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MAY 1991

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AFSA VIEWS

STATE OF THE SERVICE

Veteran Foreign Service people congregating in Washington for Foreign Service Day on May 3 may wonder what the impact of the Gulf crisis has been on the Foreign Service.

One perverse result has been higher morale. No one who practices diplomacy can exult over hostilities, but the Foreign Service relishes a challenge, and the Gulf crisis provided a lot of them. The most direct challenge was to our embassies in Baghdad and Kuwait, which for five long months were called upon to show tempered U.S. resolve in the face of Iraqi provocations. Riyadh, Dhahran, Tel Aviv, and Jerusalem endured 18-hour days, endless visitors, then Scud attacks. All our embassies and multilateral posts worldwide rose to the challenge of constructing and maintaining the unprecedented international political-military coalition that forced Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. We can take pride in their success and in the praise bestowed on them by President Bush on March 27, when he spoke to employees at State and met with the task forces.

Apart from matters of *esprit de corps*, it hasn't been a comfortable year for anyone. Never before had this many Foreign Service employees and dependents (1,500) endured the trauma of evacuation in such a short time, or from such a broad range of posts (from the Maghreb to the subcontinent). Many evacuees are still living out of suitcases in Washington, with their children's school years disrupted. A \$50 million emergency supplemental appropriation barely covered State's direct Gulf War costs, and our posts in other regions are still struggling to make ends meet, with their budgets cut back significantly below 1990 levels.

There are also still some unsettling aspects of the Glaspie affair. More than enough has been written on this already, but the basic question remains whether Ambassador Glaspie received the full measure of political loyalty that was due to her after her return from Baghdad last summer. It's true that senior administration officials up to and including the president have praised her as an accomplished and dedicated professional. But why, after repeated questioning over a period of months, did State press spokesmen steadfastly refuse to stand behind her report of her July 25 conversation with Saddam Hussein, and to point out the omissions in the Iraqi "transcript" issued in September? Was her earlier classified report to Washington of the conversation—which by her recent testimony included warnings from her against the use of force and reassurances from Saddam—simply discounted? Or if it was considered reliable, as it should have been, why was it not used to demonstrate Saddam's perfidy? Press Spokesman Boucher's rationale for withholding comment on discrepancies between the Glaspie report and the "transcript"—that this issue was a "sideshow"—strains credibility. Nothing could have been more central than any available evidence from Glaspie that Saddam went back on his word to her, just as he did with his promises to Arab leaders.

The *New York Times* has suggested a white paper to clear the air. This would be one way to set aside the lingering impression that April Glaspie was a lightning rod of convenience. Dispelling this impression would add sweetening to the success of our Gulf policy.

—TED WILKINSON



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LETTERS

BEFORE YOU LEAVE FOR HOME

TO THE EDITOR:

Brian Carlson's article "Doing Home Leave Right" in the February 1991 issue of the *FSJ* provided a variety of interesting and useful ideas for home leave travel. However, his advice that "a little footwork may get you more travel . . . at little or no extra expense" is incorrect and could cause travelers to be denied reimbursement of large amounts of travel money.

Mr. Carlson advises a traveler to "find out how much your authorized routing would cost if you followed it exactly" and then to research discounted fares that would allow the traveler to go farther for the same amount of money. What Mr. Carlson does not seem to be aware of is this: if a discounted fare is appropriate for the type of travel, which for home leave travel it very often is, that discounted fare from the authorized origin to the authorized destination must be the basis of any cost-construction, and any savings realized belong to the government, not the traveler. The government may only reimburse that portion of the ticket which represents the actual cost to the authorized destination.

Thank you for the opportunity to set the record straight. Anyone requiring information on the Foreign Service travel regulations is invited to contact the Transportation Regulatory Section at 202/647-0208, -2853, or -3658. Employees serving overseas should direct their cables to OPR/ST/TD.

George C. Jenkins

*The writer is chief of the
Transportation Division at the
Department of State.*

TO THE EDITOR:

Returning from a vacation trip to find the usual accumulation of maga-

zines, I settled down happily to read Marguerite Cooper's article in the February *FSJ* on the changing position of Foreign Service women over the past two decades. As I nodded appreciatively at her graphic portrayal of the dogged campaign against prejudice and inertia, my eye fell on the companion piece describing her own experience as half of a tandem couple in Islamabad in 1973. What startled me was her assertion that one of her two supervisors in Islamabad "strongly disapproved of tandems, seeing the arrangement as "double dipping at the public trough," while the other was himself part of a tandem couple. Since I was (a) her supervisor in Islamabad and (b) not part of a tandem couple, the bad guy had to be me.

Hey, wait a minute! To fend off the angry glares of my female compatriots, let me point out that I've always been volubly aware of the obstacles Foreign Service women have faced because of their gender and that, during my 30-odd years as an FSO (including assignments in which I supervised, and was supervised by, women officers) I believe I did what I could to help overcome them. At no time did I ever criticize the tandem couple concept, which I thought an excellent one from the beginning.

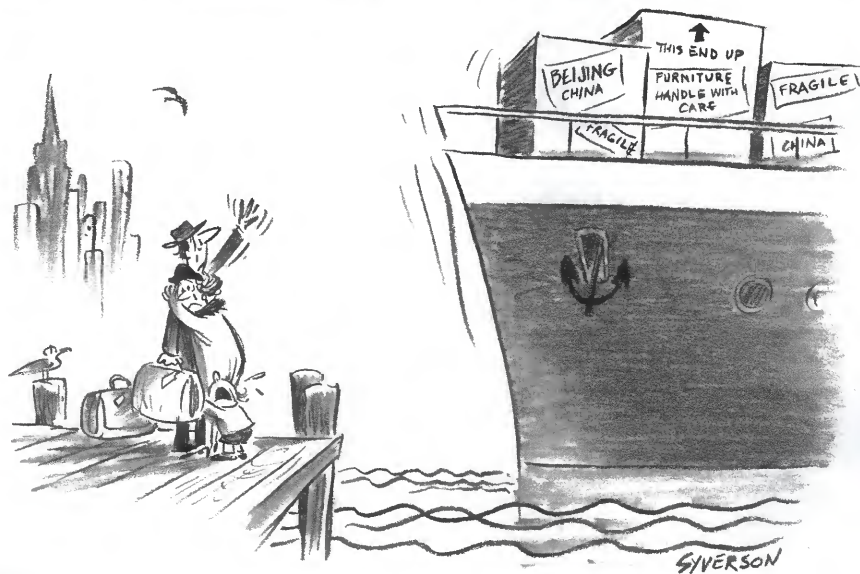
Edward C. Ingraham

*The writer is a retired Foreign Service
officer.*

TO THE EDITOR:

