FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

APRIL 1991

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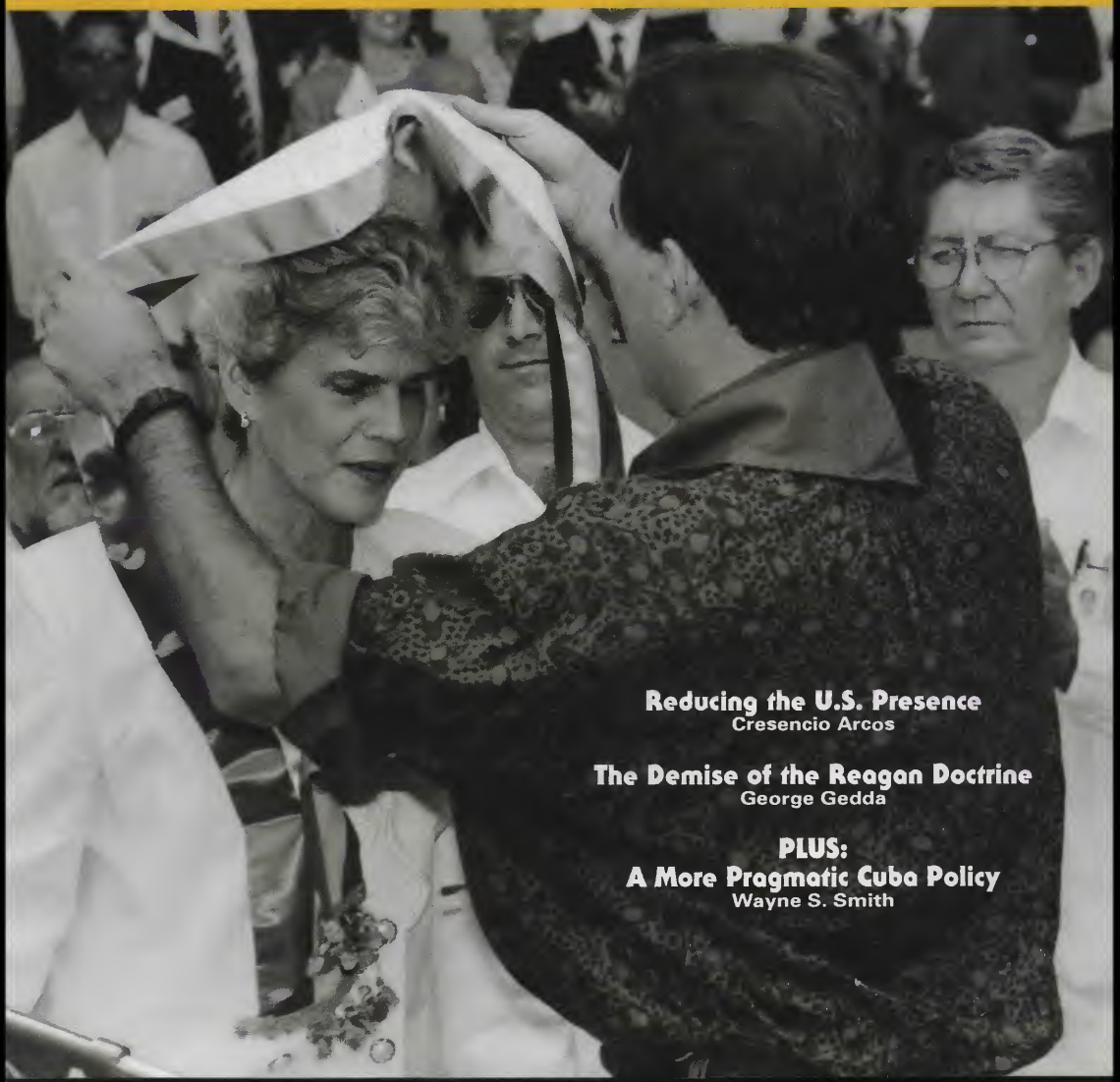

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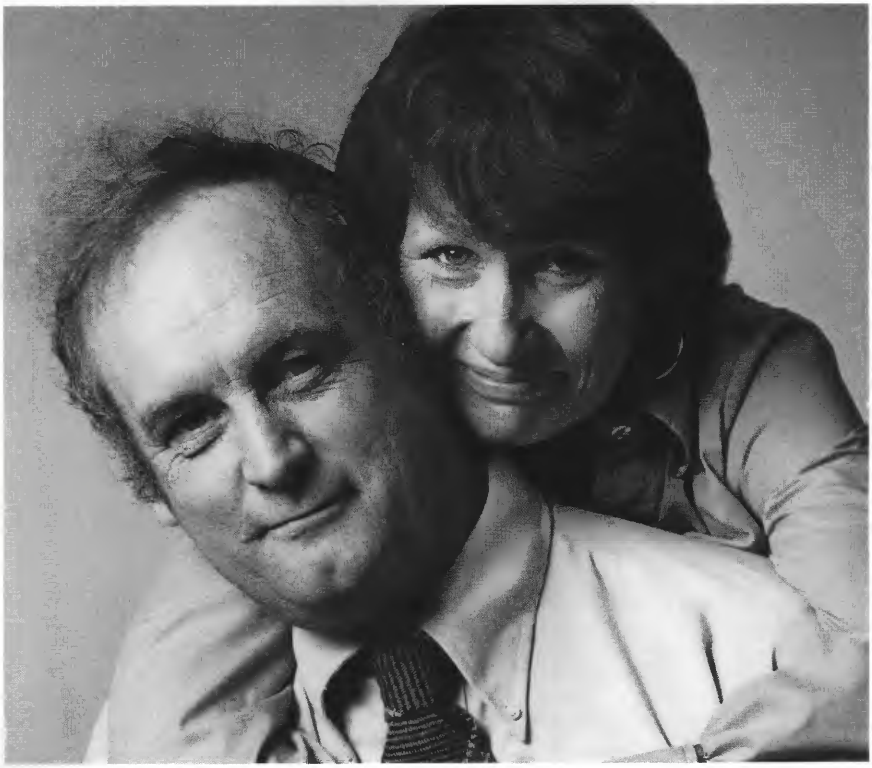

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AFSA VIEWS

NOTEBOOK ON NOMINATIONS

February was a month of milestones for many reasons, but two were of special interest and concern to Foreign Service people. One of these was the nomination of Assistant Secretary of State Raymond Seitz to be ambassador to the United Kingdom. The other was the sad loss on February 23 of former Ambassador William H. Taft III.

Ambassador Taft was unique as a non-career appointee who became a Foreign Service officer only *after* a tour as ambassador. Son of Senate Majority Leader Robert Taft and father of the current U.S. ambassador to NATO, Taft was nominated to be ambassador in Dublin in 1953 and served there until 1957. In 1959 he joined the career Foreign Service and served nearly 20 more years before retiring, including a tour as consul general in Lorenco Marques, but never again as an ambassador. A modest and scholarly man, Taft lit a path that few have followed by showing more interest in the foreign relations of the United States than in personal or political advancement.

As has been widely remarked, Ray Seitz will be the first of 65 American ambassadors to the Court of St. James to be chosen from the ranks of career Foreign Service officers. (For the pedants who point out that there wasn't any career service in the time of John Adams, there have still been 21 U.S. ambassadors to the United Kingdom since the Rogers Act of 1924.) We have it on good authority that President Bush chose to break precedent in making this nomination as a sign of his own high regard for the career service. Seitz has served in London twice before. The nomination thus also shows a refreshing recognition of expertise–a criterion that has seldom been given much weight in the past in the selection of our nominees for London.

Nor should we let pass without comment other recently reported nominations. China expert Stapleton Roy will be only the second career officer to serve as ambassador in Beijing since the restoration of diplomatic relations. Experienced Foreign Service officers are expected to replace fellow career officers soon in Pakistan, Chile, Thailand, Colombia and a number of smaller countries.

Other positive elements in the administration's record of nominations include keeping a promise to maintain a ratio of at least two career appointees for every non-career ambassador; leaving career appointees (in most cases) in place for three years; and of course the expected (and now proven) benefits of putting experienced professionals in such key posts as the UN, Japan, Mexico, and India.

Still to watch, however, is the administration's willingness to stand by its own decisions and face down Senator Jesse Helms' capricious and unfounded opposition to three career nominees: John Bushnell (Costa Rica), George Jones (Guyana), and Melissa Wells (Zaire). Even the most strenuous administration lobbying, however, will be unavailing unless members of both parties in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are willing to overrule Helms on procedure. When and if the nominees are put to a vote in a business meeting, it's doubtful that anyone other than Helms would cast a negative vote, but because of the North Carolina senator's mastery of procedural delay, all three have been waiting in the wings for nearly a year. We understand that Bushnell's destination may be changed; if so, this distinguished officer should promptly be renominated.

Also to be watched is selection of a nominee for Moscow. A number of excellent career candidates were said to be under consideration a year ago to replace Am-

Continued on page 63

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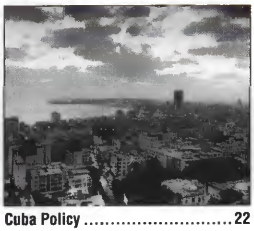
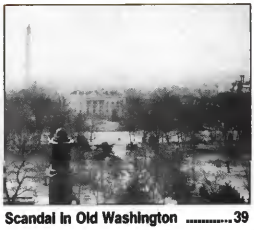
Cover:

Daniel Ortega bestows the sash of office on Violeta Chamorro, 1990. AP/Wide World Photos.





FEATURES

FOCUS: A NEW APPROACH

DEPARTMENTS

THE GULF CRISIS

To The Editor:

The excellent articles on the evolution of Iraq toward war in the January issue do nothing to enhance the reputation of the State Department. No matter how you slice it, cut it, butter it, or otherwise try to cover it up, we do not come out well.

What were our skilled and experienced Arabists doing, as the situation drifted into the present crisis? Most of them were tending their gardens, making money in the private sector, or relaxing in the sun, for the brightest and best had—willingly or kicking and screaming—gone into retirement. The new generation may be good in Arabic, Middle East area studies, and Washington bureaucratic infighting, but these officers lack the depth of knowledge of Arab personalities, culture, and history of the old Arabists. Most of the older Arabists attended the Foreign Service language school in Beirut in the 1950s and 1960s, spoke excellent Arabic, lived and served in several Arab countries, and knew many of their leaders over many years. Although possibly tilting against Israel, they know the Arab world well, and, in retirement, can voice freely their views on how to advance U.S. interests without endangering their careers.

This sad situation strengthens the case for the creation and—most important—utilization of a Foreign Service Reserve Corps, which could draw on the talents and experience of our retired, skilled colleagues. One way to do this would be to create informal policy review groups for critical areas such as the Middle East, Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, China, and South Africa.

Regarding Henry Precht's contribution, I would like to add that Jim Hoagland, as well as William Safire, was warning us of Saddam Hussein early on.

Alan Logan

The writer is a retired Foreign Service officer.

To The Editor:

I was pleased to see from Norman Hannah's letter in the January *FSJ* that the legend of Gordon Paddock is not only alive and well but has been expanded to include the consul's (and the bareback rider's) eventual assignment to Paris. Whatever became of them after their sojourn in the French wilderness is the inevitable next question. Perhaps some researcher of the files will one day be inspired to find the answer.

FSI's courses are continually subjected to needs tests, objective evaluation, outside scrutiny, and input from course participants, instructors, and OIG inspections. The change in FSI's approach to mid-level training, from a five-month course to a series of shorter courses, supports Jeffrey's contention that "Good programs will survive, the bad will not."

Incidentally, your coverage of the Iraq-Kuwait crisis in the same issue is a useful supplement for those of us who know only what we read in the papers. Congratulations.

Henry S. Villard

The writer is a retired U.S. ambassador.

THE IMPORTANCE OF TRAINING

To The Editor:

Mr. Jeffrey's article on training in the August 1990 *FSJ* ("How Much Training Do We Need?") raises some interesting points and deserves a response. He focuses his criticism on long-term language and professional training, citing a lack of objective evaluation, and relevancy to the needs of the Foreign Service. He also expresses concern with what he perceives as an attitude in the personnel system which advocates training as a requirement for advancement in the service. To set the record straight, the department has never taken the position that training is needed to obtain a good job, but rather that the training contributes to the employee's ability to do the job.

As the author notes, long-term training does involves significant costs. If the training is relevant and of high quality, however, it is not a misallocation of resources. The Foreign Service Institute (FSI) is strengthening its evaluation processes; as a result, courses are modified or dropped if they are not meeting course objectives and department needs. FSI's courses are continually subjected to needs tests, objective evaluation, outside scrutiny, and input from course participants, instructors, and OIG inspections. The change in FSI's approach to mid-level training, from a five-month course to a series of shorter courses, supports Jeffrey's contention that "Good programs will survive, the bad will not."

Jeffrey's assertion that other government agencies "often prefer" commercial language training is misleading. FSI is the preferred institution for the United States Information Agency (USIA), providing between two-thirds and three-fourths of all language training to USIA employees. Commercial schools are used by other agencies when FSI does not offer the specific language, the timing of FSI's training does not correspond with the employee's need, internal budget practices favor use of a facility other than FSI, or a student requires a tutorial.

Jeffrey laments recent cutbacks in "low-cost, high-return" post language programs. With a few exceptions, FSI's experience

with the post language programs is that they are not an effective means of developing language skills. Intensive language training away from the workplace is the proven route to achieving language proficiency. The intermittent training typical of many post language programs usually adds little to the development of language skills. Responsibility for funding these programs was recently transferred to geographic bureaus, and each overseas post will now have the opportunity to develop a language program specifically designed to meet local needs. The quality of FSI's language training is good. This fact was confirmed most recently by former Ambassador Monteagle Stearns in his commission's review of hard-language proficiency in the Foreign Service. Employees who achieve the 3-level proficiency are able to communicate at the expected *minimum* level of proficiency in that language. FSI, in cooperation with the Bureau of Personnel and the regional bureaus, is experimenting with means of developing language training beyond the 3 level. There are, however, resource and other implications associated with training to the 4 level, including the availability of language training for a wider audience.

The real issues, unstated in Jeffrey's article, are the department's approach to recruitment and the value we place on opinions and insights from sources outside the narrow confines of the workplace. We do not, unlike many services, recruit exclusively from a small number of elite schools or rely on the seconding of functional specialists from other agencies in order to meet our staffing needs. We have, instead, chosen to take advantage of and represent the diversity of our country through a competitive selection process. We then supplement the knowledge and skills brought by new employees to the service with in-service training at FSI and other institutions to enhance their ability to do their job. Regrettably, from 1980 to 1990, the number of fellowships and university training positions available to department personnel has dropped by 50 percent. Instead, given the power of education to inspire innovation and problem-solving, we should be creating more opportunities for training.

The "new era in international relations" heralded by Deputy Secretary Eagleburger has implications for both our agenda and approach to foreign policy. Interdisciplinary and multilateral issues such as trade, debt, international drug trafficking, terrorism, the environment, conflict resolution, refugees, and economic development have assumed a greater role in relations among and between countries. Multifunctional officers of the future must have access to opportunities throughout their careers to develop not only specialized skills, but also the professionally broadening experience provided by a detail to another agency, a year at the National Defense University, another university, or the department's Senior Seminar. We owe it to our personnel to make available to them as many and as varied such opportunities as resources permit. Repeated studies have demonstrated the benefits of the strong emphasis that the business community and military place on such training. Ours is not a static world. We can do no less.

Jacques Paul Klein
The writer is chief of the training and liaison staff, Office of Foreign Service Career Development and Assignments, Personnel, at the State Department. ■

CLIPPINGS

SEEKING A WIDER PEACE

The New York Times, March 7, by Maureen Dowd

Washington, March 6 - President Bush said tonight he will begin bringing home American troops from the Persian Gulf, but he pledged to maintain a strong diplomatic presence in the Middle East and redouble efforts to solve the stubborn Arab-Israeli conflict.

"Our commitment to peace in the Middle East does not end with the liberation of Kuwait," Mr. Bush said in prepared remarks to a joint session of Congress, adding: "The time has come to put an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict."

In remarks almost certain to be perceived by the Israeli government as an indication that he intended to seek important concessions from it, Mr. Bush reemphasized longstanding American policy that Israel must trade territory it seized during Arab-Israeli wars for peace and secure borders. He said that efforts should be made "to close the gap between Israel and the Arab states—and between Israel and the Palestinians."

. . . His comments seemed to mark a departure from the more incremental diplomacy the Administration has pursued in the Middle East, with a call for bolder steps to end the enmity in the region.

GOP WOMAN TO JOIN BAKER STAFF

The Washington Post, March 7, "Talking Points"

Although the senior officials at the State Department continue to insist that they left crass politics at the door when they entered the hallowed halls of diplomacy, yet another political pro is about to join the team of Secretary of State James A. Baker III.

Grace Moe, director of external affairs at the Republican National Committee, director of press advance for the 1984 GOP presidential campaign and a scheduler in the 1976 Gerald R. Ford campaign, will move in next month as a senior deputy assistant secretary for public affairs at State.

She has been at the RNC since 1985 running a variety of programs, from its conventions and meetings operation to its speakers bureau. She and Margaret Tutwiler, State Department spokesman and her new boss, go back to 1976 when both helped arrange Ford's campaign schedule.

In the role of Tutwiler's right hand, she will replace Kim V. Hoggard, who is leaving after the agreed-upon two-year tenure to return to her home in Australia.

JAPAN SAYS IT HID AMERICANS IN EMBASSY IN KUWAIT

The New York Times, March 7, by David E. Sanger

Tokyo, March 6 - The Japanese Government disclosed today that it secretly gave refuge to 16 Americans and their families in the days after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, and then helped them escape from Kuwait City.

The disclosure came from Japanese officials who acknowledged that they are trying to prove that Japan contributed more than just money to the war against President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. The Government here has been stung by criticism, both from abroad and from the Japanese press, that it wallowed in political infighting about how to contribute to the anti-Iraq coalition while its allies put their citizens at risk.

