sooner than planned. Several days out at sea, Capt. Saffell of the Guam announced the birth of the 282nd evacuee, the Sudanese diplomat's new daughter, with all the satisfaction of a senior family member. A few ambassadors soon were proudly wearing Guam sweatshirts, or attired in naval uniforms purchased at the ship's store.

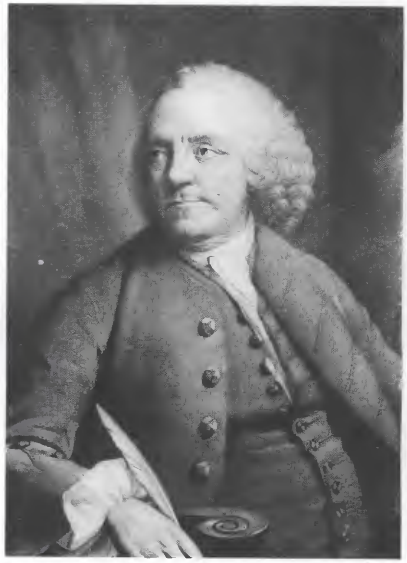
Naturally, there was considerable discussion about the prospective conflict in the Gulf. The flyers showed some of us the night-vision equipment in which they placed great faith. At church services, some members of the ship's complement and evacuees prayed together. Lynda Walker's powerful rendition of Black spirituals brought radiance to the faces of the young Marines and sailors who joined her in song, and delight to a Soviet ambassador pleased to be invited to join the fellowship. Embassy athletes were welcome when the flight deck was opened to those desiring exercise. Jogging into a 35-knot wind proved less challenging than trying to avoid becoming aerodynamic when running before the same gale. Those invited to the chief's mess learned who ate best aboard ship.

My embassy colleagues and I debarked at Muscat with the thanks of many of those we had helped leave Somalia. Most of us had the telephone numbers of our sailing companions' wives and parents. Many of us prayed silently that those shipmates remaining aboard would be spared the horrors of war, as with their help, we had escaped injury in the chaos of Mogadishu. ■

The following is excerpted from an original dispatch by Benjamin Franklin, sent during his tenure as minister to Paris. The dispatch and introductory notes were provided by Peter D. Eicher, a Foreign Service officer currently on sabbatical as an Una Chapman Cox fellow to undertake studies of early American diplomats.

FRANKLIN ON PEACE

From U.S. Minister Plenipotentiary in France Benjamin Franklin to David Hartley, British treaty negotiator, 1783



Franklin served as U.S. minister in France until 1785 and was one of the three U.S. peace commissioners who negotiated the treaty ending the Revolutionary War. The British negotiator who eventually signed the peace treaty was David Hartley, long one of Franklin's large circle of close friends in Europe. In this letter to Hartley, Franklin acts without instructions in floating the idea of a formal peace compact between Britain, France, and the United States.

Passy, October 16, 1783

My dear friend,

. . . What would you think of a proposition, if I should make it, of a compact between England, France, and America? America would be as happy as the Sabine girls, if she could be the means of uniting in perpetual peace her father and her husband. What repeated follies are those repeated wars! You do not want to conquer or govern one another. Why then should you be continually employed in injuring and destroying one another? How many excellent things might have been done to promote the internal welfare of each country; what bridges, roads, canals, and other useful public works and institutions, tending to the common felicity, might have been made and established with the money and men foolishly spent during the last seven centuries by our mad wars in doing one another mischief! You are near neighbors, and each have very respectable qualities. Learn to be quiet, and to respect each other's rights. You are all Christians. One is *the most Christian king*, and the other *defender of the faith*. Manifest the propriety of these titles by your future conduct. "By this," says Christ, "shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another." Seek peace, and ensure it.

Adieu, yours, &c.

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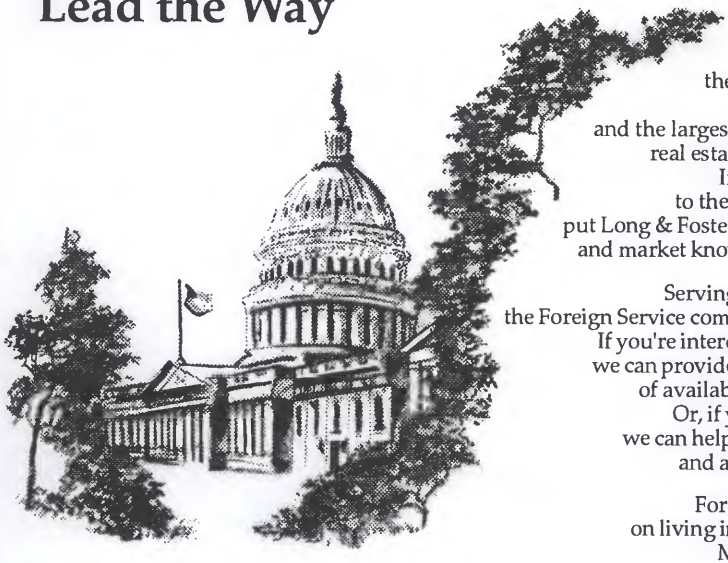

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BOOKS

African Notebook

TROPICAL GANGSTERS

By Robert Klitgaard, Basic Books, 1990, $22.95 hardcover

AFRICA: DISPATCHES FROM A FRAGILE CONTINENT

By Blaine Harden, Norton, 1990, $22.50 hardcover

Reviewed by Frank Ruddy

The explorer Richard Burton was British consul in the city of Clarence on the island of Fernando Po from 1861 to 1864 and called it "the lowest rung of the ladder of consular service . . . the Foreign Office grave." His wife, Isabel, felt "uncommonly suicidal" her first night there. Fernando Po became Bioko and Clarence was renamed Malabo, the capital of Equatorial Guinea. But other things didn't change. Some 125 years after Burton's arrival, the *London Sunday Times* described Equatorial Guinea as "the nastiest place on earth."

A former Spanish colony (the British were there just briefly) where malaria is as commonplace as hay fever, monkey limbs are hawked in the equatorial sun, cats are a delicacy, mail may never arrive, the hospital is without blood or electricity, the water undrinkable; where the No. 2 health official dies of AIDS and the very poor invite cholera by bathing, drinking, and relieving themselves in the same water, while government ministers drive Peugeots and watch VCRs in air-conditioned living rooms, where *juju*, evil eyes, and avenging spirits exist side by side with Sunday mass and the seven sacraments, where the American embassy doubles as a supplier of coffins to the diplomatic community, such a place can be too much for some, but not for Robert Klitgaard.

Knowing full well what to expect, Klitgaard came to Equatorial Guinea in 1986 to head a World Bank project. His job was to help restore the country's prosperous pre-independence economy, which had been destroyed, Idi Amin style, by the country's first president, a dope-chewing, voices-hearing, mass-murdering Hitlerophile, the late Francisco Macias. Klitgaard's book is the story of his own adventures as economist, Equatorial Guinea's most eligible bachelor, guitarist, seminar leader, government adviser, handholder, and "Bob de California" in search of the perfect wave. It is Klitgaard's ability to blend interesting and unusual persons and events into his narration that turns a sure candidate for oblivion, a 300-page examination of economic development in a country that nobody can find on the map, into something the *New York Times* rates one of the best books of 1990.