An error in the review of Hans Tuch's *Communicating with the World: U.S. Public Diplomacy Overseas* (*FSJ*, February 1991, page 40) gives the appearance that the book is flawed. The reviewer writes that the book deals extensively with programs such as Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, and that "many Eastern Europeans . . . learned English listening to

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LETTERS

Radio Free Europe." In fact, while Mr. Tuch discusses RFE and RL briefly in his book, he concentrates in detail on the work and effectiveness of the Voice of America, and he cites examples of the success of VOA's English-language broadcasts. RFE has never broadcast in English. Listeners in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, Mr. Tuch writes, learned their English from VOA—not, as the reviewer contends, from RFE.

*Terrence F. Catberman
The author is a retired Foreign
Service officer.*

Due to an editing error, the views of Heritage Foundation Senior Vice President Burton Yale Pines were misrepresented in the Journal article in April on the Reagan Doctrine.

The article should have quoted Pines as saying he believes the Reagan Doctrine is a "marvelous legacy" because it proclaimed that "the future belongs to democracy, not to Soviet-imposed dictatorships."

We made a compound error in the Foreign Service Quiz published in the April issue of the *FSJ*.

In answer to the second question, we mistakenly identified Edward R. Murrow as the World War II newscaster who was later selected as the first director of the Voice of America. Murrow, who was CBS's great wartime correspondent, was never director of VOA. He was director of the U.S. Information Agency during the Kennedy Administration, from 1961 to 1964. The first director of VOA, in 1942, was John Houseman, noted actor, author, producer, and director. ■



Uncle Sam's Eight New Bases, the FSJ, May 1941

... The acquisition of island bases from Great Britain under ninety-nine year leases in exchange for fifty overage United States destroyers presented a test in both statesmanship and military technique. How would such a transaction be regarded? Would the original cold shock of surprise be cushioned later in warm majority approval? The diplomatic victory attained could then be coordinated with practical military procedure.

The Navy did not wait for the temper of our country or of Europe to be determined. The announcement of the exchange found a group of officer experts embarked immediately on a cruiser at Norfolk, their destination Bermuda and the Caribbean pearls that were to be formed into a diadem which would guard our eastern coast line. To add bases in the Bahamas, Jamaica, Antigua, St. Lucia, Trinidad, and British Guiana to Guantanamo, the Virgin Islands, and Puerto Rico would help inestimably in making Panama invulnerable to attack. ■

FOREIGN SERVICE QUIZ

(Answers appear on page 55.)

1. Who was the first secretary of Foreign Affairs under the Articles of Confederation?
2. What was the statutory salary for an ambassador in 1924?
3. How many consulates general existed in 1924? Total consular offices?
4. When did the U.S. naval attaché system begin?
5. In 1909, a congressman introduced legislation proposing the establishment of a National Consular School. Under the legislation, the president would retain the power to make appointments at large only when no graduates of the school were available. Who proposed this legislation?

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CLIPPINGS

THE LAST WORD

THE BOSTON HERALD, MARCH 21, BY JOE BATTENFELD

WASHINGTON - Ambassador April Glaspie, breaking a months-long silence, said yesterday she and the United States were duped by Saddam Hussein into believing he wouldn't invade Kuwait.

"Our mistake was like that of every other government in the world—we foolishly did not realize that he was stupid," Glaspie said in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Glaspie, the U.S. ambassador to Iraq, gave her first account of her much-publicized meeting with Saddam just one week before he ordered his troops into the tiny oil emirate.

During the meeting, she said Saddam agreed to abide by U.S. warnings to resolve his dispute with Kuwait peacefully—despite the presence of 100,000 Iraqi troops massed on the border.

"The only possible interpretation I could make of his remarks was that he was not going to invade," Glaspie said in the packed hearing room.

MOSCOW FIRE

THE WASHINGTON TIMES, MARCH 29, BY BILL GERTZ

A major fire that ripped through the aging U.S. Embassy in Moscow yesterday shut down U.S. diplomatic and intelligence operations in the Soviet capital, sources said.

"It puts us out of business at a crucial time," said one intelligence source.

The CIA station in Moscow, one of the largest and by far the most important intelligence collection outpost in the world, was damaged by the blaze, U.S. sources said.

The fire also damaged a major National Security Agency electronic listening post, which was located on the eighth floor of the structure and relied upon roof-mounted equipment.

Three people suffered smoke inhalation, and 200 embassy employees were evacuated from the building.

... Sources said the fire could delay Bush administration efforts to conclude a strategic arms agreement with Moscow and set back attempts to resolve differences over a conventional arms treaty.

[State Department Spokesman Richard] Boucher said the fire broke out yesterday morning in the central section of the building, which is located on Tchaikovsky Street, several miles from Red Square.

"The roof over the central section of the building is gone," Mr. Boucher said, noting that the cause of the fire is not known but it may have started in an elevator shaft.

FADED YELLOW RIBBON

THE WASHINGTON TIMES, MARCH 26, BY TOM KELLY

"Forgotten: A Sister's Struggle to Save Terry Anderson, America's Longest-Held Hostage," is a book by a woman who moved through the three worlds of Washington—the Bureaucrats, the Pols, and the Press—to save a life.

... After her brother was captured, [Peggy] Say became his champion and moved shyly but determinedly into the world occupied by the people who were, or at least seemed to be, running the world.

... She was ultimately disappointed and disenchanting.