UN GROUP CONDEMNS BURMESE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The New York Times, March 7, by Paul Lewis

United Nations, March 6 - The United Nations Human Rights Commission has voted unanimously in secret session in Geneva to condemn the military government of Myanmar, formerly Burma, for rights violations as a result of a confidential report prepared by a United Nations in-

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spector who recently visited the country.

The report said that the nation's military authorities continued to detain political opponents and that the authorities had failed to answer "serious and persistent allegations of torture and mistreatment" of these prisoners.

PICTURE OF A FLAILING GORBACHEV

The Wall Street Journal, February 25, by Paul A. Gigot

. . . Some Americans—at the State Department, for example—think Mr. Gorbachev's internal troubles won't change his foreign policy. But the CIA disagrees. "Gorbachev's move to the right is already apparent in foreign policy," the [recent testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee] says, and "hardline critics" are "pressing for a tougher policy toward the West." Mr. Gorbachev won't go into full retreat from Western cooperation, [CIA Director William] Webster predicts, but look for foot-dragging on arms-control, renewed arms sales to the Third World "for hard currency," and more scheming like last week's Gulf gambit.

. . . Certainly, many in the administration think the CIA is too pessimistic now, partly to compensate for its too-rosy scenario last year. At State, in particular, the view is that Mr. Gorbachev is "almost Hamlet" in his indecision. He clearly has a vision of a vastly different Soviet Union, they believe, but is frightened by the forces of reform he's unleashed. So the U.S. wants to continue to work with him, though it will "test him" on foreign policy and expand ties to the republics and reformers.

ETHIOPIAN FACTIONS RESUME PEACE TALKS

The Dallas Morning News, February 22, from wire reports

Washington - Prodded by the State Department, the rival factions in Ethiopia's long-running civil war are resuming high-level talks in Washington in hopes of achieving a settlement. Ethiopian Deputy Prime Minister Ashagre Yilgetu said he planned to promise "broad autonomy" in talks with representatives of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. The front has been fighting for Eritrean independence since the monarchy that once ruled Ethiopia declared it an integral part of the country in 1962. Herman Cohen, assistant secretary of state for African affairs, was leading the two days of talks that end Friday.

AMBASSADOR URGES THAI DEMOCRACY

The Washington Post, March 6, from wire reports

Bangkok - Calling for Thailand's speedy return to democracy and the immediate release of the deposed prime minister, the U.S. ambassador became the first Western envoy to visit the leader of the country's recent military coup.

Ambassador Daniel O'Donahue said he told both junta leader Gen. Sunthorn Kongsompong and newly appointed interim Prime Minister Anand Panyarachun that the U.S. government saw Anand's appointment as "an important first step on the return to elected civilian government."

"In both cases we made clear our hope that the process of return to elected civilian government would be a prompt one," O'Donahue told reporters.

U.S. SEEKS CUTOFF OF SANDINISTA AID

The New York Times, February 28, by Clifford Krauss

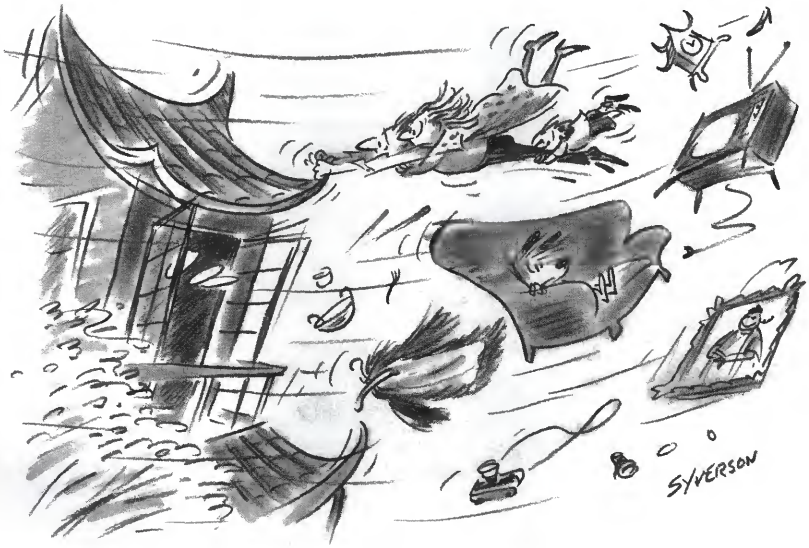
. . . The question of who really rules Nicaragua arose again last Friday, when the Honduran Army intercepted a weapons shipment that the State Department charges was part of a Sandinista effort to resupply a tiny Honduran guerrilla group committed to overthrowing the government.

Arnulfo Aroca, a Honduran driver, was reportedly captured when his truck, carrying 35 Soviet-made RPG-7 rocket launchers and 2,000 bomb detonators under a load of bananas, got stuck in a stream three miles north of the Nicaragua-Honduras border.

Mr. Arcoa, who remains in custody, has said in radio interviews that the Sandinista Army gave him the weapons, a safe-conduct pass and a contingent of 35 troops to accompany him to the border. The senior Nicaraguan official said the government was investigating the shipment but had no other comment.

The State Department charged in a statement on the seizure that "this type of activity is not an act of renegade officers."

WHAT IF YOU'RE HIT BY A TYPHOON IN RANGOON?



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KEEPING THE GUARD UP

The Washington Times, March 5, from wire reports

Americans traveling overseas were advised yesterday by the State Department not to let their guard down against possible terrorist attacks now that the Persian Gulf war is over.

The department said yesterday in a brief statement that more than 160 suspected terrorist incidents worldwide were recorded during the six-week war, nearly half of them aimed at U.S. citizens and targets. One American died and three others were wounded.

The statement said that while only a few of the attacks had been traced to those loyal to Iraq, "terrorism remains a serious concern in the postwar period. Previous wars in the Middle East have frequently been followed by a terrorist aftermath."

KENYA ACCUSES U.S. OF MEDDLING

The Washington Times, March 5, from wire reports

Nairobi, Kenya - Kenyan authorities yesterday accused the United States of interfering in the due process of law in Kenya and disregarding diplomatic norms in dealings with Kenya.

On Sunday, the U.S. Embassy released to the media a statement protesting the arrest of an opposition lawyer and journalist, Gitobu Imanyara.

A government statement issued through the official Kenya News Agency said the Ministry of Foreign Affairs "has learned with profound dismay of the simultaneous release of a press statement by the U.S. government in Washington and in Nairobi on March 1, 1991, condemning the arrest of a Kenyan citizen Gitobu Imanyara. . . . This action by the U.S. government is strange in that it ignored the normal diplomatic channels of communication between two friendly governments."

EC GIVES $1 BILLION TO THE USSR

The Washington Times, March 6, from wire reports

Brussels, Belgium - The European Community fonnally approved $1 billion in food grants and credit guarantees for the Soviet Union yesterday.

The $355 million in emergency food aid and $670 million credit guarantee to buy food were delayed in January in an EC protest against Moscow's political and military pressure on the pro-independence Baltic republics.

The EC foreign ministers, meeting Monday in Brussels, welcomed the fact that Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia had been able to vote overwhelmingly in favor of independence without pressure from Moscow. They cleared the way for the food funds then told the EC's executive body, the European Commission, to go ahead with discussions with Moscow on how to implement a $520 million technical assistance package.

THE DARK SIDE OF MOONLIGHTING

The Washington Monthly, March 1991, by Charles Peters

Federal employees are up in arms about a prohibition of moonlighting in the Ethics Reform Act. The prohibition is a bit excessive, but that it is aimed at a real problem is made clear by the letter a civil servant wrote to Mike Causey of *The Washington Post*:

"In my agency so many grade 14 and 15 types teach at the local college there is never any audiovisual equipment or supplies for our training. Movie projectors, slide and overhead projectors, etc. are either at the college or [in] the trunk[s] of the moonlighting teachers' cars. Photocopying machines are in almost constant use cranking out course outlines, notes, exams, and the like."

A second problem, illustrated by another civil servant's letter, might be called "daylighting":

"I work in an office where half the people are engaged in other things while supposedly working for the government. A couple sell household cleaning products to coworkers (which is an imposition and time consuming) and also sell to outsiders by phone.

"The biggest abusers are those who sell real estate from the office. Some of them spend half their time working on nonfederal jobs. I would go to the boss, but he (and his wife) have a sideline too."

JUSTICE FOR ALIENS

The New York Times, March 5, editorial

Amnesty for undocumented aliens was a humane and vital part of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. The act offered some three million illegal immigrants release from an underworld culture and gave Congress a basis for controlling the borders and deciding who should live here in the future.

The program's broad success was marred, however, by arbitrary procedures that denied as many as a quarter of a million aliens a fair decision on their eligibility for legitimate status. Last week, the Supreme Court, attentive to Congress's generous purpose, moved decisively to correct the arbitrariness of hostile bureaucrats.

By a 7-to-2 margin, the Court ruled that Immigration and Naturalization Service legalization procedures are subject to Federal court review when these procedures violate the norms of fairness.

. . . Some examiners routinely refused to provide competent translators (in Haitian Creole and Spanish) for the crucial applicant interviews. They violated their agency's own rules by refusing to hear the applicants' witnesses. They disallowed employment evidence from certain contractors they suspected of fraud but kept the blacklist secret from the applicants until lawyers for the workers discovered it in litigation.

SHIITE THREAT NOT LETHAL

The Washington Times, March 5, by Warren Strobel

The spreading rebellion of fundamentalist Shi'ite Muslims in southern Iraq adds to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's troubles but does not yet threaten his survival, Bush administration officials said yesterday.

U.S. analysts are watching the unrest in Basra and outlying towns closely, concerned that it might lead to further destabilization or civil war in Iraq.

While allied troops control part of southern Iraq, the officials said their information was limited and they were relying for the most part on media accounts of growing anti-Saddam demonstrations in more than a half-dozen southern cities.

. . . The overthrow of Saddam and his Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party "doesn't look real likely right now," a U.S. official said.

The official said, however, the revolt undercuts Saddam's attempts to show he is fully in control despite Iraq's defeat.

"It adds to the pot," a State Department official said. "The pot is boiling." ■

50 YEARS AGO

Home Leave at Government Expense for American Foreign Service Employees—Hearings before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the FSJ, April 1941

Mr. Johnson: As I understand it, under existing law career officers can be given the right to be brought home, but this act is enlarged so that the subordinate officers may be given the same treatment and afforded the same opportunity in the discretion of the Secretary of State?

Mr. Davis: That is correct; yes, sir.

. . . The Chairman: Now, this also includes the families, does it not?

Mr. Davis: Yes, sir.

. . . The Chairman: Do you believe that this legislation is urgent at this time?

Mr. Davis: Yes, sir; I do. I think it is urgent, and because of the war situation in the world, I think it is more important than ever that we bring our people home. You station a man in almost any country in Europe today, and also in the Far East, and he is just saturated with the propaganda of that local country, because his news, his movies, and everything he sees or hears is tinted or colored deliberately to promote the point of view of that particular nation. I think it is more important than ever before to bring them out of that every once in a while and to bring them home, to give them a breathing spell and let them see what the United States looks like and know what we are doing and thinking there. ■

FOREIGN SERVICE QUIZ

Answers appear on page 61.

1. In what year were the powers and duties of consular officers first codified in law?
2. During World War II, Americans became familiar with the voice of a newscaster who was later selected to be the first director of the Voice of America. Who was he?
3. Who was the only bachelor president?
4. When was the grade of ambassador first established as a permanent part of the Foreign Service?
5. In what year was the Foreign Service exam established?

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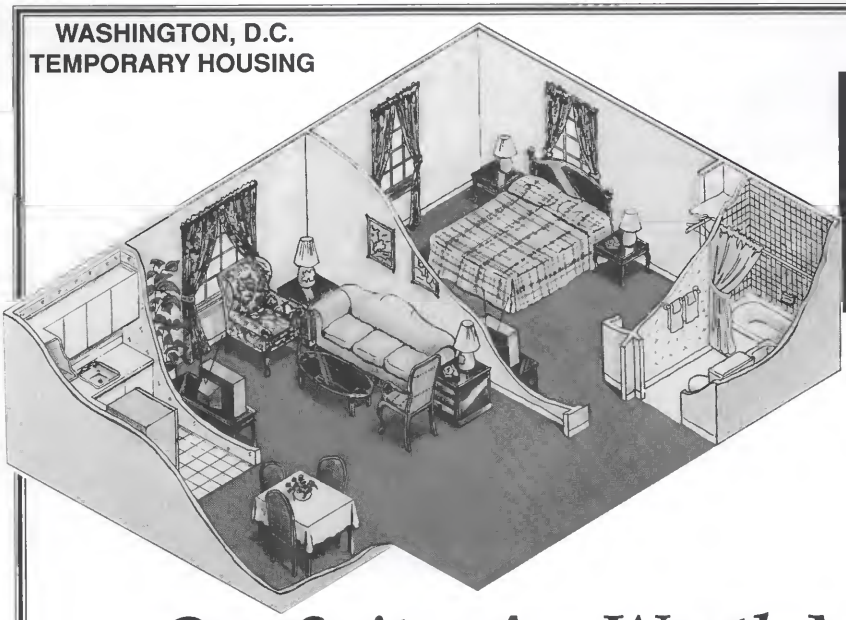

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SPEAKING OUT

THEODORE S. WILKINSON

Mexico and Oil Diplomacy

Forget for a moment the euphoria of victory in Iraq. By now it may be wearing off anyway. America's first Middle East War wasn't cost-free. There was the administration's $55 billion bill to Congress—even if we managed to syndicate 75 percent of it. The United States and its coalition partners suffered blessedly few casualties; but the Iraqis and humanity as a whole weren't so lucky. The impact of the war on the environment invites a paraphrase of King Midas' moral. In this case, he who covets oil may end up drowning in it.

From the political standpoint, it's probably too early even to sketch out whether our enhanced stature in the Middle East will outweigh the polarization of Arab sentiments caused by the war. Shifting allegiances bring new enemies as well as new friends, and fresh, acute enmities don't mix well with diplomacy.

The one thing that's safe to say is that nobody wants to do it again, and that our collective efforts should attack both the political and economic causes of the war. One of the five post-war objectives identified by Secretary Baker is to reduce our dependence on others for energy. "That strategy should involve energy conservation and efficency, increased development, strengthened stockpiles and reserves, and greater use of alternative fuels," proposed the secretary on February 6.

Almost coincidentally, the administration forwarded its long-awaited energy strategy to Congress, at the end of an excruciating two-year birth process that nearly exhausted the Department of Energy. The strategy contains the same elements as the secretary's skeleton proposal, but the balance among them is already under sharp attack for being too heavy on the production side and too light on the conservation side. Among the production features are proposals for added stimuli or reduced constraints on domestic production, and calls for an increasing share of U.S. imports to come from outside the Gulf, in particular from the Western Hemisphere.

Do our postwar diplomatic goals and our new energy strategy fit together? At first glance, the answer seems to be yes. Putting more reliance on Western Hemisphere oil won't eliminate our dependence on imports, but it should at last reduce our addiction to the Gulf varieties. And it can scarcely harm our steadily improving relationship with our next-door neighbor to the south. Replenishing our strategic reserve at a guaranteed price throughout the 1980s certainly helped the Mexicans in the past, at the peak of their financial crisis. For the Mexicans, the assurance of augmented petroleum export income from the United States in the future would be a neat complement to a free trade agreement (FTA). Some of the augmented income could even be earmarked for efforts that would complement the FTA in other ways; e.g., for expensive improvements to the low Mexican environmental standards that opponents of an agreement have seized upon.

An even more troublesome article of Mexican faith is embedded in a Lazaro Cardenas-era amendment to the Mexican constitution, which is interpreted to preclude foreign involvement in exploration by Pemex, the national oil monopoly.

A closer energy relationship may require overcoming some pre-Columbian shibboleths that traditionally cloud the vision of otherwise lucid Mexican intellects of the left. One is the vintage, self-imposed PRI rule that no more than 50 percent of Mexican oil should be exported to any single consumer (read, to the United States); i.e., the mirror image of our concern about being overly dependent on any single supplier. It's a rule that's been honored in the breach in recent years and could only make sense if Mexico's economy were not already inextricably bound with our own in ways that are independent of petroleum. It deserves a decent burial.

An even more troublesome article of Mexican faith is embedded in a Lazaro Cardenas-era amendment to the Mexican constitution, which is interpreted to preclude foreign involvement in exploration by Pemex, the national oil monopoly. Pemex is a world-class company these days, no longer in danger of being a Cinderella to the seven sisters. Inadequate exploration is said to have cost Mexico considerable oil revenue because it could not expand supply quickly to take advantage of recent surges in demand (and prices). The Salinas government is no doubt concerned about giving Cardenas' son Cuahtemoc a new cause to rally opposition on the left, but some way needs to be found to set aside an archaic nationalist doctrine that is costing Mexico money.

In all likelihood, we will hear some new thoughts on these dilemmas at AFSA's April 4-5 conference on the converging

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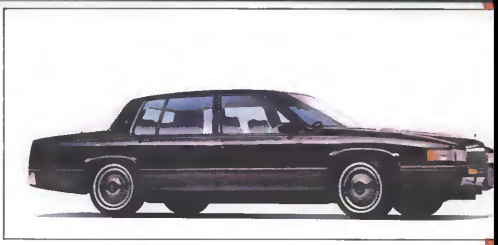

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SPEAKING OUT

destinies of the U.S. and Mexico, which includes a panel that will focus on resources, energy supply, and the environment, with EPA Assistant Administrator Timothy Atkeson, Atlantic Richfield representative Al Zapanta, and William and Mary Professor George Grayson (1988 author of *Oil and Mexican Foreign Policy*).