With a novelist's eye for detail and language, Klitgaard has produced a fascinating account, both funny and heartbreaking, of why economic development is not taking place in Equatorial Guinea and many other African countries. As the title suggests, Klitgaard thinks corruption is largely responsible, but he cites other causes as well (an almost completely untrained national labor pool, for one) and sees little relief in doctrinaire solutions of the right or left. Blaine Harden's *Africa: Dispatches from a Fragile Continent* will add another major cause of development failures: donor dumbness.

Against a backdrop of helping Equatorial Guinea prepare for an IMF agreement and a World Bank structural adjustment loan, Klitgaard introduces us to a world stranger than fiction: Milagroso, the witch doctor/central bank head; Bonifacio, the bright, courageous finance minister undone by tribal intrigue; the health minister from hell who sold the country's measles vaccine, leaving scores of children to die and was promoted for his effort, torturers and the tortured, diplomats and rock stars, and many more.

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I knew Klitgaard in Equatorial Guinea, and unlike so many people who were there because they had to be or to make a fast buck, he went to Equatorial Guinea to help, by teaching Guineans what he knew best, how to run a government. I can't agree with everything he says, but I can think of no more intelligent observer, nor of one more worth reading.

Blaine Harden was the *Washington Post*'s man in Africa from 1985 to 1989. His was a dream assignment: go to interesting places and take the time to write well about what you see. His book, *Africa: Dispatches from a Fragile Continent*, grew out of his columns for the *Post*.

The first selection, about his trip down the Congo, is one of the finest descrip-

tions of African life I have ever read. He recreates the sounds, the smells, the shoving, the heat, the wet of life on a large African boat (in this case on the Congo, but it could be anywhere, Gao to Mopti on the Niger or Malabo to Annobon) the bananas, the palm oil, the sleeping mats on deck, the tethered goats, the screeching monkeys, the officials you have to bribe on board to get the accommodations they already soaked you for in port. Between ports of call, Harden tells you about Zaire and, of course, Mobutu.

Harden's second story takes the reader west to Ghana, where he examines the extended family and the future of African family life, which, he maintains, migration to the cities is making bleak. He includes a remarkable description of a Ghanaian family, as seen through the lives of an old man, a young university student, and battling wives of a polygamous marriage.

The third selection, "The Battle for the Body," concerns the legal battle to bury Kenyan lawyer S.M. Otieno. The thoroughly modern Mr. Otieno had wanted to be buried at his farm in the Ngong Hills. His tribe wanted him buried according to tribal customs. His widow and the tribe slugged it out for eight months in the courts, while the remains of the deceased lay in the Nairobi morgue.

On another plane, the court battle was about whether a modern African is first a citizen (in this case of Kenya, but it could be almost any African country) or a member of his tribe. Thirty years ago Evelyn Waugh wrote, ". . . it is difficult to guess what is meant by a nation of people as dissimilar as the Chagga, the Masai, the Gogo, the Arabs of Pagani, the fishermen of Kilwa, the Greek and Indian magnates of Dar Es Salaam, whose frontiers were arbitrarily drawn by politicans who never set foot in Africa." Apparently, it still is.

Manute Bol, the 7 foot, 6 inch Dinka villager who became an NBA star and dynamite shot blocker, is Harden's next subject. More interesting than even Manute's Cinderella story is the history of the Sudan Harden weaves in, the never-ending civil war between the Moslem North and Christian-Animist South, and his look at the Dinkas, whose young men write more songs about cows than girls.

In "Good Intentions," Harden writes about foreign aid donors whose good intentions sometimes result in disaster. In the early 1970s FAO pronounced that the Turkana, nomadic herders of northwest Kenya, had to give up herding or face extinction. The British thought fish was the ticket to replace the Turkanas' dependence on milk from the herd, and Norway came to the Turkanas' rescue with a fish-freezing scheme that wound up costing about $22 million for a plant, roads, etc. There were a few setbacks, however. The cost of freezing the fish was more than the fish were worth; the lake water for the freezing plant was too dirty to use, and the only part of the lake that produced sufficiant fish dried up, as it always did, every few years. No one had bothered to check. It was probably moot anyway, because the Turkana didn't eat fish.

The plant lasted one week. There is a postscript. Ten years after the experts had talked the Turkana out of herding, it turned out that the Turkana had had the right idea all along. Herding was a good idea, but by then, the Turkana had no herds left. The experts went home. The Turkana went on the dole.

Another selection, "The Good, the Bad and the Greedy," begins with a classic description, a composite really, of "the African Big Man," whom Harden will describe in more detail in the persons of Samuel Doe, Daniel arap Moi, and Kenneth Kaunda. There is also some talk of good things some Big Men like Houphouet-Boigny do, at least temporarily, but they succumb to Big Man disease after a while, says Harden.

The abuses of Samuel Doe are well known, and Harden criticizes the United States for supporting his regime with $500 million in the 1980s and winking at his election-rigging in 1985 while react-

ing so forcefully when Marcos did the same thing in the Philippines. Harden is a bit kinder to Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. He spends a good deal of space on the thuggery of Daniel arap Moi and describes why bribery, favoritism, demagoguery, and factionalism are axiomatic in African Big Man rule. He concludes:

"The simplest cure for the Big Man disease in Kenya, as across Black Africa, would be Moi's replacement with a new, improved Big Man. If such a leader commanded personal authority he did not have to buy, if he were willing to operate within a framework of laws, if he exploited Kenya's potential for accelerated growth, if he was convinced of the need to resuscitate Parliament and other decision-making bodies that allowed Kenyans to participate in their own governance, the decline in Kenya could be turned around."

True enough, but about as profound as saying that if only they weren't bad, they would be good. What Africa needs is not more Big Men, not more political saviors like "The Big Elephant" (Mobutu), "The Most Popular Leader in the World" (Bokassa), and "The Unique Miracle" (Macias), but a rule of law, systems of government that deal evenhandedly with all citizens, and that, perhaps, is what Harden is trying to say.

As much as I stand in awe of Harden the stylist, I confess to being underwhelmed by Harden the moralist, who denounces "Western greed;" by Harden the economist, who pronounces the United States "the stingiest of foreign aid donors;" by Harden the ethnologist, who declares Ethiopia's internal wars essentially tribal (Mr. Mengistu, call your office); and by Harden the professor of doomsday environmentalism. My cavils aside, Harden's eye for detail, his instinct for the interesting, his extraordinary ability to make Africa and Africans come alive on his pages make *Africa: Dispatches from a Fragile Continent* great reading for anyone who has lived or is interested in Africa.

Frank Ruddy, a Washington, D.C. lawyer, served as ambassador to Equatorial Guinea from 1984 to 1988.

EXPATS

By Christopher Dickey, Atlantic Monthly Press, 1990, $18.95

Reviewed by James Bahti

I have known many expatriates during my time in the Foreign Service. Few, if any, of them resembled the "expats" about whom Christopher Dickey writes. He makes no mention of the hundreds of A.I.D. contractors overseas, refers only briefly to ARAMCO employees, and virtually ignores the scores of missionaries, doctors, and nurses doing unsung work in obscure areas. These hard-working, responsible persons would not, of course, be the stuff of a sensational book. Dickey's expatriates are largely flotsam, drifters out to make a fast buck or find a marriage partner, heavy drinkers, compulsive fornicators. They are not terribly likeable.

This is not to say that this rather superficial, heavily anecdotal book is entirely without merit. Dickey is skillful and accurate in describing the ambiance of such cities as Aleppo, Cairo, and Muscat. There is a short course on mines (the explosive kind), another on Islam. He has good sections on the explorer Wilfred Thesiger and Dame Violet Dickson, and Nobel prize winner Naguib Mahfouz rates a full chapter. One of the most depressing chapters discusses the slow destruction of many of Egypt's antiquities caused by the rising water table along the Nile. Likewise depressing is Dickey's account of the heroic (but almost futile) efforts of such groups as the Save the Children Fund, the UNHCR, and Oxfam among the starving refugees in the Sudan.