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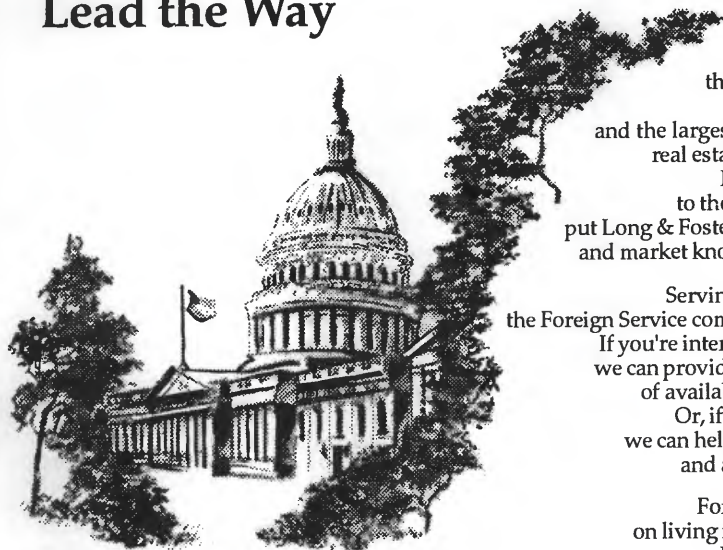
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the people who are running the world."

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The State Department emissaries had been in touch persistently, advising, soothing, admonishing and playing a devious game. "For five and a half years the State Department had been trying to convince me that a spade was a damned shovel and I didn't have the patience to listen to it anymore."

The press, particularly those individuals who have images to keep up, did not stay in touch. . . .

. . . And of course there were politicians like Mr. Kennedy.

When one of the hostages, Frank Reed, was released, Mr. Kennedy announced the he would be at Andrews Air Force Base to welcome him home.

That bothered Mrs. Say since, despite all requests, the senator had done nothing at all to help get Mr. Reed or anyone else out.

SWISS APPOINTED UN ENVOY TO MIDDLE EAST

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, MARCH 22

WASHINGTON - Swiss Ambassador

Edouard Brunner was named Thursday as a special UN representative for the Middle East and declared himself quietly optimistic about prospects for a settlement between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Commenting on his new job as a representative for UN Secretary Javier Perez de Cuellar, Brunner quoted two French military heroes.

"Impossible is not a French word," he said, citing Napoleon's admonition to a reluctant aide, and he then quoted from the memoirs of Charles de Gaulle:

"I went to the complicated Middle East with simple ideas."

BATTLE OF THE ADVISORIES

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, APRIL 1, BY SHELLEY EMLING

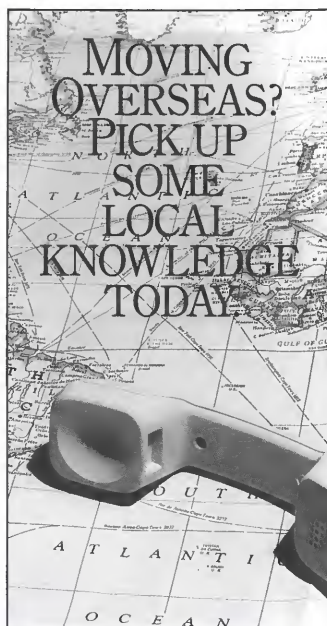
When the United States cut off military aid to this country three months ago because of human rights abuses, the Guatemalan government responded by issuing a travel advisory for Guatemalans planning visits to Miami, New York, and Los Angeles.

The advisory seemed to mimic U.S. State Department warnings to American travelers planning visits overseas. In this case, Foreign Minister Alvaro Arzu warned Guatemalans that it was dangerous to visit U.S. cities because the U.S. government couldn't get a handle on crime.

The trading of travel advisories seems to be a fairly harmless tit for tat. But beneath the surface, it underscores resurging tensions between the countries that began with the \$53.2 million aid cutoff Dec. 21, U.S. Embassy officials say.

Since then, U.S. officials say they have shied away from public commitment in areas deemed sensitive to Guatemala's new president. A new rule permits only U.S. Ambassador Thomas Stroock and the head of Embassy public affairs to talk to the press.

As a result of newly elected President Jorge Serrano's apparent sensitivity and the heightened tensions, the U.S. Embassy here delayed for two months the release of the State Department's annual human rights report on Guatemala, a report that was highly critical of the previous government and the security forces. ■



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KATRINA ECTON

One Step Ahead for Spouses

The Foreign Service is wasting a valuable resource: spouses. The scarcity of employment for spouses in the United States and overseas is causing serious morale problems. Jobs are difficult to find, and a career for spouses is almost impossible. Once a good job is found, moreover, the spouse is reluctant to leave it, reducing the families at our overseas missions by attrition. The government can do more to make the Foreign Service attractive to families by helping spouses overcome a number of employment obstacles that are specific to the Foreign Service. A great deal has been done overseas, but more, ironically, needs to be done at home.

Misunderstood

Spending time out of the country leaves the Foreign Service spouse with gaps in the professional ladder and puts him or her at a tremendous disadvantage when stacked up against other qualified people who have had uninterrupted careers. The applicant's frequent transfers and the likelihood of another before long also give private employers an understandable sense of uncertainty, increasing employers' reluctance to hire what is already a rare bird. Furthermore, a spouse's resume may not reflect skills to best advantage, showing volunteer or relatively low-paid employment or else hard-to-understand embassy work, such as "community liaison coordinator." Such jobs are often the only option overseas but do not make an outstanding impression in government or the business world.

References from overseas, additional academic qualifications, and foreign-language skills are heavily discounted.

Spouses report that prospective employers also seem hesitant to hire at entry level. They fear that a Foreign Service spouse may find the work demeaning and quit. Employers often give the excuse that the applicant is overqualified.