Nevertheless, it would be unwise to expect too much from expanded Mexican supply, or, for that matter, from any other non-Gulf producer (including the Soviet Union, where production and exports have been declining drastically in the last few years, but where there is still vast potential). Speaker after speaker at AFSA's last symposium ("Oil and Foreign Affairs in the 1990s") on February 7 recited variations on one basic theme: most of the world's proven oil reserves are still in the major producing countries on the Persian Gulf, which provide a quarter of U.S. consumption (and half of what we import). We may be able to change the mix a bit in favor of Mexico and other Western Hemisphere producers, but there is no way in the short term to cut Middle East suppliers out of our market, even with the kind of conservation measures that efficiency experts such as Amory Lovens are urging us to adopt as industry standards. The bottom line would seem to be a revalidation of one cardinal element of American diplomacy: whatever new order may emerge from the ashes of Kuwait's oil fires, the United States and its allies will continue to need open access to friendly oil suppliers in the Gulf. ■

We may be able to change the mix a bit in favor of Mexico and other Western Hemisphere producers, but there is no way in the short term to cut Middle East suppliers out of our market. . .

Theodore S. Wilkinson, president of AFSA, served as a political officer in Mexico City from 1981 to 1984.

FROM THE FIELD

TERRY JONES

Thoughts of a Wandering Recruiter

Editor's Note: The following is the first in the FSJ's "From the Field" series of personal reflections on career, training, and management issues. In this column, Terry Jones, currently on sabbatical from the Foreign Service as an Una Chapman Cox fellow, looks at recruiting. Submissions are welcome for future From the Field columns.

I had more than 600 miles of driving and thinking time on my Foreign Service recruiting run through Pennsylvania. In three days, I talked myself hoarse at Penn State, Bucknell, and the University of Pennsylvania. It was a bit humbling to think that I was playing a minor role in the Foreign Service of the future.

It won't be the Foreign Service I entered in 1974—which had just allowed women officers to stay even if they had married and were women; Hispanic, African, or Asian Americans were rare indeed. We are now looking at a future service which will represent and prove the success of a diverse and democratic society. At the same time, the need for excellence is even greater than before. As we enter the 21st century, we are facing a multipolar, interdependent world where no single bloc or country will have an overwhelming effect. We can no longer afford to just throw money at problems. The issues are as often global as bilateral. We can't solve global environmental, oceans, resources, or trade issues on a "just between us big powers" basis anymore. Global problems require concerted, multilateral, global action for their solution. Today's world is becoming multipolar and more complex, economically, technologically, and politically, by the day. The budget deficit will ensure that we will have to do more with even less—so we will need even better people in our future Foreign Service.

It was great meeting and talking to so many bright young people. It was no trick to reach women or minorities—they were there in force. There was overwhelming interest in diplomacy as a survival tool for the United States. At the same time, it was sad to think of how few of these young people had a chance to make it into the Foreign Service. There are too few positions and too many contenders (even if you only count the thousand or so who normally pass both the written and follow-up oral exams). My descriptions of life on the front lines of the service, the vagaries of the assignment system, and the up-and-mostly-out career pattern didn't even make a dent in the enthusiasm.

There is no shortage of great thinkers in academia, but we are the doers. Just as we need to be alert to their new ideas, they need to know and understand the art and practice of diplomacy. Furthermore, we need to support "world affairs" literacy at all levels, beginning in elementary school. One or two recruiting runs a year at colleges won't do it. The State Department Outreach Speakers Program can do only as much as its budget allows, and that isn't

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much. The Diplomats in Residence program has been successful, but again is limited in funds and numbers. As the budget squeeze continues, we are likely to have even less funding and fewer people available. We need more efficient ways to reach our "constituency"—and to develop one (some of our constituency may be in sixth grade now).

Retired Foreign Service officers can prove an invaluable resource. There are a large number of experienced diplomats who can share their expertise and experiences with young people (from kindergarten through PhD programs). I hope that the Foreign Service retirees will consider sharing their knowledge with local schools and colleges. It might be worthwhile for AFSA to contact its counterparts in the National Education Association to brainstorm on a mutually beneficial collaboration.

Technology can cut costs. Where State cannot fund speakers, it might still be able to fund teleconferences or even conference calls to allow question-and-answer sessions. Public Affairs has an enormous amount of material available on every country in the world and on every major issue, even esoteric ones such as driftnet negotiations to stop the deaths of sea turtles and dolphins in huge trawler nets, and global change. These publications are short, well written, and timely. They would be useful supplements to any texts. Although most major colleges are probably aware of this resource, it might be worthwhile to use professional school librarian associations and journals to pass the word that they are equally available to all schools. Having gone to the expense of producing these publications, it pays to make them part of a coherent, widespread public diplomacy campaign by State.

I hope that both AFSA and the State Department will support more extensive efforts at public diplomacy. Recruitment should not be a once-a-year speaking frenzy. It should instead be part of an overall State effort to improve "world affairs literacy" and thus help meet our national goal of competitiveness through better education. And let's make sure that we don't lose the applicants who don't make it into the Foreign Service. They will affect State, because they will be the informed citizens, the activists, and the future leaders of our society.

If we succeed in improving the understanding of even a small percentage of our citizens, we will have set the scene for more effective foreign policy in the future. Furthermore, we will have added to the pool from which we will draw the best and brightest as our future diplomats. ■

Adjusting to a more modest U.S. presence

Managing Change in Central America

Cresencio S. Arcos

The victory of Violeta Chamorro in the February 1990 Nicaraguan elections was a watershed, not only because it spelled the apparent end of Nicaragua's civil war, but also because it produced a dramatic shift in U.S. policy toward Central America. For 10 years, U.S. policy focused on the containment of Soviet/Cuban-backed subversion and the consolidation of democratically elected governments. To meet these goals, the U.S. government channeled more than $5 billion in economic and military assistance to the region, established a large government presence, and raised its military and intelligence profiles. Much of this activity centered on supporting the anti-Sandinista "contra" forces, deterring Sandinista aggression, and backing the government of El Salvador against the FMLN (Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberacion Nacional) guerrillas.

With the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas and the dramatic changes in the Soviet Bloc during 1989 and 1990, the justification for the previous decade's high level of U.S. involvement in Central America is fading. Although deep social divisions persist in the region and much remains to be done to help the five countries develop and grow, Central America during the coming decade will not command the extraordinary levels of U.S. attention that it did during the 1980s.

The challenge that falls to me as U.S. ambassador to Honduras is to help manage the change from an era characterized by a high U.S. profile and very high levels of assistance to one of more modest U.S. involvement in Central America.

On December 8, 1989, the day I was sworn in as ambassador, the world was rocked by news that the Berlin Wall was coming down. That event, and the sea change in Soviet policy it reflected, have had a lasting impact on my tour in Honduras. In the past, our single-minded focus on external security threats often led us to overlook various governments' mismanagement of economic, social, and environmental policies. As Soviet policies have changed and U.S. security concerns receded, these failings are being laid bare. In the years ahead, governments that tolerate human rights abuse, reject sustainable economic and environmental policies, or permit gross inefficiency and corruption may find themselves simply cut off from U.S. assistance. Likewise, Washington will be much less patient in channeling resources to countries or sectors—such as the judiciary, armed forces, or agriculture—where past U.S. assistance has failed to produce significant improvements.

These shifts in U.S. policy are in turn forcing change in Central America, as governments and societies come to understand the implications of reduced resources and tighter conditions. Fundamental issues of national security, regional integration, environmental protection, and social policy are now being addressed, and in the process the stage is being set for the next phase of relations between the United States and Central America.

Swollen militaries

Surely, the most immediate effects of change in the Central American security environment will be felt by the

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Former Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega poses by a painting of Augusto Sandino, for whom the Sandinista Liberation Front is named.

region's armed forces. During a decade of war and confrontation, Central America's militaries swelled to a size that is simply unsustainable over the long term. The Sandinista security forces in Nicaragua grew from about 20,000 in 1980 to some 85,000 in 1989. The Honduran armed forces during the same period grew from about 16,000 to 24,000, while Salvadoran military strength increased from 15,000 to more than 50,000. Now that trend must be reversed, scaling down military expenditures to levels that are affordable in the absence of large assistance programs.

Secretary of State James Baker's 1990 statement in Antigua outlined U.S. policy goals in Central America, including demilitarization of the region. Despite its rhetorical appeal, however, the issue of military reductions is a difficult one for these societies to address openly. In Nicaragua, for example, President Chamorro felt compelled to strike down a 25 percent defense budget cut proposed by her congress in late 1990. In Honduras, the armed forces have made no secret of their discomfort with President Callejas's demand that defense spending be included in across-the-board budget cuts. Post-settlement El Salvador will probably prove equally difficult. In part, this reflects the historical deference to military authority in Latin societies. Also important, however, are the vested interests that have emerged among the officer corps and civilian groups that benefit from large military institutions. Momentum is growing, nevertheless, to reduce the heavy burden of military expenditures on these poor Central American countries. In the face of tight budgets and diminishing resources, they simply have no other choice. This imperative will become even more clear as the expenses of Operation Desert Storm and the reconstruction of Kuwait force further reductions in U.S. military assistance levels.

The most useful assistance the U.S. government can offer is to help the armed forces of Central America redefine their role in a less conflictive era. We can accomplish this through our military assistance, through civilian training programs, and by stressing constantly the importance of civilian control of armed forces. One way to accomplish this is to channel military assistance through civilian authorities, rather than relying on military-to-military relationships, as we have in the past.

Relying on the market

Perhaps the most dramatic change occurring in Central America today is the trend toward outward-oriented market economies. In several countries of the isthmus, fundamental economic disequilibria were allowed to fester during the 1980s, in part because donor (not just U.S.) priorities lay elsewhere, and in part because struggling new democracies were unable or unwilling to implement the macroeconomic and structural adjustments required for broad-based economic growth. With the coming decline in foreign assistance levels, the need to shift to more self-sustaining economies is now being recognized, albeit slowly. At the same time, a new generation of leaders has emerged in Central America, one that seems to be set on modernization and committed to more market-oriented policies.

Central American leaders are taking clear steps to promote market mechanisms. First, to reward efficiency and stimulate trade, tariffs and regulatory barriers are being reduced throughout Central America. At the presidents' December 1990 summit in Costa Rica, all five countries committed themselves to implementing a common 20 percent tariff by 1993. Second, inefficient state enterprises are being sold, persistent budget deficits are being addressed, and public spending priorities are being reassessed. Finally, all five presidents have pledged to end corruption and fat-cat politics. In short, they have recognized that Central America has no alternative but to respect the same economic rules of the road that are accepted among the world's successful developing economies.

The challenge now is to help these reform-inclined governments stay the course, continuing the adjustment process despite public opposition long enough for them to reap positive results and, thus, public acceptance.

For the tiny economies of Central America, the success of this outward-oriented economic model depends, in large

part, on better access to foreign markets. Since the United States buys over 40 percent of Central America's exports, increasing the openness of the huge U.S. market is vital. If the United States succumbs to the temptation of protectionist economic policies, or if Central American goods are kept out of a future North American market composed of Canada, the United States, and Mexico, prospects for long-term growth in the isthmus will be poor. Indeed, this is one reason why the governments of Central America have moved so quickly to sign trade liberalization "framework agreements" under President Bush's Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. Similarly, the Central Americans' recent decision to seek free-trade agreements with Mexico forms part of an effort to buy in to a possible North American economic bloc.

Sharing in the good times

If they are to prosper in the long term, in addition to improving macroeconomic policies, Central American governments must do more to ensure that the poorest rungs of society benefit from increased prosperity. This will require, for example, the reversal of agricultural policies that have favored urban consumers over rural farmers by setting food prices at artificially low levels. Also necessary is an evolution in the attitudes of those in the private sector who have been content to pay an absolute minimum wage while sheltering abroad as much of their earnings as possible. If Central America is to escape its cycle of poverty and unrest, business communities must become more willing to invest their earnings in productive enterprises in their own countries.

The region also must take a more long-term view of environmental protection, if economic growth is to be sustained. Understandably, poorly educated people living on the edge of poverty are reluctant to invest in conservation that may pay rewards only to future generations. This short-term mentality condones wasteful slash-and-burn agriculture and the chronic over-exploitation of resources such as water, forests, and fisheries. Central America is rapidly reaching the limits of its "environmental frontier," and may soon find that wasteful practices have depleted much of the resource base on which future development depends. The responsibility for protecting natural resources and countering the short-term mentality of over-exploitation falls squarely on the leaders of Central America. The United States is ready to help with technical assistance and programs like the environmental trust fund under President Bush's Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. The hard work of changing attitudes and confronting vested interests, however, rests entirely with the region's governments and political elites.

Fragile democracies

The most positive legacy of the 1980s in Central America is the achievement of free democratic elections in the four countries where military rule was previously the norm. It is impossible to exaggerate the significance of this achievement or the importance of continued democratic rule to Central America. Nonetheless, in much of Central America the institutions and culture of democracy are fragile and often superficial. Public institutions still tend to be inefficient, corrupt, and abusive of power; there is little appreciation that they are supposed to serve the people, not vice versa. Political parties are more vehicles for personal ambition and gain than channels for exercising the popular will. And, in all the Central American countries save Costa Rica, the armed forces and police are still not wholly subordinate to civilian authority.

We have seen the effectiveness of strong sanctions on violators of human rights. The U.S. government also has successful programs of training and technical assistance to help countries deepen and strengthen these various measures of democracy. The recently established Partnership for Development and Democracy (PDD) will help us to marshal both regional and donor-country energies in support of democratic government. However, the most important assistance we can provide is to demonstrate the positive aspects of our own democratic society, with its unbreakable links among personal freedom, social progress, and economic development.

Closely related to these problems of democratic institution-building is judicial reform. In too many of the Central American countries, judicial systems are ineffective, corrupt, and mistrusted. In my view, the judicial branch must hold these developing societies together. Where judiciary systems are ineffective, defense of individual liberties is uncertain, and protection of human rights is more difficult. Moreover, if foreign investors cannot rely on judges to protect their legitimate interests, investment will suffer.

Unfinished business

In sum, the United States is faced with a broad agenda of unfinished business in Central America. In this era of shrinking resources and growing domestic demands, some argue that we have spent too much in Central America and should now turn our attention elsewhere. Like it or not, that is impossible. Central America is inextricably linked to the United States by geography, commerce, and, increasingly, by the mixture of our cultures. We also must share in finding solutions for the problems confronting these desperately poor and overpopulated societies as increasing numbers migrate north or turn to activities like street crime or narcotics trafficking.

No doubt, there will be changes in the nature of our partnership with Central America. With the Cold War behind us, there will be no more arguing that "national security concerns" prevent the full achievement of democratic freedoms or the adoption of sensible economic policies. And the reduction in U.S. foreign assistance resources implies that we will have to be more selective in choosing the areas of priority focus. Nonetheless, I am hopeful that the 1990s can be a decade of democratic consolidation in Central America, accompanied by social and economic development, increased opportunities for self-government, and strengthening of democratic institutions. In our own self-interest, the United States must remain involved in the mutual effort to create the conditions for progress and human happiness in this poor and struggling region. ■

Cresencio S. Arcos is U.S. ambassador to Honduras. The views expressed are his and not necessarily those of the U.S. government.

Looking beyond the standoff

A Pragmatic Cuba Policy

WAYNE S. SMITH

Particular U.S. objectives in Cuba, and conditions for improving relations, have shifted over the years with changing circumstances. But for almost three decades, the objectives have focused on Cuba's foreign policy (or, more specifically, its entanglements abroad) and human rights. During the 1960s, our stated preconditions for reengagement with Cuba, first articulated in response to a 1964 offer from Castro to negotiate, were twofold: 1) that Cuba stop supporting subversion in the rest of Latin America, and 2) that it sever ties with the Soviet Union. As was often pointed out at the time, demanding that it cut ties with Moscow *before* reaching some accommodation with Washington was a non-starter. No nation is likely to forswear the protection of an ally without prior assurances from its principal enemy. The United States government understood that. In fact, the conditions were so phrased as to cut off further discussion. The U.S. response was simply a way of saying no in such a way as to put the onus back on Castro. The government was probably right to have so handled it. At the time, there was no evidence of any moderation in Castro's policies. And there was a sense that the revolutionary fervor in Cuba had still to burn down and that Castro had to be bloodied by the realities of the world.

By the first half of the 1970s, those conditions obtained. Castro had found that even Soviet support did not guarantee the success of his economic programs at home, and in Latin America, his efforts to promote revolution had failed. He thus began to change course, reaching out to establish diplomatic relations with the same governments he had once vowed to overthrow and signaling his readiness to reach an understanding with the United States.

The United States responded cautiously, voting with the majority in the Organization of American States in 1975 to lift the multilateral sanctions against Cuba (thus leaving it up to each member government to decide for itself whether or not to maintain relations with Cuba), and holding confidential talks with the Cubans to explore the possibilities of rapprochement. Before the effort was well launched, however, new problems emerged when Cuba decided to send troops to support one faction in the Angolan civil war, the Marxist-led Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), against invading South African forces.

Thus, by the time the Carter Administration came to office in 1977, Africa had been added to Latin America as an area in which Cuban actions conflicted with the U.S. policy objectives. And the Carter Administration brought with it a deep commitment to human rights. Hence, from 1977 forward, the principal U.S. conditions for improving bilateral relations were: 1) that Cuba begin to remove its troops from Africa; 2) that it not support efforts to overthrow other governments in this hemisphere; 3) that it reduce its ties, and especially those of a military nature, with the Soviet Union; and 4) that it show greater respect for human rights—most specifically by releasing political prisoners.

Proper ends, unwise means

The quintessential U.S. concern, of course, had to do with Cuba's close relationship with the Soviet Union, and

rightly so. So long as we lived in a world in which the two superpowers confronted one another on a global scale, constantly jockeying for political and military advantage, the United States could only regard the projection of Soviet influence so close to its own guns as potentially threatening. The Havana-Moscow alliance not only impeded normal relations between Washington and Havana, it colored Washington's reactions to Cuban initiatives elsewhere. Had Cuba not been the ally of the Soviet Union, the United States might have been more relaxed about the former's actions in Latin America and then in Africa. As it was, those actions were assessed in the context of Washington's global competition with Moscow.

From 1977 forward, U.S. objectives with respect to Cuba were, in my judgment, eminently sensible. *How* we pursued those objectives, however, was usually not—not sensible and certainly not effective. Even the Carter Administration's much-ballyhooed "opening" to Cuba turned out not to be much of an opening at all. It agreed to the establishment of Interests Sections in one another's capitals so that the two sides could have direct communications with one another, but could not then break the habits of the past, which discouraged any meaningful communications.