The book lacks an index, there are no footnotes, the chapter headings are cryptic. But then, there are no pretensions that this is a scholarly work.

James Bahti is a retired Foreign Service officer.

IN MEMORY

Milton Chase, 77, died on December 28. He lived in Nokomis, Florida.

Chase was born in Harbin, and lived in China until coming to the United States in 1942. During his Foreign Service career, he was posted to Malaysia, Australia, and Vietnam, and he served in other countries as a Foreign Service inspector.

Before entering the Foreign Service, he was a radio and television commentator in Cincinnati, Ohio and a war correspondent in the South Pacific during World War II. After retirement, he worked as Washington correspondent for Singapore's *Straits Times* and as an escort officer for grantees under the U.S. government's International Visitors Program.

Survivors include his wife, Betty; three sons, Jeffrey, of Olney, Maryland, Robert, of Takoma Park, Maryland, and Isaac, of Gainesville, Florida; and two grandchildren.

Donald I. Colin, 55, a senior inspector for the Office of the Inspector General and a former Foreign Service officer, died in Woodbridge, Virginia on December 11, 1990. He had suffered heart failure.

Colin joined the Foreign Service in 1962 and served in Fukuoka, Seoul, Saigon, and to the U.S. NATO mission in Brussels, among other posts. He became an inspector and special assistant in the Office of the Inspector General in 1977 then, in 1981, served as a refugee and migration officer in Bangkok. After retiring in 1987, he joined the Civil Service in the Office of the Inspector General's Office of Inspections.

Colin's survivors include his wife, Xuan Colin, of Woodbridge; two daughters, two sons, and a granddaughter.

George Mason Ingram III, 76, died of a heart attack on January 15 at his home on Rackliff Island, Maine.

Ingram was born in Nashville and graduated from Vanderbilt University. He did graduate work in government at Harvard.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1948. His overseas posts included Vienna, Baghdad and Helsinki, where he was deputy chief of mission. He had been assigned in Washington in the Foreign Service inspection corps and served three years as director of the bureau of Foreign Affairs Office in charge of Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark.

Ingram was a recipient of the State Department's Meritorious Honor Award and a graduate of the National War College. He retired to Maine in 1971.

His first wife Ashton Sommerville Ingram died in 1985. Survivors include his wife Helen Ingram, whom he married in February 1990; three children of his first marriage, George Mason Ingram IV and Ashton Douglass, both of Washington, and Elinor Boyce of Silver Spring; five stepchildren and 13 grandchildren.

Foy D. Kohler, 82, died of heart ailments in Jupiter, Florida on December 23.

Kohler attained the Foreign Service's highest rank in 1962, when President Johnson appointed him career ambassador. He served in Moscow from 1962 to 1966 then served a undersecretary of State for political affairs until his retirement, in 1967.

Kohler took his first post as vice consul in Windsor, Canada in 1931. Later assignments took him to Romania, Yugoslavia, Greece, Egypt, Great Britain, and Turkey. He also toured Vietnam, Pakistan, and Bolivia on fact-finding missions for U.S.A.I.D. programs, and he served as director of the Voice of America. He first went to Moscow in January 1947 as first secretary of the U.S. embassy.

For almost 11 years after his retirement, Kohler taught at the University of Miami's Center for Advanced International Studies.

His wife, the former Phyllis Penn, whom he met while both were serving in Romania in the Foreign Service, survives him.

Mary E. Mayio, 68, wife of retired Foreign Service officer Albert P. Mayio, died of cancer in Washington, D.C. on December 30, 1990.

Mayio was born in Antwerp, Belgium in 1922 and worked as an interpreter for the U.S. military government in Germany after World War II. She accompanied her husband on assignments in Munich, Mexico City, La Paz, and Buenos Aires.

In addition to her husband, Mayio leaves a daughter and a son.

Odessa M. Parker, 73, died of cancer in Washington, D.C. on November 27.

The wife of Foreign Service officer James A. Parker, Parker accompanied her husband to postings in Liberia, Nigeria, Spain, Cameroon, and Bolivia. She was an active participant in community and social affairs at each post. Parker received a bachelor's degree from Morgan University and taught school in Baltimore, Maryland and Monrovia, Liberia.

In addition to her husband, she leaves a son, two daughters, and one grandchild.

Norma Powers-Palmer, 56, registrar for the Board of Examinars, died of cancer in Chicago on December 29.

Powers-Palmer joined the Foreign Service in 1962 and served in Mexico City and Brussels before leaving to work in insurance in Chicago. She re-entered the service in 1984 and served in Beijing, Rome, and at The Office of Foreign Service National Personnel. She began her position as registrar in 1989.

Powers-Palmer leaves her mother, Hazel Powers, of Chicago; a sister, and two brothers.

John Pazourek, 85, a retired Foreign Service specialist, died in Sun City, Arizona on December 20, 1990.

Pazourek joined the Foreign Service in 1945 and served in Praha, Rome, and Bonn as a construction supervisor. He became foreign buildings officer in Vienna in 1955 and served as deputy regional

buildings officer in Bonn from 1961 to 1964 before retiring, in 1965.

Pazourek was a native of Tabor, Czechoslovakia who worked at the U.S. embassy in Prague before emigrating to the United States. He has no known survivors.

Larry W. Roeder, Ph.D., 72, died on December 18 at Loma Linda University Hospital in California after a long illness.

Roeder began his career just prior to Pearl Harbor as a non-salaried volunteer ambulance corpsman in the American Field Service, which was attached to the British Army. He served in India, South Africa, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria.

In 1945, Roeder joined the Foreign Service, choosing consular work because it provided him the best opportunity to directly assist people in need. His first post was Dhahran, followed by postings in Beirut, Havana, Washington, Cairo, Paris, Frankfurt, Tel Aviv (as consul general and later as counselor of embassy), and Winnepeg (as consul general). Roeder served at Winnepeg from 1974 until his retirement in 1976.

He received his doctorate in public administration late in life from Culver-Stockton College in Canton, Missouri.

Surviving Roeder are his wife, Mary Elizabeth, of Palm Springs, California; his son, Larry Jr., of Centreville, Virginia, who works in State's Economic Bureau; his daughter-in-law, Nancy Catherine, who serves in State's Consular Affairs; and a grandson, Nicholas Watford.

Robert Taylor, 65, a retired Latin America and Far East specialist with the Agency for International Development, died of cancer September 17 at his home in Millersville, Pennsylvania.

Taylor served in the Navy during World War II and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School in 1949.

He began working for U.S. foreign assistance programs in West Germany in 1950 and later served in Berlin, The Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Washington. In 1980 he retired.

Survivors include his wife, Mary Taylor, of Millersville; his son, Robert, of Olney, Maryland; four brothers; and five sisters. ■

The following reflection on the 1975 American evacuation of Savannakhet was submitted by Donald A. Ranard, an editor and writer at the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C., who spent two years in Laos as a Fulbright teacher. His father was a Foreign Service officer who served throughout Asia.

Farewell to Laos

DONALD A. RANARD

May 20, 1975–My housemate, Mike, and I were sitting on the back porch of our house drinking Tiger beer, when the front screen door flew open and Boun Ome rushed into the living room and then onto the porch. Ome, one of my students, was staying with us, as his family lived in a village a day's bus ride away.