Stories of qualified spouses with advanced degrees, cross-cultural experience, and foreign-language training who cannot find jobs are familiar. A job may be all but impossible to find after two consecutive foreign postings. Flexibility and adaptability count for little. Several recent examples of which I have heard include:

- A spouse with more than 20 years in the service, two languages, 15 years teaching English as a foreign language, and an impressive employment record overseas who was not even interviewed when applying for a job as a programs assistant. She was told that her clerical skills were not up to par.
- A spouse with a graduate degree, three languages, and 25 years of experience with the service, who was told she did not have enough practical experience to assist in the orientation of junior Foreign Service officers.
- An ambassador's spouse who was not considered for a job because her husband "carried too much clout" in the department.

Leaden bureaucracies

Surprisingly, foreign affairs agencies do not tap this resource. The process itself is almost defeatingly perverse. To educate oneself in how to get on the Government Schedule takes months of telephone calls, trips to Personnel, filling out application forms, and trying to get on the register. On finding a vacancy, an additional waiting

period is necessary, while all candidates are interviewed and personnel processes are completed. This is often compounded by hiring freezes and lack of funds for contracts. In the end, a candidate may be informed that he or she is underqualified for available professional positions—but overqualified for clerical jobs.

Even bidding on a contract position has become a complicated and time-consuming process. A spouse back for only a year or so might spend at minimum eight months contending with government hiring. To come in as a GS 5/6, a candidate has to pass a typing test. This may require a typing or computer class at personal expense. Many find it necessary to take a course or do research to figure out how to have their skills described in the current vocabulary and to write an SF 171 polished enough to be considered.

No one expects spouses to be given special consideration. Yet qualified people who are actively looking for jobs are finding that the government, which has benefited from their loyalty for years, is not helping them become paid employees. Instead, the government is hiring people who have cracked the system but whose background, commitment, and experience are far inferior to those of Foreign Service spouses. Spouses can bring to government jobs a dimension that is lacking among those who have not lived overseas. The foreign affairs community is long overdue in recognizing the value of spouses. Considering their skill levels, the government will find them a bargain.



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One good idea

One recent and imaginative program involves the Foreign Service Institute's School of Language Studies and the Family Liaison Office, which link supply with demand. The School of Language Studies, experiencing increased training demands and mushrooming workloads to meet those needs, offered to hire returning spouses looking for temporary employment.

Under this pilot project, four spouses were brought on board. The spouses were recommended by the Family Liaison Office from among those who had made known their interest in working for the government and had the skills needed by the School of Language Studies. The Spouse Temporary Employment Program (STEP) is assisting language training operations during the months of the summer crunch. It makes wonderfully good sense to make use of people who are familiar with the government acronyms, training forms, travel orders, and bureaucratic slowdowns. These spouses also have a background that is helpful in dealing with the large, multilingual staff at FSI. These new hires are well qualified, have studied at the Foreign Service Institute, and are committed to government service. In each case, they are just back from or are just going overseas, so their time here is limited. They had been overwhelmed by the job competition in private industry as well as in the government.

With a little imagination and some initiative, the government can make use of its best available resources. The recently established American Family Member Associate Program will be of tremendous benefit to spouses already working in the government. It will provide continuity in their career by maintaining security clearance while on leave without pay, provide training opportunities, and give more advance information on jobs at post. It will also provide incentive to pursue a career while moving from post to post. The program reflects the long-awaited interest in and concern for managing spouse employment issues. ■

Katrina Ecton is a Foreign Service spouse who worked in the School of Language Studies and is now with her husband at an overseas posting.



Out of the Cold

The U.S.-Soviet military relationship probably won't go back to the deep freeze.

MELVIN A. GOODMAN AND CAROLYN MCGIFFERT EKEDAHL

Moscow's new approach to regional conflict situations was dramatically illustrated by its unprecedented cooperation with Washington in the wake of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. Moscow's conduct throughout the crisis and its support for a punitive and permanent ceasefire proved that the Soviet Union had embraced its cooperative relationship with the United States. While formerly the Soviets opposed any U.S. military initiative, during this crisis they supported UN initiatives demanding Hussein's compliance with international law and endorsed a major U.S. military build-up in the region. Moscow demonstrated its commitment to the new relationship with the United States when it deserted a key client, Iraq, which was one of its few friends in the Gulf and a hard-currency purchaser of Soviet arms.

Questions have been raised about Moscow's commitment to "new thinking" in foreign policy, however, as a result of Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's resignation in December and the shift to the right in the Kremlin since October 1990. New strains have developed in U.S.-Soviet relations, complicating U.S.-Soviet cooperation to resolve conflicts in the Third World and slowing the pace of arms control talks.

Gulf teamwork

Izvestia commentator Aleksandr Bovin observed that, had this crisis occurred five to 10 years ago, the

Soviets would have adopted a position of friendly neutrality and reacted negatively to the appearance of the U.S. forces. For its part, he said, the United States would have accused the Soviets of supporting aggression and indulging the terrorist regime in Baghdad. Instead, Moscow supported U.S. political and diplomatic goals, condemning the invasion, suspending military deliveries to Baghdad, and demanding unconditional Iraqi withdrawal. Moscow supported UN efforts to resolve the crisis, voting on August 2 for UN Resolution 660, which condemned the aggression and demanded Iraqi withdrawal. It subsequently endorsed UN resolutions imposing trade sanctions on Baghdad, declaring the annexation of Kuwait null and void, disputing Iraq's holding of foreign hostages and closing of foreign embassies in Kuwait, and adding air interdiction to other boycott measures. Finally, Moscow endorsed—albeit reluctantly—the use of force to implement sanctions. Moscow's initial reluctance to withdraw nearly 8,000 Soviet military and economic technicians working in Iraq fostered misunderstanding, with Western press articles charging that the Soviets were helping the Iraqi war machine. Western press accounts that Moscow secretly supplied arms and intelligence to the Iraqis during the war were false, however; both President Bush and Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney denied the reports.

Most importantly, Moscow moved immediately to coordinate policy with Washington rather than to exploit the situation and undermine U.S. actions. On



SCIENCE PICTURE BOOK

Then Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze meets with Secretary of State James Baker at the United Nations in November 1990. Shevardnadze's resignation sparked fears of a backlash in the Soviet Union against the policy of military cooperation with the United States.