What was needed was a systematic negotiating process in which U.S. and Cuban concerns were taken up on an issue-by-issue basis and providing a clear correlation between Cuban moves to accommodate U.S. concerns and U.S. responses. Effective diplomacy, after all, involves a carefully calculated mix of penalties and inducements. There are rewards for the adversary if he addresses your concerns, penalties if he does not. The Carter Administration, probably because of domestic problems and the infighting between the National Security Council and the State Department, managed to introduce no such correlation into U.S.-Cuban relations. Quite the contrary, it continued to make unilateral demands, often without any thought of a *quid pro quo*. It complained of Cuban actions in Africa but never once tried to discuss the matter with the Cubans or to try multilateral diplomacy to defuse the conflict. It urged the release of Cuban political prisoners, but then in 1978 responded to Cuba's accession not with a positive step of its own but by holding air and naval maneuvers off the Cuban coast, as though to penalize them for acceding to our request—and did so just at the moment we were asking for the release of four American prisoners. Not surprisingly, the four Americans had to wait another year for their release.

If, by and large, the Carter Administration's style was to eschew negotiations in favor of unilateral demands, that has also been the style of all subsequent administrations. All administrations over the past 15 years have regarded negotiations with Cuba as an absolute last resort. U.S. officials have usually tried to rationalize this by expressing doubts as to Cuban sincerity. As one State Department officer put it years back when discussing the question of emigration from Cuba: "We have no reason to believe Fidel Castro would negotiate the issue in good faith, and therefore we do not intend to enter into negotiations with him on this subject."

And yet, demonstrably, when they were tried, negotiations worked. On every occasion in which the United States finally agreed to sit down to serious bargaining, the Cubans responded in good faith and agreement was reached. When, in 1978, for example, the Carter Administration discussed the release of political prisoners with the Cuban government and agreed to process for entry into the United

Passengers on a bus in Havana.

MARICE COHN BAND/THE MIAMI HERALD

States any who did not wish to remain in Cuba, the result was the release of most political prisoners held at that time—some 5,000 in all. The cause of human rights, in short, was advanced more by those discussions than by anything tried by previous or subsequent administrations.

The Cubans had indicated from early 1981 forward their readiness to continue the negotiations begun in 1980 and to sign a migration agreement. The United States demurred on grounds that the Cubans weren't serious. Yet, when finally in 1984 the United States brought itself to sit down at the negotiating table, it found the Cubans indeed serious. An agreement was signed in December of that year.

And while for four years the United States had issued unilateral demands that Cuban troops withdraw from Africa, this had never had the slightest effect. It was not until 1988, when the United States, thanks to the perseverance of former Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Chester Crocker, brokered serious negotiations among Angola, Cuba, and South Africa—negotiations that took into account the security concerns of all sides—that progress was made.

No reciprocity

Not that any of that resulted in some slight improvement in bilateral relations. The United States had long said the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Africa was one of its four major objectives. By the end of 1988, that was on the way to accomplishment. There had also been progress on the human rights front. More prisoners had been released, international human rights monitoring groups were being allowed to inspect Cuban prisons, and the government was even grudgingly tolerating the existence of several small Cuban human rights organizations. The State Department's own human rights report for 1988 acknowledged that the situation had improved in Cuba.

Longstanding U.S. concerns over Cuban support for revolution in this hemisphere, moreover, had essentially come down to one country: El Salvador. And even there, Cuba was signaling its willingness to talk and its preference for a negotiated settlement between the warring parties.

The newly inaugurated Bush Administration nonetheless ruled out the possibility of any thaw with Cuba, and in a March 1989 State Department memorandum to all diplomatic posts explained that this was because there had been *no* change in Cuba's conduct on which to base such a thaw. Human rights leaders in Cuba such as Elizardo Sanchez and Yndamiro Restano were appalled and predicted the gains of 1988 on the human rights front would soon be reversed. They were right. A crackdown replaced greater government tolerance.

One might have accused the U.S. government of moving the goalposts. Now that certain of its longtime concerns were being addressed, it would simply put up new ones. And, indeed, the new conditions for improving relations enunciated by President Bush in March of 1990 were markedly different from the traditional four listed above. The Soviet-Cuban link was not mentioned, nor did foreign policy issues any longer hold pride of place. Rather, the new conditions all focused on Cuba's internal arrangements. Before there could be any re-engagement between the two countries, it was said, Cuba must first, have a market economy, second, hold fully democratic, internationally supervised elections, and third, reduce its armed forces.

The USSR's wane

The new conditions reflected a profound change in the international environment—a change that cut two ways as far as U.S.-Cuban relations were concerned. The end of the Cold War, the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, and growing accommodation between the United States and the Soviet Union have all rendered obsolete the old view that a potential threat to U.S. security resided in the very bones of the Soviet-Cuban relationship. If the Soviets have respected the Kennedy-Khruschev understanding all these years, certainly they will do so now. Further, with the world revolution now officially declared over, the threat of Soviet encroachments in the rest of Latin America has also dissipated. Thus, the Soviet factor in the equation has been rendered benign and need no longer be at the core of U.S. concerns—and demands—with respect to Cuba.

That in itself might improve the prospects for a U.S.-Cuban accommodation, except that the end of the Cold War cuts also in the opposite direction. A few years ago it might have been enough for Cuba to address the foreign policy issues. But now, with the collapse of communism elsewhere and the sense that the Castro Revolution itself may soon follow, foreign policy issues, at least for the moment, are no longer enough. Understandably, analysts in the United States now want the whole loaf of bread, i.e., the end of Castro and of socialism in Cuba. That is not an irrational reaction. The Castro government *is* at a crossroads. It must adjust to the changed world around it. Hence, the new calculation is doubtless that all the United States need do is wait.

Our choices, however, are not likely to be quite so facile. While change must come in Cuba, that may not include the replacement of Fidel Castro for a considerable period of time: he is perfectly capable of making sufficient adjustments to survive for years to come. The Soviets, meanwhile, are unlikely simply to abandon him, and certainly not without a reduction in U.S.-Cuban tensions. As Ambassador Valery Nikolayenko, the director of the Latin American Department in the Soviet Foreign Ministry, put it during a conference at the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies last November: " . . . [T]he nature and scope of our military assistance to Havana will depend on the degree to which this threat will decrease, on whether the normalization of Cuban-American relations will begin."

Further, even if Castro refuses to make the necessary adjustments and eventually finds himself facing serious opposition at home, he will not go easily. Rather, he is likely to fight to the end, and with a deeply polarized society and the armed forces divided, the results of that would almost certainly be an appalling bloodbath.

Watchful waiting

What would seem to be in the interest of the United States is a peaceful transition in Cuba, not a bloodbath. The United States, of course, sees no advantage in beginning negotiations with Castro if he is indeed on the ropes. Increased tensions, on the other hand, may encourage intransigence

MARICE DOHN BAMD/THE MIAMI HERALD

Havana cityscape.

rather than moderation, and thus, in the final analysis, hamper peaceful transition.

This is a time of conflicting currents and great uncertainty. Thus, our best option may be a period of watchful waiting, during which the United States refrains from new pressure tactics and takes no major initiatives. If, in a year or two, the Castro government is still in power and is showing itself to be more amenable to change and to the accommodation of U.S. concerns, the time might be right to consider a cautious process of engagement aimed at resolving conflicts of interests between the two countries and encouraging liberalizing change in Cuba itself.

This would not be a matter of "saving" Castro. The embargo would not be lifted, nor would any other positive step be taken immediately on the U.S. side. Rather, the United States would at first do no more than indicate its willingness to begin an issue-by-issue negotiating process. Only as satisfactory progress was made in these negotiations might the United States begin to dismantle the embargo. "Progress" would have to include clear Cuban support for a negotiated settlement in El Salvador (if one has not been achieved by then). Obviously, we would also want to see the revsersal of the present internal crackdown, including the freeing of political prisoners, renewed accommodation between church and state, and movement toward a more open political system—though none of that would be appropriate for bilateral discussion.

The United States would lose nothing by trying engagement. If the government is genuinely interested in promoting change in Cuba and in seeking to resolve basic disagreements, it should deal at least as pragmatically with Cuba as it does with various other states around the world that suffer from some of the same defects as does Cuba. If the United States can continue to work with the People's Republic of China after Tiananmen Square, why can we not try the same approach in Cuba? If we can try constructive engagement in South Africa (until recently, a virtual pariah state), why can we not try something along the same lines in Cuba?

Should the Castro government collapse of its own weight over the next year or two, then the whole question becomes moot. But if it does not, surely the time will have come to take a new look at a very old policy, a policy more attuned to the depths of the Cold War than to this remarkably changed world in which we live today. ■

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The Demise of the Reagan Doctrine

Almost unnoticed during the confrontation in the Persian Gulf was the effort by Congress to strip away one of those Cold War legacies that produced many a memorable hawk-dove clash during the previous decade. After a five-year run, the Reagan Doctrine appears headed for oblivion. President Bush is doing his best to keep the cause alive, albeit under changed circumstances, but in vote after vote last

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fall, Congress left the clear impression that they do not believe it makes sense to lavish aid on anti-Communist groups when there is nothing left of the Soviet bloc.

The public record about the activities carried out under the Reagan Doctrine—which supports rebel groups against leftist governments—is fairly skimpy. One reason is that U.S. funding for the rebel groups, with the exception of the Nicaraguan Contras, has been carried out covertly. The administration has made its wishes known to the congressional intelligence committees, which generally have gone along with the administration's funding requests. That changed, however, this past fall with the passage of the Senate Intelligence Authorization Bill. None of these groups escaped unscathed. All continue to receive U.S. assistance, but not on the scale or under the conditions the administration wanted.

Battle-scarred proxies

Even though the Cold War is widely proclaimed to have been relegated to history's dustbin, the leftovers can still be found in the wretched battlefields of Afghanistan, Angola, and Cambodia. Nicaragua was such a battlefield until recently.

In each country, rival armies fight on, using superpower weaponry. Now that civility has become a hallmark of the Moscow-Washington connection, the struggles spawned by their prior hostility seem to carry less weight than before. In geostrategic terms, does it really matter whether Jonas Savimbi and his UNITA allies in Angola prevail over Jose Eduardo Santos and his MPLA cohorts? If the United States was troubled by Soviet penetration of southern Africa beforehand, is it rational for Washington to continue propping up UNITA, when the Soviets have given up on expansionism?

The administration agrees that the Soviets have become almost irrelevant. The focus now, it says, should be on devising a way to achieve a peaceful settlement in those countries. Only through continued U.S. aid will the leftist governments opposed by the U.S.-backed insurgents have the incentive to negotiate peace. Peter Rodman, a former National Security Council aide, says U.S. support should continue. "Our strategy ought to be to complete the process," Rodman says. "Don't leave them [the rebel groups] in the lurch. The next phase is political accommodation. It makes no sense to penalize our side."

Representative Henry Hyde (R-IL) believes Congress is too eager to shelve the Reagan Doctrine. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev may have won the Nobel Peace Prize, Hyde says, "but he is still pouring $650 million into Angola, and Soviet advisers are still very active there." (Recent official estimates indicate that Soviet military aid to Angola dropped from about $1.4 billion in 1988 to between $400

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Daniel Ortega places the sash on newly inaugurated Nicaraguan President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro.

and $500 million in 1990.) In the same vein, the administration also points out that despite the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, completed in February 1989, there has been no letup in Soviet aid for the Afghan regime—an estimated $250 million a month since then, according to official U.S. estimates. Because of the continued Soviet military role, the Bush Administration has continued to seek funding for the Afghan Mujahedeen.

But Representative Dante Fascell (D-FL), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, says it is logical for the United States to begin loosening its ties to the anti-Communist insurgencies. "The Soviets have cut back on funding of their 'clients' around the world, and we are responding accordingly," he says. "The Soviets are out of Afghanistan, the Contras won in Nicaragua, and peace talks are in progress in Angola." Fascell might also have pointed out that there have been major strides toward a peace settlement in Cambodia. Under the plan, approved by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council last November, the United Nations would administer Cambodia during an interim period leading to free elections. It also calls for a ceasefire and the disarming of all parties to the conflict.

The bill containing funding for the "freedom fighters" in the remaining Reagan Doctrine countries, approved last fall by the Congress:

- Would halt, among other restrictions, $60 million in U.S. aid to Angola's UNITA rebels, if the leftist government agrees to a free election within a reasonable timetable, and the Soviets halt weapons shipments to the Angolan armed forces. The two sides have had several rounds of peace talks in Portugal, and some are optimistic a settlement is within reach. One sign of the more conciliatory mood was an unprecedented meeting in Washington in December between former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Savimbi, the UNITA leader.
- Suspends a $13 million covert aid program to anti-Communist rebels in Cambodia, a move that resulted partly from congressional concern that some of the money may have been reaching the infamous Khmer Rouge rebels. The covert aid program has been replaced by a humanitarian aid program. Sensing widespread hostility to his policy, Secretary of State James A. Baker III has been disassociating the United States from the rebel coalition and encouraging a larger Vietnamese role in the negotiating process In effect, with the Soviets no longer considered a menace in Southeast Asia, Baker sees Vietnam as less of an evil than the Khmer Rouge.
- Cuts back aid to the Afghan resistance to $250 million, $50 million less than the administration had requested.

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The Bush Administration recently reinstated $42.5 million in aid to the Salvadoran military that Congress had cut.

Moscow and Washington have been trying without much success to promote a settlement. They have differing opinions as to the proper role for Afghan President Najibullah in a transition process.

Bush vetoed the legislation because of provisions that he said put excessive restrictions on the administration's ability to carry out covert operations. But through a bit of budgetary sleight-of-hand, the administration, over some congressional objections, has found a backroom agreement that will keep money flowing to the rebel groups.

Ragged remains

Congress' eagerness to give the administration less than it wanted in each case may have been influenced by the lesson of Nicaragua. In February 1988, Congress put an end once and for all to military aid to the Contra rebels—and the eventual outcome caught everyone by surprise. Precisely two years after Congress axed the Contras, Nicaragua's voters axed the Sandinistas, achieving at the ballot box what years of Reagan Doctrine aid could not do. Supporters of Contra aid insist that the Sandinistas never would have agreed to free and fair elections, were it not for the threat posed to the regime by the insurgency. The Sandinistas pledged a fair election process in August 1987, precisely eight months after a $100 million allocation for the rebels began flowing. It was the last military aid the Contras ever received and, as it turned out, the last one they needed.

An additional remnant of the Cold War is the continuing struggle in El Salvador, where, instead of backing an anti-Communist insurgency, the United States has been supporting a conservative government against a Cuban-backed rebel movement. As such, El Salvador is not a Reagan Doctrine country, but the policy there might be described as a first cousin of that doctrine. The rationale for U.S. involvement there was the same as it was elsewhere: stop the Soviets.

To some, that argument has been wearing thin lately, particularly since the Soviets have been calling for a negotiated settlement in the 10-year-old conflict in El Salvador. But countering administration insistence on continued full backing for the Salvadoran government, the Congress slashed an $85 million military aid proposal in half and threatened to cancel the program altogether if the Salvadoran government refuses to negotiate in good faith a peace settlement with the FMLN rebels. The Salvadoran government squandered much of its good will by leaving the impression that it had little interest in bringing to justice the killers of six Jesuit priests in November 1989.

As many as 50,000 civilians have been the victims of politically motivated killings carried out by either the Salvadoran military/security forces or by death squads linked to the military. Some in Congress think it appalling that the United States be identified with such brutality. The administration, of course, sees its Salvador policy not so much as supporting the Salvadoran government but rather as opposing an FMLN takeover. The fear is that the brutality of the government would seem tame next to the FMLN's if the latter ever obtained power.

In January, President Bush decided to reinstate to the Salvadoran military the $42.5 million that Congress had cut last fall. The legislation gave Bush that authority in the event the FMLN stepped up military activities and targeted non-combattants, and the president clearly believed the rebels had exceeded those limits.

Backing the rebels

The Reagan Doctrine put a new twist on decades of U.S. opposition to Communist insurgent movements. During the 1960s and 1970s, virtually the only guerilla fighters were those operating in non-Communist countries, and the United States consistently opposed these movements, supporting the established governments, which were often rightist military dictatorships. Reagan delighted conservatives when he instead decided to support "freedom fighters" opposed to leftist governments, starting with Nicaragua in 1981 (Some of his aides thought he had gone too far when he called the Nicaraguan Contras "the

moral equivalents of the founding fathers." That phrase was slipped into a Reagan speech, unbeknownst to the State Department, by the top aide for Latin America at the National Security Council, Constantine Menges. State was outraged, sensing that the phrasing was excessive.)

Reagan appears to have stumbled into the doctrine that bears his name. The doctrine was never enunciated in any Reagan speech. References to it appear to trace back to the period in 1986 when aid to the Contra rebels reached a zenith and covert funding for the UNITA insurgents began. (Aid to the Afghan rebels dates back to the Carter years.)

Conservatives liked the overall policy of supporting anti-Communist rebels, because it constituted an American answer to the Brezhnev Doctrine, which, in effect, asserted that once a country had become Communist, there was no turning back. Burton Yale Pines, a vice president of the conservative think tank, the Heritage Foundation, believes the Reagan Doctrine was misguided to begin with, because some of the groups receiving U.S. support were actually undemocratic, having sprung from authoritarian traditions. Beyond that, he says the Reagan Administration consistently oversold the dangers to the United States of leftist rule, and it also involved Washington in regions where no vital U.S. interests were at stake.

Defenders of the policy reply that the Reagan Doctrine raised the costs to the Soviets of maintaining their empire and hastened the Soviet decision to curtail its overseas ambitions.

A Contra unloads supplies on the Rio Bocay in Nicaragua, 1987. Two years after Congress stopped funding the Contras, the Sandinista government suffered a crushing electoral defeat.