"The Pathet Lao are coming!" Ome said. "They're 3 kilometers outside town."

We got on our motorcycles and headed for town. Usually empty except for a bicycle or two, now the main road was jammed with motorcycles, scooters, bicycles, and *samlors*, the motorcycles with sidecars that served as taxis.

For the past week I had stayed close to home; it wasn't student demonstrations I was afraid of as much as general anarchy. Everyone seemed to be carrying a weapon; two weeks earlier, a robber shot and killed a Chinese jewelry shop owner across the street from where we were having dinner. A few days later, as I rode out of town on my motorcycle, I passed a boy carrying an old rifle. Something in his smile persuaded me to lie as flat as I could on the gas tank and

gun the bike. I thought I heard a shot, though I was not sure.

But now, as I came into the center of town, I saw I had little to worry about from this crowd. There was a feeling of celebration. People lined both sides of the street to watch two Chinese boys perform a dragon dance. Vendors sold grilled pieces of chicken and squid and small plastic bags of lemonade.

The crowd began to cheer as the convoy came into view. The Pathet Lao commander sat in the head jeep, followed by canvas-covered trucks full of Pathet Lao soldiers wearing baggy khaki uniforms and floppy, Mao-style caps. After the trucks, an old Soviet-made tank coughed, sputtered, and rattled. The tank commander, a small man with a dour expression, straddled the gun barrel, his arm raised in stiff salute, Third Reich style. The effect was unintentionally comic, like Charlie Chaplin playing the Führer, and laughing children ran alongside the tank, their arms raised in mock salutes.

The only thing modern about Laos, someone once observed, was the war. It was one of the 20th century's strangest incongruities that Laos, a tiny, landlocked country that most Westerners couldn't find on a map, had become a theater in the Cold War. The easygoing Lao showed little appetite for war, hot or cold, nor much interest in the great ideological struggle of the day. Now, after 20 years of war and corrupt government, the economy was in ruins and the people were fed up. For much of the year, students around the country had been on strike, protesting government corruption and an economy so inflationary that my Lao colleagues at school complained that they couldn't buy enough rice on their salaries to feed their families.

The students were spurred on by events in Vietnam. In late April 1975, after the Communist victories in Vietnam and Cambodia, student demonstrations in Laos became increasingly pro-Pathet Lao and anti-American. A few weeks later, the Pathet Lao skillfully used demonstrations in Vientiane to their advantage, pressuring three right-wing members of the coalition government into resigning. Gradually, subtly, with a minimum of confrontation and almost no bloodshed, the balance of power was shifting.

In late April 1975, after the Communist victories in Vietnam and Cambodia, student demonstrations in Laos became increasingly pro-Pathet Lao and anti-American. A few weeks later, the Pathet Lao skillfully used demonstrations in Vientiane to their advantage, pressuring three right-wing members of the coalition government into resigning.

On my way home, I stopped at the home of Sandy Stone, head of the A.I.D. mission in Savannakhet, who had been trying to arrange an evacuation since May 14, when a group of students had taken three American officials hostage and placed the entire U.S.A.I.D. community under house arrest. "Stay close to home," Stone told me as I left. I didn't tell him that I had just watched the town welcome the Pathet Lao.

At 5:30 the following afternoon, we got word from Stone: be at the airport in one hour. They were sending two planes.

We were ready in a few minutes. Having anticipated this moment for a week, we had already packed our bags —two each—and put the rest of our belongings in boxes.

I took one last look at the house that for two years had been a gathering place for students who came to borrow books, listen to records, and talk. We had studied the language and learned about the culture and assumed that we were different from the Westerners who never made the effort, but in the end, it was not a difference that counted for very much. Over the last few months, as the demonstrations had adopted a more anti-

POSTCARDS FROM ABROAD

American tone, fewer and fewer students had come, and now there was only One to say goodbye to.

We walked to the road and flagged two *samlors*. As I climbed in, one of my students passed on a bicycle, waving as if it were just another day.

"Pai sai?" he shouted. Where are you going?

"Yankee goes home," Mike said.

At the airport, a dozen or so Americans were waiting beside the airstrip.

"Nine years, and they give us an hour to get out," said Ruth Stone to the director of the French cultural center. The Frenchman, an old Indochina hand, had come to say goodbye. He gave Ruth Stone a sympathetic look, but I wondered how he really felt. Not so many years ago, the Americans had watched as the French gave up their empire in Indochina. We had arrived on the scene confident that we would succeed where the French had failed. Now we were leaving, and the French were staying.

We had arrived on the scene confident that we would succeed where the French had failed. Now we were leaving, and the French were staying.

A small twin-engine cargo plane appeared in the sky. I looked at my watch; it was 6:30. A few minutes later, as the pilot, a tall American wearing aviator glasses and cowboy boots, ambled across the tarmac, it struck me that this may have been the first time during my two years in Laos that something happened on schedule. ■

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JOURNAL

HOWARD R. SIMPSON

Reflections of a Lukewarm Warrior

Mikhail Gorbachev's supposedly magnanimous recommendation that we shouldn't wrangle over who won the Cold War only emphasized the fact that the Soviet Union and its former satellites are not being issued passes to the winner's enclosure. As the Cold War era blows away like a tainted cloud, we might pause briefly to congratulate ourselves. Only a brief pause is warranted, as the world now faces a dangerous period of nationalist tensions and limited intensity conflict linked to a proliferation of high-tech weaponry.

We Foreign Service veterans of the Cold War are habitually nondemonstrative. You won't find us in parades, the medals we may have collected hang on study walls or are buried in drawers, and many Cold War stories are better left untold. Yet we were in the frigid front lines from Paris to Moscow and from Delhi to Seoul. When the Cold war occasionally turned hot, we lukewarm warriors remained in place, performing new tasks, taking new risks, and enduring casualties.

Although we made mistakes and were caught in blunders and hesitations, we held the line with a sometimes naive tenacity, convinced that we were wearing the slightly soiled white hats. As diplomats, we were not given to fanaticism, and we did not rant about evil empires or refuse contact with our Iron Curtain or Bamboo Curtain counterparts. But we did recognize the competition for what it was: an unsavory, totalitarian system based on tyranny in which the individual counted for little.

While the principal opposing military forces eyed each other like pit bulls, we fought it out with words, slogans, ideals, and constant political and economic maneuvering. Psychological warfare was not on the curriculum of the Foreign Service Institute when the Cold War began, but Foreign Service personnel soon mastered this tactic through osmosis. The redundant classes on protocol told us how to drop our calling cards at a senior officer's residence; we were not warned that we were entering an arena of not-so-diplomatic combat, where the opposition took the offensive 24 hours a day.

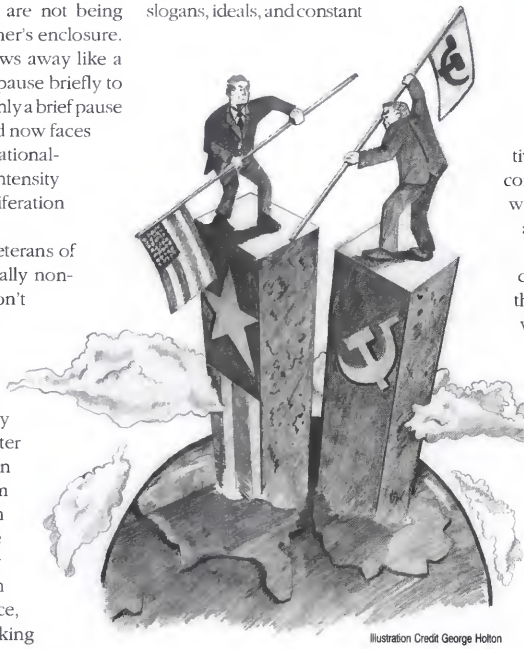

Illustration Credit George Holton

Cold War diplomacy on the working level was fairly simple. Reason was still used, but a lukewarm warrior who expected this tool to work was soon enlightened. Verbal punching and counter-punching were more the order of the day. Reams of propaganda kept the paper mills grinding on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The airwaves hummed with charges, denials, and invective, while films and television—the comparatively new medium—heavy with political messages were targeted at the world's screens.