August 3, following a meeting at a Moscow airport, Secretary of State James Baker and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze issued a joint statement endorsing UN condemnation of Iraq's invasion and urging the suspension of all arms shipments to Iraq. Baker referred to the agreement's historic nature, noting that in the past the two nations would have viewed such a conflict "through an East-West prism."

"No other choice"

The Soviets justified their abandonment of Iraq on both moral and security grounds, indicating that they would protect the centrality of relations with the United States. Gorbachev called the Iraqi invasion a "violation of everything the world community now pins its hopes on as it seeks to put civilization on the tracks of peaceful development." He said Moscow had "no other choice" than to join the West in condemning Iraq because the use of force to redraw borders could "set off a perilous chain reaction endangering the entire world economy." An authoritative commentator, Stanislav Kondrashov, explained that "sacrificing relations with another dictatorship" confirmed Moscow's commitment to "abandoning confrontation with the West... particularly with the United States." He added that the "political and practical advantages of cooperation with Washington would "more than make up for the loss of friendship with Saddam Hussein." In other words, the Soviets signaled from the outset that Iraq could not deal separately with Moscow.

Moscow followed up its statements with rapid, high-level policy coordination with the United States. Although Baker and Shevardnadze were holding meetings in Irkutsk on the eve of the invasion, the coordination was more than serendipitous. The two men met at a Moscow airport only one day after the invasion and issued a historic joint statement; several weeks later Bush and Gorbachev met in Helsinki and endorsed a second joint statement affirming their cooperation. Continuing the pattern of high-level contact, Baker met with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze in Moscow on September 13 and laid the foundation for passage of a UN resolution banning passenger and cargo flights into Iraq. A third joint statement was released in October following Shevardnadze's meetings with Bush and Baker at the United Nations, endorsing continued sanctions and stressing determination to strengthen UN peacekeeping functions. In January, Baker and new Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh issued a fourth statement, again urging Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.

Hard choices

This Soviet approach could not have been easy. As Shevardnadze noted at a press conference on August 3, the Soviet Union had maintained good relations with Iraq for decades. The two countries signed a Friendship and Cooperation Treaty in April 1972 and had maintained a mutually beneficial arms supply relationship for 25 years. In August 1990, the Iraqi debt to Moscow was an



Over the past several years, the Soviets have consistently condemned Palestinian terrorism and even cooperated with the Israeli government in 1989, when the Israelis had to deal with a hijacked Soviet airliner. The KGB has recently agreed to work with other intelligence services on international terrorism. In March, the Soviets turned over a fugitive wanted by federal prosecutors in the United States—the first time that Moscow has extended such cooperation.

estimated \$6 billion and Moscow risked default; in fact, Iraq reportedly stopped payment shortly after the invasion.

Gorbachev's policy was, in fact, subjected to strong domestic criticism, and objections to Moscow's support for the United States increased as the crisis worsened. Appearing before a Soviet legislative committee in late August, the then commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact, General Vladimir Lobov, portrayed the U.S. buildup as a potential threat to the Soviet Union's southern borders that might jeopardize East-West talks on cutting conventional weapons in Europe. Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belongov told a parliamentary committee that there were "no guarantees that the United States will ever leave Saudi Arabia after the crisis is over."

The government newspaper *Izvestia* was consistently more supportive of U.S. actions and Soviet policy than the Party paper *Pravda* and the Defense Ministry paper *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star), which accused Washington of using the crisis to build political influence and strategic presence in the Middle East. Conflicting Soviet statements seem to support the thesis that the Foreign and Defense Ministry bureaucracies were lagging behind Gorbachev and Shevardnadze's support for the U.S. position. Gorbachev's use of Soviet presidential adviser Yevgeni Primakov as an emissary to negotiate with both Washington and Baghdad during the crisis suggested, moreover, that the Soviet president tried to disassociate himself from his foreign minister's support for Washington during the crisis. Shevardnadze's sudden and unexpected resignation in December indicated differences with Gorbachev on both domestic and foreign policy issues. Shevardnadze's successor, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, has been more careful in his dealings with Washington on the Persian Gulf crisis.

Asking for patience

Beneath the public displays of cooperation, there were numerous differences between Moscow and Washington. The United States was prepared to engage Iraq militarily, while the Soviet Union emphasized negotiations and declined to send its own forces to the Gulf. Washington was prepared to act unilaterally; Moscow wanted all action to be sanctioned and implemented by the United Nations. The Soviets made it clear from the beginning that they preferred negotiation, mediation, and even compromise to a military

approach and were concerned by Washington's "militant" approach and "impatience."

As a result, the Soviet reaction to the U.S. decision to send troops to Saudi Arabia was negative, with Shevardnadze—the leading proponent of cooperation with the United States—reportedly angered when Baker informed him of the move. Several days after the Iraqi invasion, a Soviet Foreign Ministry statement argued that a "build-up in military presence and naval muscle-flexing in such a very tense and complex situation was not the best line of action." The Soviets delayed passage of UN Resolutions 665 and 678, which authorized use of force. The Soviets wanted to prevent the use of force; they also sought to head off the intensified allied bombing, and then the ground campaign. On the eve of the ground campaign in February Moscow pursued a negotiated solution and indicated that the Iraqis were prepared to withdraw

from Kuwait.

Before the Gulf

Even before the groundbreaking and highly publicized U.S.-Soviet joint efforts in the Gulf conflict, the Soviet Union had taken a far more cooperative approach in resolving regional conflicts. Shevardnadze discussed the creation of a "risk reduction center" in the Middle East during a trip to Egypt in 1989. Although the Soviets thus far have not renewed the proposal for such a center, they are certain to return to the idea and presumably try to apply it to discussion of regional conflicts, proliferation, and terrorism. Soviet-U.S. success in abolishing intermediate-range missiles in 1987 and limiting conventional arms in Europe in 1990, along with intrusive on-site verification measures for both agreements, could lead to a dialogue on limiting such weapons in the Third World.

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Moscow has played a role in establishing peace-keeping and verification operations in the border area

between Iran and Iraq and in Namibia, and in coordinating humanitarian aid to the Horn of Africa and southern Africa. Among the remaining issues confronting the United States and the Soviet Union in the Third World, the most difficult are resolving the longstanding civil wars fought by their clients in Afghanistan, Angola, and Cambodia. In recent years Moscow has demonstrated its readiness to compromise to resolve these wars.