One major plus resulting from the demise of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua is that it has given a shot in the arm to U.S. relations with the rest of Latin America. The Latins were never enthusiastic about U.S. support for the Contras, and the Reagan Administration efforts to win them over were almost uniformly futile. The Latins are delighted that when American emissaries come to talk to them now, the subject matter consists of trade expansion and debt relief instead of the need to support the Contras. President Bush's December visit to South America focused on economic issues, and it was probably one of the most successful journeys to Latin America ever undertaken by an American president. One reason was the relative absence of divisive political issues, such as the Contras.

Human costs

How will history judge the Reagan Doctrine? Were these U.S. interventions justifiable based on legal, political, and strategic considerations? Did the Reagan Doctrine contribute to Soviet retrenchment, or would that have happened without it?

It will take time before history passes judgment on these questions, but on one point there is little room for debate: the human cost in the countries where the Reagan Doctrine has been applied has been very great. A recently released book published by the Overseas Development Council and titled *After the Wars* puts the combined death toll from the wars in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, and Cambodia at 1.16 million. More than 6.7 million have been forced to flee to other countries. The principal author of the book, Anthony Lake, says all these conflicts have indigenous roots, but that the superpowers have done much to expand and intensify them by injecting ideological and strategic considerations.

The tragedy now is that the fighting goes on even though the ideological rationale, so far as the superpowers are concerned, has long since disappeared. The main objective should be to end these conflicts as quickly as possible, and Congress should be encouraged to continue its policy of pushing the administration as far in that direction as possible. ■

George Gedda, a correspondent with the Associated Press in Washington, is a frequent contributor to National Public Radio and the Associated Press Radio Network. He has visited Cuba 20 times and, most recently, traveled to Latin America with President Bush in December.

BOOKS

Cold Warriors

DANGEROUS CAPABILITIES: PAUL NITZE AND THE COLD WAR.
By David Callahan, Edward Burlingame/ Harper Collins, 1990, $24.95 hardcover
FROM HIROSHIMA TO GLASNOST: AT THE CENTER OF DECISION.
By Paul Nitze, Grove Weidenfeld, 1989, $25 hardcover
GEORGE F. KENNAN: COLD WAR ICONOCLAST
By Walter Hixson, Columbia University Press, 1989, $35 hardcover

Reviewed by Jerrold Keilson

Paul Nitze

George F. Kennan

With the Cold War perhaps over, scholars are taking a closer look at both its causes and its development. In addition to economic, strategic, political, and bureaucratic factors, there is general agreement that two key policy-makers, Paul Nitze and George Kennan, were crucial in shaping and defining the Cold War. This is reflected by the number of recently published books about them.

David Callahan's *Dangerous Capabilities* takes an interesting tack in stressing Paul Nitze's impact on the bureaucratic struggle within competing government agencies to shape a coherent arms control policy. Callahan writes that key negotiations occurred more frequently with other government agencies than with other governments. The struggle among the Defense Department, the State Department, ACDA, the president, and Congress for dominance over defense and arms control policy is told with wit and vigor.

A virtue of Callahan's book is the clarity with which he describes and defines the changes in U.S. nuclear policy and arms control positions. By explaining the relative merits and drawbacks of massive retaliation, mutual assured destruction, first strike capability, and their links with conventional readiness, Callahan enables the reader to understand that the 40-year debate over arms control concerned approaches and allocations of resources, not basic principles. Both right and left, conservative and liberal agreed on the central principle of a strong America.

Callahan does a good job of portraying Nitze as a dedicated professional and a typical representative of the businessman turned public servant. Nitze studied at Harvard, and worked for 10 years as a successful financier. He first came to Washington at the behest of James Forrestal, his boss and president of Dillon, Read. Nitze was primarily an organizer and doer; shortly after World War II Dean Acheson dismissed Nitze as a Wall Street operator, not a strategic policy thinker. Given his bias toward action, it is not surprising that Nitze's analysis of the Soviet Union focused on their capabilities, not their intentions or motivations. Thus, when Nitze drafted NSC-68, he called for military containment of the Soviet Union. For the next 40 years, he continued to emphasize the need for the United States to respond to Soviet capabilities.

If *Dangerous Capabilities* had set out to be a portrait of Paul Nitze, it would have been an unqualified success. However, Callahan states at the outset that he wanted to use his study of Nitze's career to illustrate the history of arms control. He concludes that the arms buildup was a waste of resources and effort, that it ultimately weakened the United States, and that Nitze was a key culprit in focusing on Soviet capability to attack the United States rather than on its intention to do so. Callahan concentrates his energies on Nitze's personality and neglects to analyze in any detail the domestic impact of defense spending, so that

the argument ultimately does not support his conclusion. This does not mean that the arms buildup was not a waste of resources; simply that it can not be laid at Nitze's door.

David Callahan does bring Paul Nitze to life, however. Callahan interviewed Nitze extensively for his book, and there are few areas in which it disagrees with Nitze's autobiography, *From Hiroshima to Glasnost.* Callahan is generally more effective in placing Nitze's career into its historical context, and his book reads better.

George Kennan, like Paul Nitze, is a seminal figure of the Cold War. Nitze wrote NSC-68; Kennan, the famous 1947 "Mr. X" article, calling for containment of communism. Nitze was interested in Soviet capabilities, Kennan in Soviet intentions. Nitze was a technocrat, concerned with facts and numbers. Kennan was a humanist, a mystic who wanted to understand the Soviet psyche. Nitze was committed to working within the system to make it support his position. Kennan was eager to wash his hands of the bureaucracy at the first sign of opposition.

Walter Hixson, in *George F. Kennan: Cold War Iconoclast,* has written a thorough, detailed account of George Kennan's life. Hixson portrays Kennan as an outsider by temperament, suggesting that fundamental personality flaws made him unable to be anything else. Hixson emphasizes Kennan's preference for working outside the policy-making system, arguing that Kennan was elitist and did not understand the importance of domestic politics for foreign policy. Hixson is not persuasive, however. In fact, Kennan seems to have changed his position on containment in response to political change and to the way containment was implemented during the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. Kennan eventually renounced the military applications of his article. In the mid-1950s, he resigned from the Foreign Service and began preaching arms control, a position he has retained since then.

One thing on which all the works agree is that policy is set, shaped, and influenced by a confluence of factors, not least of which is individual officials. The United States was fortunate during the Cold War period that it had people of moral principle and intellectual strength such as Paul Nitze and George Kennan. As we chart the post-Cold War world, these books help us understand how important professionalism and principle are in shaping and implementing a wise and effective foreign policy.

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How the Canadians Do It

Canada's Department of External Affairs. Volume I: The Early Years, 1909-1946.

By John Hilliker, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990, $19.95 softcover.

Reviewed by Andrew L. Steigman

This volume will be a very pleasant surprise for anyone who expects the official history of a foreign ministry to be a dull book. John Hilliker, who heads the Historical Section of Canada's Department of External Affairs, skillfully interweaves two stories into a single, fascinating narrative. The first story recounts the maturing of Canada's relationship with the United Kingdom and its growing role on the world stage. The second tells how the Department of External Affairs developed to meet these changing circumstances.

The operational problems of External Affairs and our own State Department have been remarkably similar despite differences in their size and in the environments within which each operates. For readers familiar with the history of the U.S. Foreign Service, parts of Hilliker's account will strike an eerily familiar chord.

Americans tend to forget that Canada's path to a distinctive foreign policy was long and sometimes arduous. While the British North America Act of 1867 gave Canada domestic autonomy, it left foreign affairs to the crown. More than four decades passed before Canada established its own Department of External Affairs, in 1909, yet even then it took the assent of both the governor general and the king to bring it into existence.

During the 37-year period chronicled here, successive Canadian governments chipped away at imperial dominance in the field of foreign policy, and it proved to be a slow process. Hilliker tells of Canada's gradually expanding overseas representation, initially in the trade and cultural fields, and, after 1927, in a handful of diplomatic missions as well. In order to take on these new responsibilities, the country had to devote increased resources to its Department of External Affairs and its young foreign service—and this constitutes the second thread in Hilliker's narrative.

The department had two advantages in competing for the resources it needed. One was that the prime minister also acted as minister of external affairs, assuring the department ready access to the seat of power. (There was a down side as well, since prime ministers, like our own National Security Council, occasionally raided the department for personnel to work on other programs.) In addition, the department benefited from remarkable continuity in its leadership. In its first 32 years, External Affairs had only two under secretaries at its helm, Sir Joseph Pope and O.D. Skelton, both of whom enjoyed the confidence of the prime ministers they served. They were thus well placed to advance the interests of the department and to insulate it from changing political winds.

The operational problems of External Affairs and our own State Department have been remarkably similar despite differences in their size and in the environments within which each operates. For readers familiar with the history of the U.S. Foreign Service, parts of Hilliker's account will strike an eerily familiar chord. It took External Affairs until 1927 to introduce competitive examinations for appointment, for example, and there

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was a continuing struggle to have career officers appointed as chiefs of mission. Similarly, the effort to persuade a reluctant government to buy, rather than rent, office and residential property abroad stretched over two decades and was a source of continuing frustration to under secretaries and diplomats alike.

By the end of World War II, where this first volume leaves off, the foundations of today's full-fledged Department of External Affairs and highly professional foreign service were firmly in place. This book on their early years is a model of its kind. The promised second volume, bringing the story down to the present day, should be well worth waiting for.

Andrew L. Steigman, a retired Foreign Service officer, is assistant dean of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service.

Europtimism

Europe 1992: An American Perspective.

Edited by Gary Hufbauer, Brookings Institution, 1990, $31.95 hardcover, $12.95 softcover.

Reviewed by Robert Pollard

Euphoria has replaced Euro-pessimism, as Europe appears poised for its greatest boom since the 1960s. The success of the EC 1992 program is largely responsible for the European Community's rapid recovery from the Eurosclerosis of the early 1980s, most commentators agree. Although fears of a fortress Europe have largely subsided, from Washington's perspective, the degree to which Brussels opens or closes trade and investment to third parties remains of great concern.

This book offers one of the better studies of the single market program. The success or failure of EC policies, the authors predict, could strongly influence American attitudes toward everything from banking to industrial policy. . .

This book offers one of the better studies of the single market program. The success or failure of EC policies, the authors predict, could strongly influence American attitudes toward everything from banking to industrial policy; already, the EC's liberalization of financial services is stimulating calls for reform of the Glass-Steagall and McFadden acts, which preclude universal banking in the United States. Hufbauer concludes that EC 1992 will, on balance, benefit the U.S. economy, and that Washington and Brussels will become closer economic partners than ever before. The other contributors are also reasonably confident that EC policies on banking, automobiles, telecommunications, semiconductors, and competition (subsidies and antitrust) will not seriously disadvantage U.S. interests, with one key exception. EC subsidies and protection to ailing "critical" industries, such as autos, and "leading edge" sectors, such as semiconductors, the authors believe, will remain high in the 1990s.

The book suffers from a few flaws. Much of the text consists of highly specialized sectoral analyses that will put off the casual reader (the chapter on autos is a happy exception). Some of the authors' judgments already seem dated. Hufbauer, who is professor of international financial diplomacy at Georgetown University, predicts (a half year before the United States

and the EC locked horns over farm issues at the Brussels Ministerial in December 1990) that "agricultural battles are largely yesterday's story in the transatlantic dialogue." Worse, Joseph Greenwald makes a number of recommendations on U.S. negotiating strategy that either were already implemented well before the date of publication (creation of a senior U.S. government task force on EC 1992) or are unrealistic, if not unwelcome (weekly administration briefings of congressional staffers on trade policy). Several of the chapters, notably Greenwald's, which focuses on the Uruguay Round and says little about EC 1992 itself, tend to wander off the reservation. That said, *Europe 1992* contains a wealth of information on the single market program and belongs on the shelf of the serious student of the European Community.

Robert Pollard, a Foreign Service officer, studies EC 1992 for the State Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs.

The Burning Season:

The Murder of Chico Mendes and the Fight for the Amazon Rain Forest.

By Andrew Revkin, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1990, $19.95 softcover.

Reviewed by Thomas A. Shannon

Chico Mendes is an environmentalist's martyr. Shot dead by ranchers for resisting efforts to clear pastureland from jungle, Mendes was an unschooled rubber tapper *(seringueiro)* and failed local politician who rose to international prominence when he linked his rubber tapper union to environmental groups intent on saving the Amazon's tropical rain forest. This astute maneuver, aided by environmentalists who saw in Mendes and his tappers the human face of the rain forest, saved the *seringueiros* from economic extinction. It also cost Mendes his life. The international outrage provoked by the murder helped focus world attention on the pillage of the Amazon. It also accomplished what many observers thought impossible: the conviction and sentencing of Mendes's murderers.

Andrew Revkin's fast-paced account of Mendes's life and death is an admiring testimonial to a man who knowingly risked all to protect the rubber tapper's way of life. Its weaknesses are manifold. Revkin spends too much time trying to chart Mendes's ideological development. Whatever Mendes's political leanings, his primary motivation was to create "extractive reserves" where *seringueiros* could live uninterrupted by ranchers

BOOKS

and timber poachers. Further, Revkin attempts to set the stage of his story with a quick and insipid history of Brazil's political development that does little justice to reality. Revkin's need to point a conspiratorial finger at forces beyond the local ranchers who killed Mendes also detracts from his credibility.

Revkin's book is worth reading, however, for two reasons. First, Revkin expertly describes what a rain forest is and why the Amazon rain forest is so important. His description of the varied human life and industry native to the forest, its unparalleled biodiversity, and its crucial climatic role leaves no doubt that its preservation is essential to our well-being. Secondly, Revkin accurately sketches the convergence, for the first time, of human rights and environmental concerns. This is a new political phenomenon that worked well in the Amazon. We should expect to see more of it, especially in Third World countries where the exploitation of natural resources such as forests directly threatens the habitats and ways of life of indigenous groups and other people. ■

The international outrage provoked by the murder helped focus world attention on the pillage of the Amazon. It also accomplished what many observers thought impossible: the conviction and sentencing of Mendes's murderers.

Thomas A. Shannon is special assistant to the U.S. ambassador to Brazil.

Springtime Comes to Budapest

FRED GODSEY

In October 1945, together with several other officers of the recently opened American legation and consulate, I attended a performance at a small variety theater in Budapest. War damage to the theater had not been entirely repaired, and the audience, wrapped in heavy sweaters and coats, sat on boxes and wooden benches, taking occasional sips from bottles of plum brandy to stave off the cold. The hit of the show that evening was a singer who sang, "When Springtime Comes Again." We Americans were a bit puzzled at the standing ovation, until a Hungarian friend explained that we must substitute the word "freedom" for "springtime."I couldn't overcome my sadness when we left the theater that evening, for I had reason to believe that the "springtime" for which the Hungarians hoped would not come for a long time—certainly not within my lifetime.

I was wrong. Last June, after an absence of 40 years, I celebrated springtime in Budapest.

As I walked the streets of Budapest again, I could not resist an occasional glance over my shoulder to see if I could spot the AVO (Communist political police) agent following me. No one was tailing me, but old habits die slowly.

The people seem determined to remove every reminder of the Communist presence in Budapest. Streets that had been given Communist-inspired names under the Soviet occupation were having their original names restored—"May First Street" would again become Stefania ut, I was assured, and "People's Republic" street was being restored to Andrassy ut, while the infamous headquarters of the political police that once stood there was now occupied by the Ministry of Agriculture. The apartments at Bathory utca 20, where several members of the American legation, including myself, were quartered after World War II, is now a ruin. Someone has placed a tattered piece of cardboard bearing the number 20 above the crumbling doorway to mark the address, but no one lives there. The old "Bauxite Building" facing the Danube on the Pest side, near the Parliament, was home for many Americans employed by the consulate during the post-World War II years. It is still standing, though blackened by coal soot and in need of repair.

Budapest has again become a center

This statue of General Bandholtz was restored in July 1989 to the park in front of the American Embassy in Budapest.

POSTCARDS FROM ABROAD

for international commerce. German is the *lingua franca*, and most of the hotel rooms, especially in the big, international hotels, are filled with German businessmen. Hotel service ranges from good to perfect. One evening at a hotel in Pest, my wife ordered a sherbet. A good half hour later, the waiter brought it, but the sherbet had completely melted. When we pointed this out, he said, "I'm truly sorry, madam. You see, we had no sherbet here, so we sent a waiter to another hotel to bring it."

The coffee houses and restaurants of Budapest, many providing Gypsy music, are filled daily, and the stores on Vaci utca carry the same luxury brands as their counterparts in Paris, London, and New York. Well-dressed ladies of the evening and dapper, oily haired gigolos make their evening rounds of the bars in the leading hotels, and if a coffeehouse customer happens to be male and alone, one of the waitresses might leave a pink calling card bearing her name and telephone number on the table along with the piece of Dobos cake.

Budapest has again become a center for international commerce. German is the lingua franca, *and most of the hotel rooms, especially in the big, international hotels, are filled with German businessmen.*

Old timers will be happy to know that the statue of American General Harry Hill Bandholtz has been returned to the park in front of the American Embassy. General Bandholtz saved the museum in Budapest from vandals immediately after World War I. The statue was removed from the park by the Communists when they came to power after World War II. In 1985, American Ambassador Nicolas Salgo took the statue out of the cellar of a museum in Budapest, where it had been hidden by Communists, and set it up in the garden of his official residence. In July 1989, Hungarians and officials of the American Embassy, with appropriate ceremony, restored the statue to the park. In addition, a bronze plaque acknowledging the refuge given to Cardinal Mindszenty in the embassy was mounted on the front of the embassy building in November 1989. ■

Fred Godsey is a retired Foreign Service officer.

This dispatch, sent in 1863 by the U.S. consul general in Alexandria to Secretary of State William Seward, describes the discovery of the Nile's source. It was submitted to the FSJ by Peter Eicher, a Foreign Service officer.

THE SOURCE OF THE NILE

The source of the Nile was one of the great geographical mysteries of all time. In the mid-18th century, British adventurers and explorers (prominent among them, Sir Richard Burton and missionary David Livingstone) determined to find the river's source, launching a series of dangerous and controversial travels into the unknown African interior. The laurels finally went to John Speke, whose arrival at Alexandria following his successful expedition is reported here by the American consul general. William Thayer was the principal American representative in Egypt through most of the U.S. Civil War; he died at post in April 1864.