Cliches are often uncomfortably close to the truth, and no more so than during the Cold War. Hollywood's version of the vodka-swilling Russian diplomat and the bull-necked Soviet security man in stovepipe pants did actually exist. The State Department occasionally produced one of those dilettante stereotypes so dear to congressional folklore who still believed Soviet counterparts could be wooed by social graces and conviviality. Fortunately, we also developed a new breed of hard-nosed negotiators and whistleblowers who could politely but firmly draw uncrossable lines on the world map.

Like all war stories, those of the Cold War can be dull if the event were not shared by the reader. Today, digging into the cluttered attic of memory, I find that only the lighter moments have retained their clarity—moments in which ideological confrontation often bordered on farce.

The great wine battle

A "USSR Day" at the 1961 Montpellier Wine Fair? Unbelievable but true. Not only had Marseille just twinned with Odessa, but a shipment of Georgian wines was on its way to Montpellier to link up with a visiting delegation from the Soviet Embassy in Paris. Such a coup could not be permitted.

Within weeks, with the help of the Wine Institute of California and a station wagon load of American vintages from the stock of an American passenger liner, I was on my way to Montpellier for "America Day." Our effort was marked by a hastily drafted speech underlining the assistance of California vintners to their Montpellier colleagues during the phylloxera epidemic in the early 1900s and a tasting of the badly jolted, overheated bottles from the ship. It may not have been high noon at Checkpoint Charlie, but we had accepted the challenge. I did suffer a minor wound. A subsequent letter from the New York wine industry addressed to the ambassador demanded to know why one of his officers (and a Californian) had been pushing California wines at an international exhibition.

Fraternization

A member of the U.S. delegation to the 1963 International Film Festival at Cannes had made informal contact with a shapely Soviet starlet on the beach outside the Carlton Hotel. He had invited her to join a number of friends for a pre-lunch drink in his room. When I mentioned the omnipresence of the Soviet delegation's "minders" he shrugged it off. He planned to meet her in the lobby and escort her to the gathering himself.

Alas, the long arm of the Cold War reached even to the heart of the film world. The brief ballet in the Carlton's halls was pure Buñuel, with a touch of Woody Allen. Shrugging off the protests of her guardian angels, the rebellious starlet took my friend's arm as he escorted her to the elevator. The two Soviet heavies who had been escorting her blanched and looked at each other in horror. Their superiors at Dzerzhinsky Square hadn't prepared them for such an eventuality. They dashed for the broad stairway. To their credit, they were present, puffing and wheezing, when the elevator doors opened on the third floor. With fixed smiles and apologetic nods they whisked their ward away from my friend and the vile temptations of a decadent, bourgeois Hollywood.

Chicago on the Med

In 1964, I was on my second tour in Marseille, and I knew the local labor scene pretty well. Marseille's dockers have always been a force to be reckoned with, and the Communist-dominated CGT union could block the port through strikes if the party gave the order. We had always maintained good relations with the influential but smaller socialist docker's union. Our rare contacts with the CGT were limited to vociferous demonstrations outside the Consulate General or the short visits of delegations bearing petitions protesting U.S. policy.

It was therefore a surprise to receive a call from one of the city's top CGT officials inviting me to visit him at headquarters. Puzzled but curious, I accepted the invitation. The official and three of his lieutenants received me in his office, and we quickly got down to business. The official was approaching retirement, and he had just received an invitation from an old friend and fellow Marseillais who now lived in the United States and wanted the official to visit him in Washington state for two weeks of fishing. A fervent angler, he wanted to go badly. But his staff had told him it was impossible to get a visa. I had been invited to the lion's den to confirm their argument—and reinforce their prejudices.

The direct sincerity of the aging labor leader and the smug, negative attitude of his staff combined to present a challenge. A strong case for a waiver was submitted and supported by considerable lobbying in the form of memos and telephone calls to the Paris Embassy. In the end—despite some strong opposition—the CGT official received his visa and left for the Pacific Northwest.

On his return I was asked to his office for an aperitif. The same staff members were present, sipping their pastis in silence while he described his voyage. He spoke of the pleasure of seeing his old friend but inserted the standard dialectical zingers. The United States had "many problems," he had been shocked by the "low status" of American blacks, and he couldn't understand why the American police had to be "armed to the

teeth." When his staff drifted off for lunch he insisted I have one last drink. He then shut the door and produced an album of polaroid shots demonstrating his prowess as an angler and the outsized proportions of his catches. The political jargon was set aside, and he beamed, thanking me profusely for making it possible. His last comment as I walked out the door was, "Monsieur, you have a truly beautiful country." In the long history of Cold War give-and-take this effort counted for little. But proving his party hacks wrong had been well worth the effort.

Trial by vodka

Serving in the U.S. Interests Section of the Swiss Embassy in Algiers in 1976 was an unusual experience. Algeria, in all its revolutionary glory, was a playground for Eastern Bloc diplomats who eyed our small operation with disfavor and suspicion.

One hot morning I drove through the White City to visit the director of the Soviet Cultural Center at his office. He was a bearded, affable giant with a slight knowledge of English. The center was celebrating some anniversary of the Great Patriotic War, and while I waited for my host to appear, I examined the enlarged color photos of Soviet armored vehicles hanging on the walls. When he arrived, it soon became obvious I was to endure the standard "trial by vodka," a typical Soviet ploy. Although it was only 11:30 a.m., a secretary appeared bearing a large tray of open-face sandwiches of fish paté and three kinds of vodka.

I'm not sure what my Soviet host wanted to know, but he appeared fascinated by the minuscule size of our staff. Such information was readily available from the diplomatic list, but he returned to the subject time and time again. He was also intrigued by my three tours in Vietnam. My comment that the continual war in Indochina was a tragedy seemed to discomfit him. Throughout our conversation, the glasses were refilled. I first became aware that the Algerian heat and the vodka were affecting the director by the strange angle of his spectacles. He then began to complain about his past assignments and grumble about life in Algiers. By 1:30 p.m. his glasses were dangerously askew, and he had a sprinkling of breadcrumbs on his beard. It was time to go.

I doubt that anyone will look back on the Cold War with fondness. Standoffs at the Berlin Wall, surrogate wars in the Third World, and the knife-edge moments of the Cuban missile crisis do not make for pleasant memories.

This proved difficult. His staff had left for lunch as we knocked back the vodka and munched the salty sandwiches. They had also locked us in, and the director could not find his own set of keys. The full import of being locked into his own center with an officer of the U.S. Interests Section appeared to have a sobering effect. My host was particularly grim-faced when he was forced to call the security office at his embassy for assistance in freeing his American guest. I tried to treat the accidental incarceration lightly, but the young, crop-haired security man who unlocked the doors for us saw no humor in the situation, nor did the perspiring director. From that moment on, he made a special effort to avoid me at all official functions.