In September 1990 Moscow and Washington began serious talks on a phased transition to a new government in Afghanistan and an end to military aid to the Najibullah government and the mujahideen. Differences remain over the role of the government in Kabul and the commitment of insurgent forces to a military victory.

Considerable progress has been made toward ending the Angolan civil war. The United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to participate in an international force to monitor a ceasefire and elections and to end arms deliveries to the antagonists.

Moscow supported a UN resolution in August 1990 to establish an interim administration in Cambodia, combining elements from the United Nations and all four Cambodian factions to run Cambodia until UN-supervised elections can be held. Factional armies would be disarmed and kept apart by UN troops; Cambodian neutrality and human rights would be internationally guaranteed. In a major breakthrough in September, the four warring Cambodian factions formally committed themselves to the UN framework for a comprehensive settlement, including the creation of a Supreme National Council made up of six representatives of the Phnom Penh government and two from each of the three opposition factions. The council would become the major government body in Cambodia until new elections are held and occupy Cambodia's disputed seat in the United Nations. Cambodian factionalism has delayed implementation of the plan.

Staying the course

A major test of Soviet-U.S. cooperation in the 1990s will be the ability of both to prevent future conflicts or the resumption of old ones. Soviet and U.S. experts could play a role in imagery analysis for peacekeeping operations, with common assessments providing authoritative information in monitoring troop withdrawals and regional arms control measures. Aerial sur-



President Bush welcomes Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to the White House for the first round of summit talks in May 1990.

veillance is always risky, but could be applied when combatants have agreed to maintain a ceasefire or resolve their differences. Negotiations to limit arms sales to areas of tension could play a role in limiting conflict.

Despite continuing instability at home, the Soviets are likely to continue giving high priority to stable security relations with the United States, including arms control and the resolution of conflicts in the Third World. They are removing armor and artillery from Central Europe under the terms of the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) treaty, and in February they announced the dissolution of the military structure of the Warsaw Pact. Moscow refused to publish the text of the protocol canceling all military agreements signed by pact members, to avoid criticism from Soviet conservatives and hardliners.

Adherence to the CFE treaty and completion of the strategic forces treaty will test Moscow's commitment to security cooperation with Washington. Since the signing



The United States has not committed itself to conventional arms control in the postwar Middle East. Secretary Baker, in testimony before Congress in February, discussed the importance of "effective arms control and preventing proliferation of conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction," but President Bush, in his address to the nation on March 6, pointedly omitted arms control from his list of objectives for the region.

of CFE in Paris in November 1990, Moscow has reclassified three ground divisions as naval units in an apparent effort to circumvent the treaty. In a letter to Gorbachev in March, Bush asked the Soviet president to "intervene" with the Soviet military to settle the dispute. Moscow has also reduced the number of military installations subject to inspection. Gorbachev has "affirmed readiness" to resolve these differences, but high-level military officials have begun to criticize the treaty.

Moscow is unlikely to support the demands of its more radical clients and will continue to encourage such Third World states as Cuba, Syria, and Vietnam to take moderate positions so as not to jeopardize broader Soviet interests. The Soviets have reduced military assistance to major recipients in the Third World and their naval presence in out-of-area waters. In the past several months, the Soviets have strengthened their diplomatic representation in Israel, South Africa, and South Korea, which lacked a Soviet political presence only a year ago. This is consistent with Shevardnadze's efforts to end the "blank pages" in Soviet diplomacy.

The overwhelming victory of the U.S.-led coalition in the Gulf war may, however, harden Soviet negotiating positions, as it impressed upon the defense establishment the strength of U.S. military hardware. Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov played down the failure of Soviet equipment, and Colonel Nikolai Petrushenko, a leader of the hardline Soyuz (Union) group of parliament members, denied the scale of allied successes. Nevertheless, Soviet concerns could slow the conventional forces and strategic arms treaty negotiations. Certainly, the highly effective use of sea-launched Tomahawk cruise missiles in the Persian Gulf will strengthen Soviet insistence on including such naval weapons in the arms talks. Moscow already has announced that it wants further limits on sea power and sea-based air power.

The Soviets will probably pursue instruments for strategic stability in the Third World similar to those established to reduce the risk of war with the United States. In the wake of the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, for example, Moscow concluded a hotline agreement with the United States—the first bilateral crisis-management measure—and a Partial Test Ban Treaty. During the détente period of the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Soviet Union and the United States reached

treaties or agreements to limit proliferation, prevent accidental war and incidents at sea, and reduce risk of general war and nuclear war. Moscow has offered to join the Missile Technology Control Regime to limit the spread of ballistic missiles to the Third World, but the United States has blocked Soviet entry.

Many of these arrangements—particularly nonproliferation regimes and risk-reduction centers—would be well-suited to current or potential Third World conflicts. Hotlines could be useful for potential Indo-Pakistani and Greek-Turkish disputes. Since the Cuban missile crisis, Soviet officials have expressed concern that war could be sparked by technical malfunction, human error, or political miscalculation. This concern has probably contributed to the dynamism of Soviet efforts to expand political dialogue with the United States, Europe, China, and Japan, as well as to its unilateral reductions of

force in Eastern Europe and along the Sino-Soviet border.

Legacies of war

As a result of Moscow's opposition to the military campaign against Iraq, particularly the ground war, the Soviets can be expected to revive the discussion of "rules of conduct" for the United States and the Soviet Union in regional conflicts. An attempt was made in their "Principles of Mutual Relations" in 1972 to formulate a general notion of such "rules," but there was no detailed elaboration of rules of conduct and, more importantly, no mechanism to ensure their observance. The "principles" signed in 1985 discussed the creation of centers to reduce the nuclear threat, but were ambiguous on rules of conduct. Soviet officials have stressed the importance of UN peacekeeping efforts, particularly the creation of a multilateral risk-reduction center and revival of the UN Military Staff Committee.