Alexandria, June 9, 1863

Sir:

Messrs Speke and Grant arrived at Alexandria last week. . . . The report of their discovery of the sources of the Nile is confirmed. . . . Byanza (called by the explorers Victoria Nyanza) is the principal source of the Nile, and . . . the name of the other lake which they have lately discovered is Nzige, through which body of water the Nile in its course from Nyanza passes. Nyanza had been discovered by Speke on his former expedition, but it was not until the present voyage that it was fully ascertained to be the origin of the White Nile. Lake Nyanza may be found on the map of Africa contained in the atlas of Alexander Keith Johnson, the edition of 1861.

The Viceroy, immediately on hearing by telegraph of the arrival of the travellers at Assonan, sent up the river a government steamer which brought them here. On reaching Alexandria they were presented to his Highness, who treated them with special honor.

Messieurs Speke and Grant left Zanzibar, on the east coast of Africa, on the 1st of October, 1860, and for about two years and a half, until reaching Khartoum, were deprived of all news from the civilized world. During that time they had not heard even a word of the American war... especially Mr. Grant. Mr. Speke, however, contemplates organizing another expedition in England to revisit the region about the Lakes Nyanza and Nzige. The latter is the lake (and not Nyanza) which Mr. Baker has gone to explore.

The report of the resources of the upper country has stimulated the formation of a company here with a capital of ten million dollars for the purpose of carrying our trade there, as well as in Egypt. Among other objects, it is proposed to . . . import ivory, ostrich feathers, gums and cattle. . . .

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM S. THAYER

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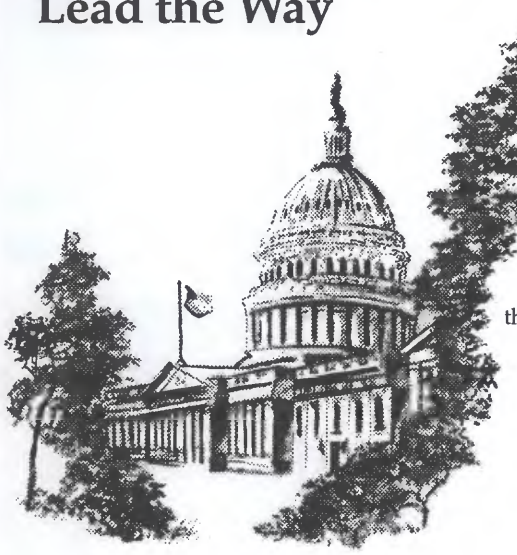

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JOURNAL

CHARLES MAECHLING JR.

Diplomatic Scandal in Washington: The Craufurd-Stuart Affair

Seventy years ago, in the feverish atmosphere of World War I, the Craufurd-Stuart affair was the hottest item of gossip in wartime Washington. The scandal had all the requisite ingredients—sex, possible espionage, social transgressions, and diplomatic repercussions in the Oval Office. Less apparent at the time was the effect of the affair on President Wilson's relations with the British government. The scandal may have helped tip the scales against America's entry into the League of Nations—nonparticipation in which facilitated the rise of Europe's pre-World War II dictators.

Washington in 1918 was a much different city from what it is today. Despite an influx of clerical labor, munitions contractors, and lobbyists, the capital was still a small southern city divided into three societies—a black community, poor and largely employed in the service trades; a large white population of civil servants and their dependents, drawn from the small towns of America and earning modest salaries; and the top drawer of official Washington, consisting of congressmen, political appointees, senior Army, Navy, and Foreign Service officers, the judiciary, the diplomatic corps, and a few old families and rich ex-office-holders. This closed circle was in many respects a governmental extension of the plutocratic "high society" of New York and Newport. Within it, everyone knew everyone else, at least by name. Official social life was confined to the circle and was dominated by political hostesses who entertained lavishly and who in diction, dress, and regal bearing were soon to be stunningly parodied by Margaret Dumont of Marx Brothers fame.

This Washington had no swollen federal bureaucracy, no swarms of young lawyers and social scientists in law firms and think-tanks, no scientific establishment except for a few agronomists and geologists, no influential congressional staff corps, and, above all, no aggressive and ubiquitous media. The working press, largely from the sticks, was poorly paid and kept in its place by two or three big proprietors like Edward B. McLean of the Washington Post and Cissie Patterson of the Herald who were part of the establishment. With the press effectively muzzled, party gossip was the prime medium for social communication; the scandal did not make the national press until much later.

One exotic new arrival in this WASP world of power and privilege was Bernard Baruch, the immensely rich Wall Street speculator whom President Wilson had recently appointed chairman of the War Industries Board and de facto czar of the war mobilization effort. A tall, imposing man of great dignity and charm, Baruch consorted with tycoons and politicians in the daytime and Washington society ladies at night.

THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1930

Another recent arrival in Washington was a young New York society beauty named Eugenie Marie (May) Ladenburg. In her late twenties, still unmarried, she was the daughter of the late Adolf Stevens Ladenburg of the German-American banking firm Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co. The heir of a $6 million fortune, May had come to Washington to do "war work" and rented the second floor of a townhouse at 1831 M Street (now the premises of a beauty salon) as an apartment. May im-

mediately became part of the capital's inner circle, escorted around town by a number of real and temporary bachelors; she was also doing some entertaining herself on a small and tasteful scale. One of her admirers, and a frequent guest at her small teas and cocktails, was Bernard Baruch, who never allowed his marital status to interfere with after-hours relaxation.

Enter the storm-center of the affair, Major Charles Kennedy-Craufurd-Stuart, late of the Indian Army and now, after shrapnel in the jaw and other wounds at Gallipoli, an assistant military attaché at the British embassy.

Craufurd-Stuart was a personable officer in his early forties. He had arrived in February, and his duties were largely social, mostly involving assisting Lady Reading, the ambassador's wife (who was deaf), in entertaining innumerable allied delegations.

Craufurd-Stuart was "a pleasant fellow" and "a man of many talents," according to Sir Arthur Willert, the longstanding correspondent of the London Times now acting as the British embassy's public relations man. He played polo, had exhibited his own photographs, and performed on the piano. As a single diplomat in the suite of the most prestigious ambassador in Washington, Craufurd-Stuart was automatically part of the cocktail circuit and had been showered with invitations from the moment of his arrival. At this point there was no reason to believe that the dashing major, who appeared at social functions gorgeously attired in dress regimentals with purple trousers, would not remain a popular, if minor, figure for the duration of his stay.

Indiscretions

In the spring of 1918 Craufurd-Stuart became infatuated with May Ladenburg and was often seen in her company. He seems to have proposed marriage, or at least hinted at it, but his feelings were not reciprocated. At the same time, May was being privately pursued by Bernard Baruch. These flirtations would have occasioned nothing more than passing gossip had not the British embassy received information from a confidential source that a certain "Marie von Ladenburg," who consorted with prominent men, was a security risk who

might be passing information to the Germans. The tip was passed on to both British counter-intelligence in London and the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department by none other than Major Craufurd-Stuart.

Whether Major Craufurd-Stuart merely relayed this item as a routine part of his attaché duties or in some way originated it has never been established. In any event, his transmittal memo speculated whether the suspect was "our young and beautiful friend, May Ladenburg"—as if the name were as common as Smith—while qualifying the suggestion with the comment "this hardly seems possible."

THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1929

When the report reached Brigadier General Marlborough Churchill, the chief of U.S. Army intelligence, he immediately mounted a counter-intelligence operation at May Ladenburg's M Street residence. He brought Alice Roosevelt Longworth and her cousin Franklin D. Roosevelt, the 32-year-old assistant secretary of the Navy, into the act, enlisting Alice Longworth's help in planning the location of bugs that he proposed to plant in May's apartment.

The bugs were planted by military intelligence operatives after an illegal entry apparently engineered by Craufurd-Stuart. He appeared on May's doorstep on a day when she was in New York and told the maid that he had forgotten his swagger-stick the afternoon before. He had the flat to himself just long enough to allow a technician to step inside and conceal himself until the maid left for the night. In one of the earliest uses of an automatic recording device in an intelligence operation, wires were run to a dictograph in an adjoining stable, where an army sergeant sat with earphones ready to start a recording cylinder as soon as he heard voices.

The upshot of the affair, as recounted afterward by Alice Longworth, was that not only the feds but Alice and cousin Franklin took turns listening to the dictograph recordings, once or twice in the stable itself. What they heard, again according to Alice, was the voice of Bernard Baruch making indiscreet disclosures of war industry information "in between sounds of kissing, so to speak" on one cylinder. She also claimed to have heard May's voice quizzing Baruch about the number of American locomotives to be shipped to Romania—surely Alice's invention, since that country was then under enemy occupation.

Cocktail chatter

Thanks to the wagging tongues of Alice Longworth and her friends—and to the intense disapproval of Eleanor Roosevelt—the details of this outrageous caper made the rounds of the cocktail circuit. Baruch's reputation as a philanderer was enhanced. Alice Roosevelt Longworth's reputation as a false friend and malicious busybody was confirmed. Craufurd-Stuart emerged as an ambiguous figure, although the full extent of his involvement was not known. As for May Ladenburg, to her mystification—for she was the last to know—she was suddenly dropped by some hostesses and given a cool reception by others.

By autumn, however, the story had run its course. There was not a shred of evidence to implicate May Ladenburg as a German spy, and Craufurd-Stuart had lapsed back into his customary role of embassy factotum. The matter would have ended in the cocktail circuit where it began had not Craufurd-Stuart developed a reputation as a wit of the sort least appreciated by Americans.

This trait first manifested itself shortly after his arrival when he responded to a pretentious dowager's comment about his easy adaptation to Washington society with the quip: "Ah well, I suppose it's because I'm middle class myself." The last British ambassador, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice had gotten into hot water only a few months before by capping a remark about President Wilson's being the shepherd of the Democratic flock with the retort: "Yes, and McAdoo (secretary of the Treasury and Wilson's son-in-law) is his crook."

The next incident was more serious. At a dinner party in early November 1918, while seated next to Mrs. George Thomas Marye, wife of a former American ambassador to Russia, Craufurd-Stuart was alleged to have commented disparagingly about President Wilson's lack of foreign experience, at least in comparison with British statesmen like Lloyd George and Balfour. He was also reported to have suggested that it might be better if Wilson did not attend the forthcoming peace conference in person—a prescient comment, if authentic. The major always maintained that he said no such thing, and amplified this assertion in a later affidavit filed when the affair had erupted into a major crisis.

What finally aroused the wrath of the president himself, was a report that the major was either responsible for, or had publicly repeated, the riddle then making the rounds of the social circuit. The subject of the riddle was the president's second wife, the former Ethel Bolling Galt, widow of a prosperous Washington jeweler. It went like this: (Q) "What did Mrs. Galt do when Woodrow Wilson proposed to her?" (A) "She was so surprised that she fell out of bed."

Persona non grata

President Wilson was notoriously sensitive to criticism of his second marriage, and Mrs. Wilson even more so. She had already been instrumental in alienating the president from his closest foreign affairs adviser, the sagacious and self-effacing Col. Edward M. House, for having supposedly advised Wilson to delay his wedding until after the November 1916 election, though the final break came only later over policy differences at

the Paris peace conference. To the Wilson inner circle, who shared the president's code of strict puritanism in sexual matters, this lame witticism was a slur on the first lady that verged on high treason. Major Craufurd-Stuart's name was expunged from the social lists of the White House and State Department. Secretary of State Robert Lansing sent a personal message to Lord Reading requesting the major's immediate recall.

It now appeared that Craufurd-Stuart's social transgressions had caught up with him and that he would be sent home in disgrace. Lord Reading was a fair man, however, and skeptical of hearsay. Too busy to look into the matter himself, he turned it over to the deputy chief of mission, Colville Barclay, who took his time, knowing that Lady Reading did not want to lose the major during the holiday season. Then, on November 1, the war ended. Christmas came and went, and official Washington plunged into preparations for the forthcoming peace conference. Secretary Lansing and his aides were unwilling to disrupt Anglo-American relations by pressing the British over this trivial issue. In 1919, Lord Reading bade farewell to his Washington post. Before leaving with him, Craufurd-Stuart, with Lansing's tacit consent, was given a verbal reprimand and cautioned to be more discreet in the future.

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One might suppose that the monumental responsibilities weighing on Woodrow Wilson's shoulders when he met with the allied leaders in Paris in June 1919 to dictate peace terms and remake the map of Europe would have obliterated Craufurd-Stuart and his scurrilous riddle from the presidential mind. But even before leaving Washington, Wilson had ordered Secretary of War Newton D. Baker to take charge of the May Ladenburg file and keep it under lock and key. In Paris he at least once expressed outrage over the incident to a member of his staff and inquired as to what disciplinary action had been taken. However, by the time he sailed for home in August, his entire consciousness was taken up with getting the Versailles treaty and its provisions for a League of Nations approved by the senate. With Craufurd-Stuart back in the corrupt and cynical Old World, the episode seemed to be closed.

Obstacles to the treaty

As is well known, Wilson faced formidable opposition to the treaty by the Republican-dominated Senate, led by Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Lodge and his colleagues proposed 14 reservations as a condition of ratification, two of them addressed to Article X of the League Covenant, which pledged collective resistance to an aggressor. Wilson was adamant in rejecting any reservation that would, in his view, weaken the U.S. commitment to the new world order. The British, on the whole, were less concerned with the effect of Senate reservations than with the need to lock the United States into the peace settlement.

Accordingly, the British cabinet decided not to fill immediately the vacancy in the Washington embassy and instead to send a special ambassador to assess the situation, talk to the parties on both sides of the treaty issue, and bring British influence to bear in working out a compromise. On the advice of Colonel Edward M. House and others, Lloyd George chose for this task Lord Grey of Fallodon,

the long-time foreign secretary, now in retirement, and one of Britain's most respected senior statesmen. (Lord Grey was author of the famous words on the fateful eve of Britain's declaration of war: "The lamps are going out all over Europe—we shall not see them lit again in our lifetime.") Grey represented the same forces of liberal internationalism as Wilson, who liked and admired him, as indeed did Lodge.

Grey arrived in Washington in late September 1919 under an unlucky star. To begin with, his arrival coincided almost exactly with the disabling stroke that felled President Wilson during his whirlwind railroad tour of the western United States to sell the League of Nations to the American people. Then, to the stupefaction of the White House, who should appear at Lord Grey's side, again in the capacity of private secretary, but the affable, imperturbable Charles Kennedy-Craufurd-Stuart, personally recommended to Lord Grey by Lord Reading. The Craufurd-Stuart affair now erupted with a vengeance.

The regency era

The month of October 1919 was among the most bizarre in American political history. During the first two weeks of the month, President Wilson lay immured in a White House sick room, barely conscious. Thereafter, as he slowly recuperated, he saw almost no one except his wife; his personal physician, Rear Admiral Cary Grayson of the Navy Medical Corps; his secretary, Joseph Tumulty, and the nurses. Access to the sick room was at all times tightly controlled by Mrs. Wilson and Dr. Grayson.

Meanwhile, the collision between President Wilson and the Republican majority of the Senate over U.S. adherence to the League of Nations was in suspended animation. Since his illness, Wilson had become even more adamant, if that was possible, about refusing to accept the Lodge reservations, even though many of these differed only marginally from compromise language drafted by the Democratic minority. On the other side, Senator Lodge and the Republicans were wary of forcing an early vote, partly for fear of seeming to take advantage of the president's condition, and partly because popular sentiment in the country still seemed to favor U.S. ratification of the treaty.

Lord Grey could have been of enormous help in resolving the impasse. He was admired and respected by both Wilson and Lodge. He liked Americans and was free of the patronizing attitude toward the United States prevalent in the British governing class. He understood the isolationist pressures in American political life and the constitutional constraints on the executive in making foreign commitments. He might have softened Wilson's obstinacy on the reservations issue by pointing out that the allied governments, with far more at stake, were willing to live with them if that would bring the United States into the League. He was in a position to swing the British government, and with it, the French, behind a compromise.

But Lord Grey was given no opportunity to present his views to the only man who mattered, the president. In the beginning, this was understandable, for the president was seeing no one and was incapable of conducting business. But as weeks turned into months, it became apparent that the real obstacle to Grey's reception by President Wilson was the presence on Grey's staff of Craufurd-Stuart.

Almost from the moment of the Grey mission's arrival, the White House had taken steps to inform Grey that Craufurd-Stuart was persona non grata. The task was turned over to Secretary of State Lansing, who, in turn, delegated it to William Phillips, a senior Foreign Service officer and future ambassador. Phillips chose not to approach Grey directly but to raise the matter with Sir William Tyrell, the top civil servant of the Foreign Office—a functionary far more powerful than any American equivalent—who had been sent along as Grey's "minder." Phillips placed the grounds for the request on Craufurd-Stuart's alleged remarks to Mrs. Marye the year before, and other, unspecified indiscretions.

Grey himself, when briefed by Tyrell, was both mystified and annoyed. He could not believe that during a crisis of this magnitude an American secretary of State, on behalf of the White House, would concern himself with such trivia. He refused to disturb the status of his affable and attentive aide, let alone send him home, without convincing evidence of

a serious breach of diplomatic protocol.

Tyrell began to sense a direct connection between Grey's inability to see Wilson and his refusal to dismiss the major. To cut through the impasse—for Grey was more immovable than ever, now that Craufurd-Stuart had stoutly maintained his innocence—Tyrell arranged for the dean of the diplomatic corps, French Ambassador Jules Jusserand, to carry out a private inquiry.

Jusserand's "private" inquiry flushed out all the old accusations against Craufurd-Stuart and one or two new ones. In addition to the scurrilous riddle and the dinner remarks to Mrs. Marye, Craufurd-Stuart was alleged to have commented publicly that one reason why President Wilson had been persuaded to attend the peace conference in person was so Mrs. Wilson could meet the crowned heads of Europe, who were otherwise beyond her social ken.

Hurt feelings?