No nostalgia

I doubt that anyone will look back on the Cold War with fondness. Standoffs at the Berlin Wall, surrogate wars in the Third World, and the knife-edge moments of the Cuban missile crisis do not make for pleasant memories. I prefer instead to remember the look on the Soviet consul general's face when I told him we had only two U.S. Foreign Service officers serving at our Consulate General in Marseilles, along with "three agents." I did not tell him that the "agents" in question were members of the Drug Enforcement Agency. ■

Howard R. Simpson is a retired Foreign Service officer.

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AFSA ♦ NEWS

COPING WITH CRISIS

Evacuations and ordered departures affect hundreds

Richard Milton
State Vice President

An unprecedented movement of Foreign Service families began in August 1990, as post closures and drawdowns of staff from Morocco to Bangladesh brought home hundreds. More than 400 employees from State and AID alone had returned to Washington by the end of January.

The evacuations have been accompanied by the financial and emotional strains associated with leaving friends and FSN co-workers, personal effects, and sometimes family pets at post. To make matters worse, some evacuees have found themselves in an unclear job status back in Washington.

The concerns of the evacuees have been quickly evidenced in calls to AFSA for advice and assistance. For example, Foreign Service members from four posts arrived in January on both authorized and ordered departures to join dependents who had been in the United States since August. To their dismay, the post evacuees were told that they could not receive benefits due to evacuated employees beyond six months from the date in August that departure had been authorized, whether for themselves or for dependents. As a result, in February AFSA was insisting that ways had to be found for the U.S. government to cover the new evacuees' unusual expenses.

Coming on the heels of large and prolonged evacuations earlier from Panama and Liberia, the Somalia and Gulf War related drawdowns raised serious concerns that major changes were needed in evacuation regulations, allowances, and management. Areas of special concern include:

- adequacy of the Special Evacuation Allowance
- duration of SEA eligibility
- liability for R&R repayment if overseas tours are shortened
- effect of abbreviated tours for untenured officers
- need for a Home Service Transfer Allowance equivalent
- adequacy of claims ceiling of $40,000
- concern for commissary/school losses
- questions about intermediate safehavens
- travel of en-route dependents to authorized departure posts
- access to stored effects, if evacuation is prolonged
- priority for shipments at time of evacuation for those unlikely to return
- consumables allowance for those returning to post
- "Fair-Share" liability in future assignment decisions

AFSA's experience has shown that many of these questions arise because regulations were not written in anticipation of evacuations of the current magnitude. Department officials are aware that the evacuations will cause substantial additional payments to many employees beyond regular salaries and allowances, and AFSA is encouraging management not to delay seeking supplemental appropriations from Congress through OMB.

A high-level State committee has been appointed to address case-by-case problems that the regulations do not adequately address. Nevertheless, the entire process clearly needs review. AFSA is pressing the department to write a comprehensive evacuation manual with periodic updates.

At a special meeting of the State Standing Committee on February 11, a comprehensive list of needed improvements was prepared for submission to State, which "manages" the evacuation process for all foreign affairs agencies.

Because the Standardized Regulations are government-wide and not exclusively applied to the Foreign Service, changes are not routinely subject to negotiation. We believe that a good-faith effort to work with State for improvements should nevertheless be useful for all concerned.

Tightened security at Main State

Deborah Leahy
Member Services Representative

The Department of State has implemented new security measures in response to the crisis in the Persian Gulf. In addition to placing more roving security officers inside the building, access to the immediate area around the building has also been limited.

Twenty-first Street has become one-way southbound between Virgina Avenue and C Street., and D

COPING WITH CRISIS

Street is open only to department shuttle traffic. The circular driveways at the 21st Street and C Street entrances have been blocked off.

Regular parking permits are still in effect, but the department is requiring special building passes to drive into the garage under the building for any other reason. Access to the loading dock has also been severely limited. All trucks are searched before being allowed entry. In addition, no deliveries may enter the building through the pedestrian entrances.

Security has also been tightened within the building. Even contractors with building passes currently must go through metal detectors and have their property examined before being allowed to enter. The metal detectors and x-ray machines have been moved directly in front of the doors. All department employees must display their building passes not only as they walk through the corridors but also outside, as they approach the building entrances. Employees are asked not to display passes when otherwise outside of the building, however. Until further notice, all public tours of the eighth floor have been canceled, as have some previously scheduled events.

Prepared for the worst: insurance for times of crisis

Hugh W. Wolff
Insurance Board Chairman

With U.S. military forces in the Persian Gulf and the threat of terrorist action increasing, AFSA members should know that, unlike most insurance plans, AFSA's group insurance for accidental death and dismemberment does cover losses due to acts of war or terrorism.

The plan provides worldwide coverage against accidental death and specified injuries in amounts up to $300,000 for the insured and his or her spouse and up to $50,000 for each dependent child up to age 26. It pays 50 percent of the selected benefit for claims arising from acts of war or terrorism, and this applies to all insured members of the family. Most insurance companies make an extra charge for war risk coverage, and no other accidental death and dismemberment plan, to our knowledge, offers this protection for dependents. Most important, the cost for family coverage under our plan is less than that charged by competing plans offering more restricted coverage. This plan is available to AFSA members up to age 70, with no limitations as to health, occupation, or overseas assignment.

Furthermore, for those who are concerned about loss of or damage to household effects while serving at a foreign post (e.g., evacuees), the AFSA Personal Insurance Plan provides the most comprehensive coverage available and at the same rates the as when we initiated the program, about 20 years ago. To our knowledge, no other insurance for personnel serving abroad covers as wide a range of perils as the AFSA plan, which includes coverage for riots and civil unrest not involving government forces. An important feature of this plan is that property is insured for its full replacement value rather than its actual cash value at the time of loss or damage. However, no plan of which we are aware covers loss or damage caused by acts of war or by hostile or warlike action by any government or sovereign power. Indemnification of loss or damage from such causes is available only through the War Claims Act (Military Personnel and Civilian Employees Claims Act of 1964, as amended).

For more information, contact AFSA representatives or AFSA headquarters.

The case for optimum medical care

Turna R. Lewis
General Counsel

AFSA has joined as a "friend of the court" in a suit by an A.I.D. employee whose infant son was permanently disabled after being denied a medical evacuation from Liberia.

AFSA filed its *amicus* brief on January 7, urging the Supreme Court to review the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals decision. That case held that the Department of State may deal with employee claims of medical negligence as it sees fit, without according due process to the employee. The case is particularly troublesome on two counts: it brings into doubt the standard of care that will be provided to Foreign Service employees serving abroad, and it has been conducted on the State Department's part with excessive secrecy.

Linda Wheeler Tarpeh-Doe, an A.I.D. employee, gave birth to a son on May 18, 1982. On June 5, 1982, the child became ill, and, despite her repeated efforts to have him evacuated immediately to the United States, he was admitted on a physician's order to John F. Kennedy Memorial, a Liberian hospital. The child was treated there for one night then transferred to Monrovia's ELWA hospital for two weeks before being evacuated to the United States. As a result of his 1982 illness, the child is now institutionalized, blind, and may suffer from permanent brain damage.

Tarpeh-Doe contends that State Department employees in Liberia and in the United States acted negligently in providing medical care to her son. She filed an administrative claim under the Federal Tort Claims Act with the Department of State on January 31, 1984. Forty-five months later, the department formally denied her claim in a letter dated October 9, 1987, providing no legal or factual reasons for the decision. Tarpeh-Doe

was not provided a copy of the evidence used by the department to decide her claim.