The Persian Gulf also could lead to a discussion of limiting arms and refining collective security measures for the region. Iraq had the largest and most dangerous army in the Middle East until the war, and an international embargo will be required unless Baghdad is willing to accept verifiable arms limits. Regional security guarantees will require commitments from the outside powers, particularly the United States, the Soviet Union, France, and China, to restrain provocative arms trans-

fers. Soviet-U.S. cooperation was central to the role of the Security Council in the first months of the crisis, although the UN was bypassed during the decisive military phases of the crisis. The Soviets are well positioned for any discussion on arms limits because they have reduced deliveries to every Third World recipient, including Afghanistan.

The United States has not committed itself to conventional arms control in the postwar Middle East. Secretary Baker, in testimony before Congress in February, discussed the importance of "effective arms control and preventing proliferation of conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction" but President Bush, in his address to the nation on March 6, pointedly omitted arms control from his list of objectives for the region. Moreover, on that same day, the administration reportedly asked Congress to approve the sale of F-16 fighter aircraft to Egypt. The United States may also propose billions in arms sales to Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Turkey. With the Pentagon phasing out purchases of such stellar systems as Apache attack helicopters, M1A1 tanks, and F-15 and F-16 fighters, defense contractors will look to foreign sales in the Middle East to keep their plants in operation.

Bessmertnykh has indicated that Moscow will try to link the continuation of the UN arms embargo against Iraq with a general reduction in arms supplies to the region. He told a news conference in Moscow in February that arms deliveries to any country in the Gulf region should be resolved on the basis of a "collective decision on limiting arms supplies to that explosive region," rather than on a "unilateral and individual" basis. The Soviets will oppose any allied effort to impose an excessively humiliating settlement on Baghdad as part of an effort to preserve influence in postwar Iraq, but agree that the issue of future arms sales to Iraq should be settled multilaterally and not by the Soviet Union.

Pull to the right

Gorbachev has begun to defer to more conservative elements in Moscow that no longer favor automatic deference to U.S. interests, particularly along Soviet borders. In the wake of Shevardnadze's resignation, moreover, Soviet support for U.S. goals cannot be taken for granted. Gorbachev's point man for negotiations in the Persian Gulf was Yevgeni Primakov, who was just named to the newly formed Security Council. Although a supporter of Shevardnadze's "new thinking" in foreign policy, he has spent the last 25 years trying to protect Soviet interests in the Middle East. Other conservative members of the council with national security experience are Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov, KGB Chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov, and the increasingly visible Interior Minister Boris Pugo. Gorbachev's views on national security matters are more compatible with those of such members as Foreign Minister

Bessmertnykh and former Interior Minister Bakatin—the only member of the council who does not hold a post in the Gorbachev government. Prime Minister Pavlov and Vice President Yanayev also were named to the council.

Soviet commentators have become more pessimistic about the course of Soviet-U.S. relations, and Soviet military officials have begun to call for increased defense spending. Yazov told the Supreme Soviet in February that Iraq's Soviet-supplied air defense system showed "weak spots" that required a "review of the . . . entire air defense system" in the Soviet Union. The new Soviet ambassador to the United States, Viktor Kompletov, is more conservative than his predecessor.

Despite the indications of increased military and traditionalist assertiveness on national security issues since Shevardnadze's resignation, Gorbachev and senior officials continue to stress stable relations with the United States. The appointment of Bessmertnykh as foreign minister in January, the dissolution of the military structure of the Warsaw Pact in February, and Gorbachev's references to "our exhausted economy" in March are strong indications that Moscow requires predictable and stable security relations with the West, particularly the United States. During a speech in Minsk in February, Gorbachev endorsed the treaties on strategic and conventional arms as a way to "get out of the arms race." The Supreme Soviet overwhelmingly ratified the treaty on German unity in March, which Bessmertnykh described as "one of the most important treaties of the postwar era, a treaty which brings that era to an end."

Shevardnadze, the architect of that stability and now head of a new liberal think tank in Moscow, argued recently in an interview that there was no turning back on Soviet-U.S. relations. He warned that conservative criticism of Soviet foreign policy contained a "dispute about what our state should be like and how it should live" and called on democratic forces to "unite" and "create a viable alternative" to those trying to "turn our society onto the road leading back to the past." Soviet support for the ambitious UN effort to settle the Gulf war and punish the aggressor and Soviet endorsement of the removal of Saddam Hussein strongly indicates that Moscow wants to stay on the road of continued security cooperation with the United States, the key international policy associated with perestroika. ■

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Converting Military Industries:

A U.S.-Soviet Joint Venture

RICHARD F. CELESTE

The scope of change in the Soviet Union today is mind-boggling. And although the change may be too slow for ordinary Russian citizens lining up for daily necessities or for radical reformers articulating "500-day" visions, its pace is astonishing as well.

In February 1990, I led a delegation of 14 Ohio business people to Moscow and Riga,

Latvia to explore trade opportunities. We were the guests of the mayor of Moscow and the prime minister of Latvia, both senior Communist Party officeholders. Arriving the same evening that the Soviet Parliament responded favorably to President Gorbachev's request to eliminate the primacy of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, we saw the beginning of change. Nevertheless, I returned skeptical of the opportunities for joint enterprise be-



tween U.S. business and Soviet counterparts.

In November 1990—only 10 months later—I returned to Moscow as part of a joint business-academic delegation, sponsored by the Council on Economic Priorities, to meet with Soviet counterparts. Our dialogue focused on the transfer of public investment from military to civilian production in both our nations. In contrast to my earlier visit, this time I was cautiously optimistic.

Tooling up for consumer goods

Today, the Soviet Union is struggling to bring about a virtual industrial revolution, as governments work to shift the focus of the economy from military to civilian production. Some Soviet experts say that military expenditures have constituted 20 to 25 percent of GNP in real terms. Much of those productive resources must be shifted to satisfy huge pent-up consumer demand.