The normally unflappable major now was gravely worried about the effect of these accusations on Grey's mission and his own standing with his beloved chief. In a statement filed with Jusserand, now in the State Department archives, Craufurd-Stuart flatly denied any derogatory dinner-party comments and insisted that he had spent the latter part of the evening playing piano accompaniments to a song recital by an Italian diplomat.

An additional complication now arose in the person of May Ladenburg, almost forgotten in this second and more critical phase of the scandal. She was now more or less back in the good graces of the hostess brigade and, with the aid of friends, had been putting together the pieces of the puzzle. Still not knowing the full story, May was convinced that the sinister hand of the British secret service was responsible for her surveillance, and that the archvillain was Craufurd-Stuart, who was revenging himself for being rejected as a suitor. In a high state of indignation, she telephoned Sir William Tyrell at the embassy and demanded redress for her maligned reputation. Tactful as ever, he invited her to lunch, and offered to assist her in suing the British government. She never mentioned the matter again.

Grey's mission was in trouble. Grey could and did confer with Secretary of State Lansing, but Lansing was no substitute for Wilson on the League matter, and was known to be on his way out. A pedantic legal formalist, Lansing had been in disfavor since the peace conference for not sharing the president's internationalist outlook and was now in Mrs. Wilson's bad graces for not pressing for Craufurd-Stuart's expulsion. (Lansing would ultimately be fired for calling Cabinet meetings without first getting the president's—i.e. Mrs. Wilson's—consent.)

The Craufurd-Stuart imbroglio was now seen as an important roadblock to the success of Grey's mission. Grey was incensed and cabled the foreign secretary, Lord Curzon, that he had not come out of retirement "to put up with this indignity and nonsense." The most that Grey would do would be to remove the major's name from the embassy roster and diplomatic list; he would not dismiss him or change his functions, and come what may, would not sacrifice the career of a British officer to the priggish sensitivities of an emotionally disturbed and disabled president and his domineering wife.

On November 19 the Senate killed the Versailles treaty and, with it, Wilson's dream of a League of Nations. There were two votes, one on the treaty in its original form and one on the Lodge reservations, and on each vote neither side could get the requisite two-thirds majority.

Major Craufurd-Stuart stayed on, deprived of official status but continuing his duties as a member of Lord Grey's "household" where he was immune from further harassment. But the major was now a pariah in Washington official and social circles, and the ladies who in 1918 welcomed him so effusively now called him a "bounder" and a "crazy."

Lord Grey never did see President Wilson. He and Sir William Tyrell spent a happy Christmas Day at the home of the young Franklin D. Roosevelts, but, in their entire four-month stay, were never once invited to the White House by Mrs. Wilson. On October 30, 1919, the king and queen of the Belgians came by the White House for a courtesy call and were admitted to the presidential sickroom for a few minutes to pay their respects. On November 13, the young prince of Wales, the future Edward VIII, was also invited to pay a brief call, but, in an unprecedented and gratuitous slight, the invita-

tion was so couched as to leave out the special ambassador. Sailing serenely home with Grey on January 3, 1920, this time never to return, went Charles Kennedy-Craufurd-Stuart.

So ended the Craufurd-Stuart affair. The political effects were incalculable, for historians agree that if Lord Grey had been able to confer with President Wilson in the critical weeks before the Senate vote, when the effects of the stroke had worn off, he might have been able to soften the president's opposition to the reservations with compromise wording. After returning to London, Grey made no public comment of any kind about his discourteous reception in Washington. From retirement, however, he did send a carefully worded letter to the *London Times* urging the allies to give a sympathetic response to the Senate's action and to welcome the adherence of the United States to the League of Nations at some future date on the basis of the reservations. This statesman-like gesture, addressed entirely to allied governments, provoked a paranoiac reaction in President Wilson. He interpreted the letter as an indirect endorsement of Senator Lodge and the Republican senators and dictated a bitter three-line memorandum for transmittal to the British government, asserting that if Grey had written the letter while still in the United States it would have been grounds for requesting his recall. It seems never actually to have been sent.

With the return of the United States to peacetime, the Craufurd-Stuart affair passed into history. However, it was still the principal topic of gossip when the new British ambassador, Sir Maurice Peterson, arrived in mid-summer, and it figures prominently in the diaries and papers of prominent Washington insiders like Col. Edward M. House, Sir Arthur Willert, and Edith Galt Wilson. Then, in the summer of 1920, several American papers published similar accounts, obviously emanating from a White House source, which blamed Craufurd-Stuart for slandering the president and Mrs. Wilson, and Lord Grey for not having punished him for such a gross breach of "diplomatic tradition."

Postscript

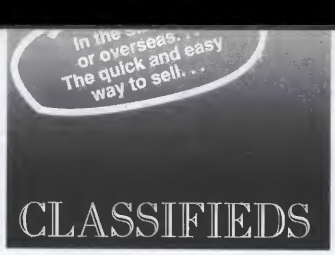
The reader may be curious about what happened to this cast of characters after they passed off center stage. All seemed to have turned out well, except for Lord Grey, who went blind, and poor President Wilson, who never recovered from his stroke and died in 1924.

Major Craufurd-Stuart received several additional decorations on his return to England, including one for services in America. In 1921 he was re-employed by Lord Reading as military secretary when the latter was named Viceroy of India and remained in the Indian Army until his retirement in 1927 with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Craufurd-Stuart never married and died in a German air raid on Folkestone in 1942.

May Ladenburg spent the first months of 1920 in a plucky attempt to clear her name and managed to extract letters exonerating her from any suspicion of espionage from General Marlborough Churchill and Secretary of War Newton D. Baker. She then returned to New York—no doubt disillusioned by her exposure to *haute politique* in wartime Washington. In due course, she married a prominent, older lawyer, and became a leading society figure and right-wing Republican fundraiser. Needless to say, she was a fierce isolationist before World War II. She had no children and died in 1975 in her mid-eighties.

Bernard Baruch shook off with scarcely a shiver whatever opprobrium attached to him from the Craufurd-Stuart affair and went on with his distinguished career as financial guru to the mighty and adviser to presidents. He ended his days genially dispensing wisdom to well-wishers from a park bench in Lafayette Square and died in 1960, loaded with years and honors. Alice Longworth Roosevelt remained in Washington, gradually evolving from the role of *enfant terrible* into a sharp-tongued critic of modern life and venomous enemy of her cousin Franklin. She died in 1987 at the age of 96 adulated by sycophants in the Georgetown set and regularly invited to the White House by presidents as diverse as John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan. Cousin Franklin went on to become governor of New York and four-term president of the United States, presiding over the greatest war effort in American history. ■

Charles Maechling Jr, an international lawyer and former State Department official, ran across this historical vignette while a fellow at Cambridge University, 1985-1988.



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AFSA ♦ NEWS

Oil and foreign affairs in the 1990s

U.S. foreign policy in the 1990s will be deeply affected by the outlook for international oil flows, according to several experts at the AFSA Symposium on Oil and Foreign Affairs in the 1990s, which was held in the Department of State on February 7 and was attended by about 150 representatives of business, government, and the press.

The United States and other oil-importing countries simply cannot get by without imported oil, nor without oil from the Persian Gulf, the experts agreed, even assuming the most optimistic projections for the development of alternative sources of energy, increased efficiency in energy utilization, and conservation.

"The central role of oil in the Persian Gulf tragedy–as cause, prize, weapon, and casualty of war–has prompted a reexamination" of all aspects of the world oil situation, Henry M. Schuler of the Center for Strategic and International Studies told the symposium.

But despite all the reassessments, Schuler continued, little can be done in the short term to rectify the situation. "Technological breakthroughs [may] ultimately provide commercially viable alternatives," he said, "but the prerequisite laboratory research, engineering demonstrations, assembly lines, infrastructure additions, and public education will consume many years."

David Waller, moderator of the final plenary, put it this way: "Regardless of well-meaning policy options, for the foreseeable future at least, the world is going to run on oil." Waller is vice president for government relations of the Williams Companies and was formerly assistant secretary for international affairs at the Department of Energy during the Reagan Administration.

Bearing in mind these circumstances, the symposium focused attention on the elements a foreign policy designed to ensure stable oil supplies and prices during the coming decade must take into account.

The symposium's keynote speaker, Assistant Secretary of Energy John J. Easton Jr., underscored the critical importance of international cooperation in dealing with energy issues, noting that "at the outbreak of hostilities, oil prices did not soar, as so many had forecast," *because* an effective contingency plan was developed through the International Energy Agency in Paris *before* the outbreak of hostilities "aimed at convincing both oil companies and governments that the world's oil supplies are safe from serious disruption and adequate to meet consumers' needs, if hoarding and panic buying can be avoided."

The symposium's four discussion panels dealt with questions relating to oil and national security, the outlook for stable access to Middle East oil, the potential for the Soviet Union to become a major and reliable oil exporter by the year 2000, and the probable effects of higher oil prices and rising energy consumption in the non-OPEC Third World.

The first panel envisaged geographical diversification of oil supplies as the most promising longer-term escape from excessive dependence upon a particular source–an objective that will be realistic, assuming an auspicious political, economic, and legal environment. Discovery and development of new oil fields outside the Middle East–in the Soviet Union, Mexico, and Venezuela, for example, not to mention still unknown reserves in other countries–will be accelerated to the extent that oil prices rise (e.g., it costs a great deal to refine Venezuela's heavy crude petroleum or to explore and develop virgin but geologically promising areas that lack modern infrastructure, especially in light of increasing ecological imperatives). The U.S. government ostensibly favors vigorous entrepreneurship by U.S. oil companies that seek to broaden their foreign sources of supply; but industry spokesmen say the government does not always adequately support its overseas activities. Meanwhile, the panel considered the U.S. strategic petroleum reserve a viable if not indispensable insurance policy against temporary disruptions in oil supplies. Edward Morse, publisher of *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly*, said oil-consuming and producing countries should try to develop a new and better set of relationships, a goal he captioned a "new world order."

The second panel agreed that the Middle East, because of its geological good fortune, will have the potential–or the option–of remaining the world's major oil supplier. The United States, albeit to a lesser degree than Europe or Japan, will inevitably remain dependent on oil from the Middle East and may even increase its dependence on that supply, but the panelists did not construe that as a cause for panic. They also agreed that the Middle East should not be allowed to fall under the hegemony of a single country and that the political evolu-

tion of the area could critically affect access to its oil. Ambassador Richard Murphy, the panel moderator and a former assistant secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, suggested that the United States might find it desirable to practice more vigorous diplomacy in encouraging greater democratization and effective arms control in the region–and, therefore, greater stability–than it has in the past.

Ernest Obminsky, Soviet deputy minister of foreign affairs, told the symposium that a meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev with his cabinet of ministers on January 28 assigned very high priority to the comprehensive development of the Soviet oil and gas industry, looking toward a significant increase in oil exports. The Soviet Union is, in fact, the world's largest oil producer, although its output has declined over the last few years as its national economy has deteriorated. Obminsky said the Soviet Union recognizes that optimal extraction and refining of its enormous petroleum reserves will require the infusion of capital and technology from foreign oil companies, and that this will occur only with continuing radical reform and liberalization of the Soviet economy–"an irreversible process," he assured the symposium. The other members of the panel agreed with the minister that the Soviet Union could be a major and responsible oil exporter by the year 2000 if–but only if–the requisite reforms are effected, especially free ruble convertibility, privatization of producing enterprises, and profit repatriation for investors from other countries. They also noted that these are precisely the reforms that would, in any event, contribute to major improvements in the well-being of Soviet citizens and full participation by the Soviet Union in a better world order.

Other conferees did not agree on how questions pertaining to oil will affect the Third World in the coming decade. Ted Eck, moderator of one panel and chief economist for a major U.S. oil company, anticipates rising oil prices, which, he believes, will trigger a substantial search for new oil reserves throughout the Third World. "That's where the exciting discoveries will be made," he said. Also, he suggested, a higher rate of economic development in some developing countries–emulating the achievements of the "four tigers" of Asia in the 1980s–will stimulate a sharp increase in total energy consumption, despite improved efficiency and conservation, which will, in turn, produce large economic benefits. In contrast, representatives of A.I.D. and the World Bank saw higher energy costs as exercising downward pressures on economic growth for many developing countries, particularly the poorer ones. Philippine Ambassador Emmanuel Pelaez explained how difficulties stemming from the Persian Gulf crisis have had adverse impact on the economic reform program of the Aquino government–"and this after a very destructive earthquake, floods, and typhoons," he said. Nevertheless, he insisted, his government will not be deterred from its commitment to removing economic controls and eliminating monopolies.

New faces

In February AFSA welcomed aboard two new staff members, Jeff Neil, outreach coordinator, and Sandra Douglas, executive assistant in the labor-management office. Former Executive Assistant Deborah M. Leahy was promoted to Member Services representative.

An Iowan, Sandi received her B.A. in Spanish, Russian studies, and religion from Cornell College and completed her master's of international management at the University of Denver.

Jeff, recently returned from a year at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, earned his master's degree at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. He was previously employed in Washington organizing delegation visits for Combustion Engineering Inc., and he recently coordinated a conference on human rights in Moscow.

AFSA members are already familiar with Deborah Leahy, who wrote AFSA's 1990 Tax Guide.

Congress reconsiders honoraria ban

Mark W. Smith
Legal Assistant

The Ethics Reform Act of 1989, notorious for its sweeping ban on honoraria for employees in every branch of the federal government, except the Senate, is facing repeated court challenges. With the failure of efforts to obtain an injunction, members of Congress have introduced bills that would limit the ban to those in the upper ranks of federal service.

A consolidated lawsuit challenging the ban on constitutional grounds has met with no success. Neither the D.C. District Court, the D.C Appeals Court, nor the U.S. Supreme Court would agree to halt the ban while its merits are being considered by the D.C. Court of Appeals.

The civic watchdog group Common Cause defends the ban, arguing that it precludes payment for speech but not speech itself. If eliminating honoraria is found in effect to prevent free speech, however, the ban would be ruled unconstitutional. Oral argument in the Appeals Court took place January 29, and a decision is expected in the spring.

If the lawsuit fails, several bills now pending in the House and Senate would eliminate the ban for federal employees below the executive level (GS-15 and below).

Among other arguments, opponents of the ban have maintained that it interferes with work done for civic, religious, or personal development reasons as well as for financial ones.

Legislative Watch

Rick Weiss
Congressional Liaison

During March, State, A.I.D., and USIA congressional committees were to begin hearings on the FY 1992-1993 authorization and FY 1992 appropriations bills. AFSA was to present testimony on March 11 (Senate) and March 14 (House). Congressional oversight hearings were to be conducted separately on the A.I.D. reorganization plan. Highlights were:

Function 150. The "Function 150" (international affairs), as presented in the president's FY 1992 budget, requests $36 billion in budget authority and over $20 billion in outlays. (Function 150 includes programs for the conduct of foreign affairs, foreign humanitarian and development programs, security assistance, foreign military sales, U.S. participation in international organizations and financial institutions, and the export-financing programs of the U.S. Export-Import Bank.)

Some $8 billion is requested for security assistance; $7.9 billion is sought for international development and humanitarian assistance; and $4.1 billion for State and USIA. The budget proposes a $12.2 billion increase in IMF funding, which is not counted as an "outlay" and accounts for the major part of the difference between "authority" and proposed "outlays."

State Department buildings. Some $570 million in budget authority is proposed for buildings abroad, representing a 150 percent increase over the fiscal year 1991 level. The request increases funding for embassy security and includes funds for new embassy facilities in Bangkok and Bogotá. It also includes $130 million for the initial construction expenses of a new Moscow embassy (reduced from a larger request that was not funded last year).

Eastern Europe. The budget proposes $400 million for aid to Eastern Europe–a slight increase over the fiscal year 1991 level. In addition, the budget request includes the second of five $70 million installments for the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which supports market-oriented economic reforms in Eastern Europe.

Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. The budget proposes $410 million in budget authority for special assistance to Latin America. This request includes $100 million for an investment fund managed by the Inter-American Development Bank and $310 million in debt reduction for Latin America.

United Nations. Another $1.3 billion is proposed for UN programs. This request includes $824 million for fiscal year 1992 assessments and $503 million for all remaining arrearages. Of the $503 million, the administration would pay only $131 million in arrearages in fiscal year 1992 and hold the remaining $372 million for future years.

Refugee assistance. Refugee assistance programs would receive $511 million in budget authority. This is a $10 million decrease from the fiscal year 1991 level.

International narcotics. The president's budget proposes $611 million overall for International Narcotics Control Assistance, nearly a 34 percent increase over the fiscal year 1991 level.

A refreshing COLA. The president in his budget has determined that the COLA adjustment for January 1992 will be a full 4.2 percent for all government employees, and there has been no attempt to date to cut federal costs unfairly at the expense of employees.

News Briefs

MFL open season – The Bureau of Personnel is preparing for the next open season for qualified officers to apply for the multifunctional skill code (MFL). An announcement is on the way describing the requirements and application process. Officers at the 03 level and higher are eligible to apply. In the last promotion cycle, 109 promotions were multifunctional. Questions should be directed to the appropriate career development officer.

Foreign Affairs Assistance Corps – The recently formed Foreign Affairs Assistance Corps, a group of former Foreign Service officers and private entrepreneurs, is organizing a corps of skilled people willing to make themselves available to aid former command economies in the transition to using free-market mechanisms.

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"Neighborly relations": a Soviet view of the new diplomacy

Richard S. Thompson
Professional Issues Coordinator

Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs official Andrei Bugrov spoke frankly of the Soviet Union's desire to integrate itself with the world community in a talk at the Foreign Service Club February 8 in the series "New Diplomacy for a New Era."

Bugrov accepted President Bush's definition of a New World Order as a revitalized United Nations with effective peacekeeping functions, and stated that a successful conclusion to the Gulf crisis would contribute greatly to a better world.

Bugrov declared that Soviet foreign policy in recent years has refocused on national interests rather than ideology. "Neighborly relations cannot be built on weapons or on blood, but on mutual interests and freedom of choice," he said, expressing regret that the Soviet Union had lost the opportunity to integrate itself into the world economy when it rejected the Bretton Woods agreements following World War II. The Soviet Union must now deal with the changes in Eastern Europe, the unification of Germany, and the strengthening of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. These achievements are pillars of the "new world order," and there will be close relations between the Soviet Union and Germany as they cooperate in the interests of Europe and the world. Bugrov rejected the criticism of those in the USSR who regretted the "escape" of Eastern Europe.