Tarpeh-Doe initiated a lawsuit appealing the department's decision, which she contended was arbitrary and capricious. The State Department never provided her with a list of the witnesses it had consulted, the substance of witness testimony, nor any other evidence. The district court agreed with Tarpeh-Doe's arguments, ordered the department to reconsider her claim, and specifically required the department to inform her in writing of the evidence on which it had relied in determining the merit of her claim. She also asked for an opportunity to rebut that evidence.

The department appealed the case to the U.S. Court of Appeals, arguing that it is not required to state reasons, identify evidence, or even list the witnesses that it interviewed in deciding claims. The department concluded that no due process was owed applicants.

The Court of Appeals reversed the district court's decision, holding that the regulations giving the department authority to determine claims do not expressly require that applicants be afforded procedural due process. Tarpeh-Doe filed a petition for review by the Supreme Court on November 9, 1990. Tarpeh-Doe, per a court order in separate and ongoing litigation, was finally provided the department's analysis of her claim in mid-November 1990.

The departmental memo reveals that in the administrative claims process, the department ignored the promises of its medical and health care program, which provides that:

"The general medical policy of the Department of State is to assist all American employees and their dependents in obtaining the best possible medical care. This includes personnel of the department and all agencies participating in the medical program by agreement. This policy extends to the most remote parts of the world, so that no employee need hesitate to accept an assignment to a post where health conditions are hazardous, medical service poor, or transportation facilities limited." (3 Foreign Affairs Manual 681.2)

The memorandum concludes that in determining claims for medical negligence under the Federal Tort Claims Act, the appropriate standard of care to be applied to the claim is that standard of medical care that would be required by local law. Thus, the department said that Tarpeh-Doe and her infant son were entitled only to that standard of medical care afforded the average Liberian. Obviously, this conclusion

News Briefs

Tour of duty policy The Department of State notified AFSA in January that it was preparing to delink tour of duty length from degree of hardship and then study each 20-25 percent hardship allowance post to determine at which of them tours of duty could be extended to three years. AFSA's January 15 response indicated appreciation of the department's efforts to find cost-cutting initiatives that would inflict the least pain on the Foreign Service, but suggested that efforts be made to encourage voluntary extensions through a variety of incentives. AFSA particularly objected to plans for extended tours being given automatically to employees who have just received two-year assignments for 1991.

Official residence expenses AFSA recently invited comments from the field on the Internal Revenue Service's October 1990 decision that 5 percent of salary will no longer be deductible for those who receive Official Residence Expenses (ORE). The ORE deduction was available to those who paid 5 percent of their salaries back to the government to compensate for housing benefits they receive as government employees. Of the 26 early replies, most indicated that the figure is excessive and unrealistic. A few thought 5 percent reasonable and yet others noted that arriving at a more accurate and equitable policy might prove impossible. Noteworthy were two reports of official residences that were almost uninhabitable.

Other negotiations The Department of State has proposed to AFSA revisions to the Standardized Regulations, including welcome changes of educational travel rules and increased clarity in rules covering evacuation. Also under review are changes to R&R regulations, in which AFSA is striving for more reasonable treatment of the travel of minor dependents of separated parents.

Do you want to keep your ivory? AFSA has received inquiries about the new law banning the import and export of African ivory and how it will affect members.

This new law is the domestic implementation by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Sepcies (CITES), which added the African elephant to its endangered species list on January 18, 1990. On June 9, 1989, the ban took effect on the import and export of raw and worked African elephant ivory.

There are some exceptions to the ban, including trophies hunted in sport, certain personal effects, and antiques. The new regulations on African ivory are explained in a factsheet from the Fish and Wildlife Service. For further information, contact: The U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Office of Management Authority, 4401 N. Fairfax Drive, Room 432, Arlington, VA 22203. Tel: 703/358-2104.

represents a drastic change in the promise of the department to the thousands of citizens employed overseas.

AFSA is gravely concerned about the potentially profound impact of this decision on Foreign Service and other government employees serving abroad. AFSA plans to discuss the import of the memorandum with both State and A.I.D. and to actively participate if the U.S. Supreme Court accepts the case.

Dismantling prescriptive relief

Turna R. Lewis
General Counsel

The State Department continues its efforts to dismantle prescriptive relief, which allows a person against whom charges are pending to remain employed until the case has been decided. The department's latest attempt is a proposed amendment to the Foreign Service Act that would bring Foreign Service practices in separation cases into conformance with current Civil Service practices. The proposed amendment, if passed, would end the longstanding practice of providing prescriptive relief to Foreign Service employees.

The department has offered no rationale for the amendment. AFSA believes that current limits on prescriptive relief adequately prevent abuse of the benefit and that no amendments of law and/or practice are warranted. The Foreign Service Grievance Board has enunciated clear standards for granting prescriptive relief to tenured and nontenured employees. Tenured employees are granted prescriptive relief upon a showing that the grievance is related to separation and is not frivolous. A nontenured employee must show that he or she has a reasonable prospect of prevailing on the merits before the board will grant prescriptive relief. Further, the board considers other factors, such as timeliness of the request for prescriptive relief. It also balances the harm the agency may suffer against the potential harm to the grievant if prescriptive relief is not granted.

We support the recent amendment to the law, which prevents employees who have been convicted of a crime from receiving prescriptive relief.

Breakthrough in A.I.D. mail crisis

Chris Bazar
Director of Member Services

In a development that should finally resolve the longstanding A.I.D. pouch crisis, the State Department has agreed to resume processing mail for the foreign affairs agencies.

The crisis began in August 1990, when State turned over responsibility for pre-sorting mail to the individual agencies. Chaos ensued—late mail, lost mail, opened mail, misrouted mail, etc. (*see* AFSA News, November and December 1990 and January 1991).

The severity of the crisis during the holiday season was such that AFSA felt compelled to raise the issue with A.I.D. Administrator Ronald W. Roskens. Responding by letter on the administrator's behalf was his assistant for management (AA/MM). AFSA was disappointed by the vague, noncommittal nature of the letter. Indeed, the letter convinced us that we had no option but to raise this issue outside of agency channels. We were preparing to do so when we learned that AA/MM had responded affirmatively to our request for a meeting.

At this meeting, on January 14, AFSA learned of State's decision to resume full responsibility for the processing of pouch mail. The decision came at the prompting of both A.I.D. and USIA and took effect on January 22. The agency was predicting a fairly rapid return to normality (facilitated by the marked decrease in mail volume which accompanies the end of the holidays) at the time of this writing. A.I.D. assured us in our meeting that the agreement with State was not a short-term solution. The department has apparently acknowledged that the handling of pre-sort functions by agencies other than state is ill-advised, and no future efforts to decentralize the Foreign Service pouch system are anticipated. The one remaining hurdle that A.I.D. employees must face is a change back to the old address used prior to August 1990.

AFSA took advantage of the meeting with A.I.D. management to raise several concerns relating to a draft agency proposal on reimbursement procedures for claims stemming from the pouch crisis. A.I.D.'s proposal dealt only with losses incurred as a result of the earlier "international mail incident" (***see*** AFSA News, December 1990), in which mail for certain posts was accidentally dispatched through the international system rather than the pouch. This incident was relatively narrow in scope, and affected far fewer posts than the general, systemic problems which have beset A.I.D. missions ever since the agency took over the pre-sort function. AFSA was successful in convincing A.I.D. to also accept claims resulting from these general pouch problems, thus markedly broadening the range of allowable claims.