Bugrov, who is deputy director of the department of international economic relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, noted that the Soviet role depends to a large extent on its domestic affairs, particularly the health of its economy.

"Neighborly relations cannot be built on weapons or on blood, but on mutual interests and freedom of choice."

In the international economic sphere, the globalization of the world economy weakens control over major economic actors. International economic institutions must develop mechanisms to permit enhanced coordination of national macroeconomic policies.

Eastern Europe remains a question mark, both as to the effectiveness of the economic reforms under way there and the extent to the area will be included in Western Europe's economic integration.

In response to questions, Bugrov noted the importance of a strong currency in keeping a country together and attributed ethnic and nationalist clashes in the Soviet Union in large measure to economic difficulties. The recent ruble exchange was a start, but the Soviet economy needs to move toward freer prices and privatization. Bugrov argued there would be no reversion in the Soviet Union to pre-1985 patterns of government, because the new generation would not let it happen. Problems in the Baltics must not be solved by force, but the West must recognize that there are serious conflicts within these societies. He admitted Soviet assistance to Third World countries was greatly reduced, based on the principle of self-interest over ideology, but suggested Soviet policies on arms reductions, human rights and resolution of regional conflicts are beneficial to the lesser-developed countries.

Answers to the Foreign Service Quiz

(Questions appear on page 11.)

1. 1792
2. Edward R. Murrow
3. James Buchanan. Once engaged to Ann Caroline Coleman, he withdrew his proposal under accusations of fortune hunting from his fiancée's disapproving family. Coleman committed suicide, and Buchanan never married. His niece Harriet Lane served as mistress of the White House.
4. 1894
5. 1905

President's Page

Theodore S. Wilkinson

Money for Foreign Affairs . . .

The first six months of fiscal 1991 brought no good budgetary news. Rather than replay the monotonous liturgy of federal foreign affairs agency austerity (e.g., foreign-exchange losses, new immigration and refugee responsibilities with no appropriations to pay for them, unfunded pay raises for personnel, evacuations, etc.) we have just kept silence.

Now, however, there are a few faint signs of an April thaw. The "sequestration" of funds that resulted from congressional accountants' bookkeeping errors last fall is about to be repealed. State and AID may soon also receive a $50 million supplemental appropriation to pay for the extraordinary costs of evacuating and/or protecting personnel throughout the Moslem world in 1990-91.

For the moment, these do little more than allow State to keep its head above water. These two interim actions do not, for instance, resolve the forced stretchout of construction at the new Foreign Service Institute at Arlington Hall, or for the impasse about what building should house Embassy Moscow.

What is slightly more auspicious is the administration's budget request for 1992. Although foreign affairs (function 150) spending will be capped overall at only 2.5 percent more than in 1991, OMB in its review of State's proposals has given greater recognition to overseas needs than a year ago, and sent forward to Congress a request for $4.1 billion (which includes contributions to international organizations). Salaries and expenses would be raised 10 percent to $2.05 billion, partly to cover wage and price increases, but partly also for 300 new positions (232 for immigration reform, plus significant numbers also for expanded functions in Eastern Europe). The Moscow impasse would be resolved by building two secure floors on top of the existing (bugged) structure, at a cost of $130 million (half of what was proposed for Moscow last year). State should at least be able to maintain services abroad at current levels if the 1992 OMB budget proposal survives congressional review without major surgery.

. . . And for Foreign Service Salaries

Another bit of surprisingly good news was that the Administration proposes to pay a full 4.2 percent increase to all Federal employees on January 1, 1992, rather than to trim the budget by shortchanging the workforce, as has happened all too often before. The 4.2 percent figure is objectively derived; it comes from the "employment cost index" compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and represents the increase in average private sector pay from the last full year–measured September 1989 through September 1990.

There are a few signs of thaw. State and A.I.D. may soon receive a $50 million supplemental appropriation to pay for evacuating and/or protecting personnel throughout the Moslem world.

Under the new pay provisions, most employees at the U.S. Mission to the UN received an additional 8 percent "locality pay" increase in January 1991 above the government wide 1991 increase of 4.1 percent. "Locality pay" for now is limited by law to New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, and was not extended even in those cities to members of the Senior Executive Service or to Senior Foreign Service officers. AFSA will press to have this arbitrary denial revised in 1992.

Starting in 1994, employees in every locality where federal salaries are more than 5 percent below salaries for comparable private sector jobs – including we assume in Washington, D.C. – will begin receiving annual catchup increments.

State Authorization Bill

Authorization bills are submitted every two years, and are often vehicles for changes in regulatory legislation like the Foreign Service Act. State has just submitted an extensive list of proposals for the 1992-93 authorization bill, nearly all of which AFSA can support. Particularly desirable are technical improvements to give greater organizational authority to the secretary; to rationalize certain allowances; and to allow career chiefs of mission to remain under the Foreign Service system for pay and allowances purposes. Where AFSA and management part company significantly is on a proposal to eliminate the authority of the Foreign Service Grievance Board to grant "prescriptive relief" to Foreign Service personnel; i.e., to keep employed those with grievances about impending separations in pay status until their cases are adjudicated. Management would prefer to separate them first, then restore pay and allowances retroactively if the Grievance Board decided in the employee's favor. The principal management argument is parallelism with Civil Service procedures, but the management argument ignores two unique Foreign Service vulnerabilities: the difficulty of defending oneself while assigned abroad, and the sensitivity of a rank-in-person system with time-in-class limitations to errors or distortions in one's personnel file. AFSA intends to oppose vehemently any change in the "prescriptive relief" system as it exists now.

AFSA Views continued

bassador Jack Matlock, who was finishing his third year. Then the process stopped suddenly and mysteriously, and Matlock was asked to stay on a year. Now there are unsettling rumors that a non-career nominee may be sought. There are still just as many first-rate career officers available with both knowledge of the Soviet Union and the requisite management skills, and the post should be assigned to a non-career person only if there is an overshadowing logic that is not apparent to us.

Finally, the administration will soon be facing a dilemma only dimly foreseen at the outset in 1989. A three-year policy on ambassadorial appointments means that about 45 non-career incumbents will be due for rotation in mid-1992. If they are extended for another year until after the 1993 inauguration, the administration will be leaving very few vacancies for new career service appointments. On the other hand, it would make no sense to make numerous non-career nominations only months before the elections; and filling all the vacancies with FSO's would leave no room for non-career nominees a year later, after the elections.

We hope the administration will follow a rule of reason and treat each case on its merits. We would like to see the best non-career ambassadors recognized with extended terms. Those who have not done so well would be replaced in 1992. Can there be any harm in injecting an element of competition among non-career ambassadors, similar to what their career colleagues have experienced?

AFSA tax update

Deborah M. Leahy
Member Services

AFSA continues to receive questions about the deadline for filing federal tax returns. Foreign Service employees serving overseas are granted an automatic extension–without filing an extension form–until June 15. Those filing after April 15 are liable, however, for interest on any money owed.

In other tax news, AFSA and Foreign Service retirees have obtained an exemption in Alabama for retirement benefits of the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund. AFSA had long fought to secure modification of an inequity in the state's tax code whereby Civil Service annuities were exempted, but not those of Foreign Service retirees.

Another update on AFSA's 1990 Tax Guide (see AFSA News, February 1991) will have impact on annuitants from the state of Wisconsin. Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund annuities are exempted in Wisconsin if the taxpayer was in the Foreign Service before 1964 and employed as of December 31, 1963. Contact Deborah Leahy at (202) 647-8160 with any questions.

Evacuation aftermath

State Standing Committee

As AFSA pursues issues affecting the 400-plus Foreign Service employees recently evacuated from Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia, it has become clear that a major overhaul of procedures, and preparation of a comprehensive manual, is needed. In many instances, regulations simply do not fit the circumstances.

One employee finished FSI training, sold her car, and rented her house, while her husband left his job to accompany her to post. Then, only 10 days before departure, she was told her husband could not accompany her to post–even though no dependents had departed the "authorized departure" post to which she was traveling. Another employee on direct transfer was stranded in Washington without household effects when her destination post was closed. She was told she was entitled to neither temporary duty per diem (because you can be "en route" only 10 days) nor the special evacuation allowance while she waited in a Washington hotel.

Many more such cases have been brought to AFSA's attention, partly the result of volume, since the department has had difficulty disbursing so many special allowances.

AFSA has addressed a few cases by intervening with management, but by early March State had not yet responded to the comprehensive list of short- and long-term issues compiled at our February 11 public meeting with evacuees and submitted to the department February 15.

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"

SCHOLARSHIP APPEAL

Gail Volk
Scholarship Coordinator

The AFSA Scholarship Program has grown through individual generosity. Below, a few donors explain why they give to us.

Mary Parker England, Foreign Service, Retired

Mary Parker England has established the new "Isaac and Isaac Duke Parker Memorial Scholarship" as a tribute to her great grandfather, Isaac Duke Parker, and grandfather, Isaac Parker, for the role they played in creating and implementing Texas' first law to organize free public schools.

"Certainly my greatest pride in life is the opportunity that I had to be a part of the American Foreign Service. Isaac and Isaac Duke Parker had a compelling interest in educating youth at public expense. From this, I came upon the idea of a Foreign Service scholarship. This is certainly a small token of gratitude for the opportunity that was mine."

Sorab K. Modi, husband of the late Susan Lowe Modi

Sorab Modi and in-laws established a perpetual scholarship in the memory of his late wife.

"All her success in her years with USIA, Susan strongly believed, was due to the education that she had received. It was this long-standing belief in education and what it can do for this country that, on her return to Washington in 1980, got her involved with AFSA's scholarship program. She served with enthusiasm and commitment as the USIA representative on the AFSA Committee on Education.

"In her last days, she often spoke to her mother and me with special interest about her work on the Committee on Education. Thus, her mother, brother, and I decided on a permanent scholarship in her name at AFSA. Our desires were realized thanks to the support of friends and colleagues. As a USIA representative in Seoul, Bombay, Rome, and Genoa, aspects of culture and education always occupied her. Hence, we determined that the scholarship should in the first instance be for the arts and, failing that, for the humanities."

Cameron H. Sanders Jr., regular contributor to AFSA Scholarship Fund

"The idea of public service is what brought so many of us to the Foreign Service in the first place. Joining the Foreign Service requires financial sacrifice. Contributing to the Scholarship Fund provides a wonderful opportunity for us to help Foreign Service families."

Over the last decade regulatory changes have made many middle-income families ineligible for federally sponsored financial aid. Consequently, Foreign Service families are increasingly turning to the the AFSA Scholarship Program for help, but we need your assistance to help us to meet these growing demands. Please join our efforts to strengthen the Foreign Service by investing in Foreign Service youth. Important sources of our donations are: profits from the sale of personal goods abroad; honoraria for speaking engagements and published articles; bequests; and, most commonly, designated contributions and memorials.

Diplomatic Security

Pay reform

Legislation introduced by Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) and signed by the president on November 5, 1990 gave federal law enforcement officers increased pay benefits.

The State Department has its own peculiar interpretation of this legislation. State contends that because DSS is included in the Foreign Service retirement system, its employees are not law enforcement officers!

AFSA lobbyist Rick Weiss and a board member met with staff members of the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs committees, as well as from DeConcini's office, to report State's outrageous interpretation. In response, DeConcini agreed to address this issue with OPM and the Foreign Relations Committee, affirming the legislative intent to fully include DSS special agents in the pay reform. This issue was placed on the committee's agenda for discussion with State during appropriations hearings on February 27.

Class 29

What a difference a day makes! AFSA has requested a meeting with State to discuss why some members of security officer class 29 were not eligible for promotion consideration along with their classmates, simply because distance from Washington put them on the payroll in travel status one day later than those hired from more distant locations. The period of performance to be evaluated was exactly the same for the entire class.

A.I.D. Standing Committee

Formal negotiations were initiated in January on an overall framework agreement, intended to establish ground rules of interaction and formalize the relationship between AFSA and A.I.D.

The agreement proposed by AFSA essentially mirrors that between AFSA and the State department and contains a provision for a full-time A.I.D. vice president for AFSA. In seeking this full-time slot, AFSA hopes to avoid conflicts of interest and the competing priorities that inevitably afflict those who, in taking on the A.I.D. vice presidency, have found themselves, in effect, with a second full-time job.

EER form and process. During the final weeks of the 1990 rating period, AFSA raised a number of concerns with management, including the absence of objective criteria for selection board ranking and ambiguity in the evaluation of performance and potential. This ambiguity can arise from disparities between personal and position rank, gender bias, and inadequate recognition of contract/contractor management responsibilities. AFSA has been advised that A.I.D. planned to "review and consider modification of several elements of the Foreign Service personnel system, including the Foreign Service EER form and instructions."

Equal employment opportunity/affirmative action. During the latter part of 1990, AFSA contacted members of Congress regarding our concerns about the agency's continuing underrepresentation of women and minorities and its failure to identify and address formal and informal barriers to their advancement. To date, we have seen little progress by the agency in reversing its inactive approach to these issues. A minority recruitment advisory board has been established, but it is unclear what this group will do.

The agency reports that the FY 1991 annual update of A.I.D.'s Affirmative Employment Program Plan will not be available prior to March; thus it is not clear what criteria the agency is using when it asserts that EEO objectives will be taken into consideration in new hiring during FY 1991.

As a result of the Standing Committee's efforts, Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-DE) has written to the agency administrator requesting a detailed response to the issues raised by AFSA. Additionally, a number of members of Congress have responded to AFSA's letter. Congressman Gerry Sikorski (D-MN) has asked the Civil Service Subcommittee, which he chairs, to investigate the problems and barriers to advancement faced by women and minorities within A.I.D. There should be an opportunity to further this effort through subcommittee hearings during the spring.

AFSA received the revised text of HB 25, chapter 40 (Foreign Service Employee Evaluation Program) on February 22. We are dismayed by the lack of tangible progress in incorporating AFSA's recommended changes; at best, raters and selection boards will be confused by the new guidance. Management proposes that specific objectives be developed commensurate with employees' personal grade–if it is lower than the position rank–but AFSA questions the feasibility of this approach.

In an attempt to further obscure and diminish the importance of this issue, the guidance notes: "Position grades are often out of date, and agency requirements sometimes dictate that employees be assigned above or below their personal grades." Nowhere in the new guidance is there mention of evaluating effective management of institutional contractors. AFSA believes that there must be major, substantive changes in the evaluation process and form that reflect the reality of an institution reliant on effective program management. AFSA plans to pursue reforms we requested a year ago.

Pouch mail. AFSA Member Services staff have been diligent in ensuring that any continuing problems with employee mail transmitted via pouch are expeditiously resolved. AFSA has greatly appreciated the responsiveness of the assistant administrator for management, Mike Doyle, who initiated weekly meetings with AFSA to facilitate a collaborative resolution of any remaining pouch mail problems.

International Development Intern career advancement. AFSA has requested that the agency undertake an analysis of the impact of mid- and senior-level hiring practices on the promotion rates and career advancement of individuals who joined the agency through the IDI program prior to 1986. This request is the result of AFSA's review of data on new hires during the period from 1986 to 1990. In reinstituting the IDI program in 1986, the agency stated that IDIs would rarely be hired at the FS-3 level. AFSA has found that there has been significant hiring at the FS-2 and FS-3 levels, and that far fewer women than men have been hired at those levels. AFSA is concerned that the mandate of Section 601 of the Foreign Service Act be adhered to, i.e., that there be: "a predictable flow of talent upward through the ranks of the Senior Foreign Service," and that any practices with a disparate impact on minorities and women be identified and modified.

Annual AFSA membership drive

All active Foreign Service personnel who are not currently AFSA members should be receiving shortly, if they haven't already, a letter outlining the benefits of AFSA membership. This year we're asking members to remind non-member colleagues of the advantages of AFSA membership.

Benefits of membership include:

- The Foreign Service Journal
- Specialized Insurance Packages
- Foreign Service Club
- Legal Representation
- Luncheon Speakers
- Congressional Representation
- Conferences
- Grievance/Administrative Counseling
- Discounts, and more . . .

If you have any colleagues you would like us to contact, please send their names and addresses to the AFSA Membership Department (AFSA Membership, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037).

Post Representatives: Membership applications were included in the March Post Dispatch, please make them readily available to non-members. All members in good standing, as of the end of April, will receive a ballot for the upcoming AFSA elections. However, your help is needed to ensure accurate address labels. Upon request, the membership department will send updated members-at-post rosters. Please make any corrections/additions/deletions and return to AFSA Washington.

Foreign Service Day 1991

Mark Friday May 3 on your calendars!

Retirees will want to return to the department for briefings and to see old friends. Saturday, many will want to attend the traditional brunch at the Foreign Service Club and learn more about AFSA's new initiatives, including better outreach, efforts to launch a Speakers Bureau, and creation of a Foreign Service Reserve Corps.

Active duty members will want to join retirees to honor the winners of AFSA Awards, and to remember those who have died for their country at the solemn ceremony before the Memorial Plaque.

See you then!

"Profiles in Diplomacy" film will show on public TV

A one-hour documentary, "Profiles in Diplomacy: the U.S. Foreign Service," sponsored by the Una Chapman Cox Foundation, will have its public television premiere on station WETA in Washington at 10 p.m., Wednesday, April 17. Filmed in the department and at posts in Mozambique, Israel, Peru, and East Germany before the wall came down, the film captures a cross-section of the daily lives and work of Foreign Service men and women. Even before being aired, the film has won a CINE Golden Eagle Award for its producer, Dick Young Productions of New York. Many other public television stations across the country are expected to air the film during the weeks following its premiere by WETA. Video cassettes of the film and print materials about the Foreign Service, produced by WETA Washington for educational and home use, will be available for purchase beginning in mid-April from PBS Video, 1320 Braddock Place, Alexandria, VA 22314-1698.

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