AFSA also objected to A.I.D.'s proposal that all claims would have to be submitted within three months of the date of the incident causing the loss or damage, noting that it could take much longer to even ascertain whether loss had occurred. A.I.D. agreed to our proposal to increase the time limit to 12 months.

AFSA further insisted that A.I.D. guarantee that employees would be compensated for interest charges assessed by their creditors because of the pouch delays. Employees are required first to attempt reconciliation with their creditors; to facilitate this process, A.I.D. has provided employees with a letter for creditors which describes the pouch delays.

New member for Governing Board

Helene Kaufman of A.I.D. joined the AFSA Governing Board in February.

Helene has been active on the A.I.D. Standing Committee and has contributed to the AFSA legislative agenda as well as on women's and minorities' issues. With 16 years of service in the federal government, Helene worked for two years on the Hill and has been a member of the Senior Foreign Service since 1988. She is particularly interested in assuring strong representation of Foreign Service employees' interests during this period of flux and reorganization.

CALENDAR

April 4-5: AFSA conference on Business Opportunities with Mexico
April 9: AAFSW monthly meeting in the State Department
May 3: Foreign Service Day
June 13: AFSA conference on the pharmaceutical industry
September 23: AFSA conference on Asia's "four tigers"

Answers to the Foreign Service Quiz

(Questions appear on page 10.)

1. Trist was negotiating the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which was signed in 1848 and formally ended the Mexican War.

2. Frank B. Kellogg

3. James Buchanan, envoy to Great Britain from 1853 to 1857. He was elected president in 1857.

4. Whitelaw Reid, who became the first American envoy to London to die in office. He died on December 15, 1912.

5. President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed both of these women. They served as ministers to Denmark and Norway respectively.

Human rights and democracy in the 1990s:

Michael Novak

Richard S. Thompson
Professional Issues Coordinator

Human rights cannot thrive without a workable economic system and an appropriate underlying moral and cultural foundation, according to Ambassador Michael Novak, former U.S. delegate to the UN Human Rights Commission. Ambassador Novak spoke at the Foreign Service Club December 18 in the "New Diplomacy for a New Era" series.

He asserted that in Eastern Europe, and increasingly in Latin America, there are three principles "that experience has forced on people." The first is that democratic government, where people live under governments formed through their own consent, is the ideal and only really legitimate form of government. The second principle, perhaps clearer to Eastern Europeans than to Americans, is that people won't be satisfied with democracy unless they can develop a dynamic and growing economy. The name for such an economy, which many people are reluctant to use, is capitalism. Novak defined capitalism as not just a market economy, but a society in which invention and discovery are rewarded. However, thirdly, both democracy and workable economic institutions require a new moral and cultural vision which and supports initiative and responsibility.

Ambassador Novak also stated that, in a world of mass communication, human rights efforts have remarkable power, as demonstrated by the impact of the State Department's annual country reports on human rights. But we must be realistic; each country will follow these principles in its own way.

In the discussion period it was noted that there is a debate in Africa on multi-partyism, and the examples of South Korea and Taiwan could be taken to demonstrate that too much democracy is not a good thing. Ambassador Novak responded that he was empirical. There are local decision-making institutions in Africa that could be developed, and he was skeptical of the benefits of "controlled tyrannies," because they stifle creative energies.

In further remarks on Eastern Europe Ambassador Novak noted the problem of borrowing money in a society where the state owns most of the property, and urged that governments and international institutions make credit available. "We should establish S & L's everywhere." The Soviets must learn that making money is not evil.

Planning AFSA's outreach to business

Meeting of the International Associates Council

Lawyers, management specialists, industrialists, government relations experts, and business management consultants joined AFSA officers for a 2 1/2-hour planning session and luncheon at the Foreign Service Club in late January. Together they examined the proposed Outreach Program conference schedule for the remainder of 1991 and offered new ideas for ways in which AFSA can help improve communication between the Foreign Service and American business. Among the proposals:

- to reexamine the issue of East European investment, now that expectations for quick profits have been dampened
- to consider reestablishing an executive exchange program between government and business
- to produce conferences on the newly industrialized economies of Asia
- to organize breakfast workshops on such issues as privatization moves in economies that are moving away from the command-control system.

Guest speakers at the luncheon were Ambassador Nat Howell, only recently returned from his post in Kuwait, and Hume Horan, former ambassador to Saudi Arabia.

AFSA's 1991 Retiree Directory

AFSA's *1991 Retiree Directory* is now available to members who wish to stay in contact with their retired colleagues. The directory costs $5, which includes postage and handling. To obtain your copy, please send a check or money order to: AFSA, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

**Use of the directory for commercial purposes is strictly prohibited.*

Legal Action Fund Contributors, 1990

Fredrick Aandahl
Margarete A. Aayer
John V. Abidian
Margaret Abraham
Norman L. Achilles
Martin Ackerman
Garret Ackerson Jr.
Michael J. Adams
David Adamson
Mary Ahlert
Joe L. Alarid
Leslie M. Alexander
Milo R. Alexander
Clarence Alspaugh
Charlotte Allen
Lafe F. Allen
Dwight R. Ambach
Robert C. Amerson
Donald Anderson
Lester C. Anderson
Mark E. Anderson
Dexter Anderson
William Anderson
D. Craig Anderson
Robert F. Andrew
Sara L. Andren
Alfonso Arenales
Julio J. Arias
Lois A. Aroian
Theresa Arrington
Robert E. & Barbara Arthurs
James H. Ashida
Giulia Assante
Alfred Atherton Jr.
Chris & Joanne Athos
Robert Austin Jr.
Barbara S. Aycock
G. Michael & Eleanor Bache
John E. & Mary E. Bagnal
John H. Baker
Charles R. Bakey Jr.
Marcela M. Baliles
Frederick Barcroft
Arthur A. & Lola Bardos
Alba Barrera
Martha F. Barnhill
Edward C. Bateman
Lucius D. Battle
Wilson T. M. Beale
William Beasley Jr.
Veronica E. Beauchamp
Robert M. Beaudry
John P. & Priscilla C. Becker
Susanne Beecham
Robert M. Beecroft
Elizabeth Beers
Robert M. & Maria T. Beers
Francis J. Bell
William Belton
Lawrence Benedict
Tapley Bennett Jr.
George M. Bennsky
Robert O. Benson
Gordon R. Beyer
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Genevieve Bibos
Mary Ann Bibus
E. F. Biedrzycki
Lee S. Bigelow
A. Birabaum
Francis M. Bires
Robert S. Black
Slator Blackiston
James J. & Brenda M. Blake
Dianne Blane
David J. Bleecker
Robert R. Bliss
V. M. Blocker
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Sarah H. Booke
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Robert W. Day
Baudouin De Marcken
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Morley H. Gren
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Christa U. Griffin
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Viola Grise
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Marc Grossman
Rosario Guaderrama
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John K. Hagemann
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Mason A. La Selle
Victor Lateef
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F. D. & Phyllis D. Leatherman
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Allenanne LeClair
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Adele P. Lee
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Agustin Merello
Vernon & Olwyn Merrill
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Clifton Metzner Jr.
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Colette Meyer
Norman Milford Jr.
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Nicholas R. Milroy
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Geoffrey Moore
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Edmundo Navarro
David R. Nelson
Bruce Neuling
Robert G. & Marlen Neumann
Harry Neustein
George P. Newton
Loretta M. Nial
Eleanor N. Nickel
Louis J. Nigro Jr.
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