In the United States as well, we are seeing efforts at the state level to come to grips with the impact of shifting patterns of defense spending, as we begin to adjust to a post-Cold War defense budget. In January 1990, Ohio sponsored the first such effort: a study and needs assessment culminating in a conference of 250 small defense contractors. The conference focused specifically on the needs of small businesses that are eager to lower their level of dependency on the military-contract treadmill. Now, several other states have followed their lead.

The Soviet Union is grappling with efforts to bring about four revolutions at once. One is the switch from military to civilian production throughout the economy. The second is a change from a command-administrative economy to one that will be decentralized and market-oriented. The third revolution is a change from a single, all-powerful central government and political party to increasingly assertive republican and local governments led by multi-party coalitions (almost as if the United States were to move from our Constitution back to the Articles of Confederation). And finally, the Soviet Union is changing from a closed society hunkered down behind the Iron Curtain, jamming incoming broadcasts to a vastly more open society in which vigorous debate now occurs on the streets and in the newspapers all across the country.

In one manifestation of this new openness, the Soviets now welcome foreign business delegations at previously high-security military production facilities to talk about the potential for civilian joint ventures using state-of-the-art military and space technology. And on a crisp November morning 10 of us, including senior officials from Digital Equipment and TRW, climbed the already chipped concrete and marble stairs of one of the new buildings in the Almaz defense production conglomerate.

In a small fourth-floor office, we were hosted by academician Boris Bounkin, astrophysicist and senior manager of this far-flung "scientific industrial corporation," which until 1988 was devoting 70 percent of its production to military contracts such as printed circuit boards for SA-10 missiles. For nearly an hour Bounkin and his

top associates described the impact of military-civilian conversion—and that of the other profound changes taking place in this society—upon their enterprise.

In 1988, the Almaz marching orders, handed down from the central planning agency, Gosplan, called for increasing defense contracts from 700 million rubles to 750 million; the very building in which we were sitting was then under construction to increase the manufacturing capacity of the 55,000-person enterprise. Suddenly, Gorbachev announced substantial unilateral Soviet military cuts at the United Nations. No one quarreled with the decision (other than whether the cuts were deep enough). At Almaz, however, they complained of lack of notice.

Military contracts for the enterprise fell immediately to 650 million rubles, then to 580 million rubles in 1990. This year the expectation is for just 500 million rubles of military contracts, representing a cut of one-third from the plan under which Almaz was operating three years ago.

As a consequence, the new plant is still unfinished. Now totally dedicated to civilian production, only 10 percent of its space is utilized, due to lack of product or orders. Almaz executives look forward to producing 200,000 TV sets for Great Britain in 1992, but have only just begun to reconfigure factory space for that production. And they are producing sample circuit boards for UNISYS in place of the old product, which was destined for the SA-10 missiles and is now stacked up under plastic covers gathering dust.

Groping in the dark

To cope with the necessity to switch to civilian production without adequate central government financing or clear-cut direction, the Almaz team contemplates bank-borrowing to finance new production equipment, early retirement to reduce the workforce while retaining highly skilled employees (including some 7,000 scientists and engineers), and management training in Moscow for senior management personnel who need new skills to survive in the new economic environment.

Finally, over tea and coffee, the Almaz senior managers sought almost desperately to invite American interest in the possibility of joint production. "We believe we could produce 16-layer circuit boards for \$20 apiece." "Here is a new-ink jet printer we designed in just six months." "We can make a deal directly without approval from the center or the Russian Republic (talk "state capital") on any non-military product."

Meeting openness with openness

There was a certain messiness and even chaos in the Almaz attempts to move into civilian production. But they left me with general optimism about the capacity for change—not because the obstacles had diminished in the short period between my two visits, but rather because I became convinced that the sweeping changes in the Soviet Union are irreversible. They are unpredictable, yes. But still, the changes are moving irreversibly toward the market, toward civilian goods, toward decen-

tralized political decision-making, and toward participation in the global marketplace.

For joint enterprise between the United States and the Soviet Union to flourish, however, certain steps are essential. On our side, we must offer Most Favored Nation status to the Soviets and provide trade credits or investment guarantees. We must reciprocate the openness on their side with authorization for our own military contractors to welcome Soviet counterparts to their plants and focus on state-of-the-art collaborations. That means further easing COCOM restrictions on the export of high technology as well.

On the Soviet side, they must provide investment guarantees (especially for any large-scale projects) and ensure the opportunity to bring out profits in hard currency. They must invest immediately in telecommunications infrastructure so that phone and fax contacts in that country are prompt and dependable. Perhaps both sides could set aside certain credits (for us, through the Export-Import Bank) to finance joint ventures that expedite conversion of military plants to the civilian sector.

We also should create an International Institute of Conversion Management, under the cooperative auspices of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Science, and based at two or three outstanding business schools in each country. The institute ought to offer both theoretical and hands-on training in new market development (especially exports), product modification and

redesign; technology transfer; cross-cultural understanding; and worker retraining. These are skills certain to be increasingly in demand in both of our nations.

Finally, the profound changes under way in the Soviet Union invite a bold response from our own leadership, as we wrestle with decisions about cuts in our own defense budget. As a means of strengthening the prospects for peace and cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, I believe we should launch a major joint conversion project at the government-to-government level. We could both pledge to devote 1 percent of our respective defense budgets for the next five years to address some shared urgent need. I have in mind, for example, the clean-up of nuclear weapons production sites and the disposal of nuclear waste. Citizens in both nations would be the beneficiaries for generations to come.

Two years ago it was hard to imagine the fall of the Berlin Wall or German reunification. A year ago it was hard to imagine talking to Soviet military contractors about bank loans, early retirement, and contracts for TV sets and circuit boards. Now is the time for bold imagination in our own private investment decisions and in our own public policy initiatives. ■

Richard F. Celeste is former governor of Ohio. He operates Celeste & Sabety Ltd., an international business advisory firm specializing in providing business linkages to world markets.

Human Rights in the Soviet Union:

Using Leverage

ROBERT KUSHEN

President Gorbachev's embrace of traditional conservative power structures in the Soviet Union threatens a rapid deterioration in human rights policy and practice, after a year of generally positive developments.

The year 1990 saw the codification of guarantees of freedom of expression, religion, and association, the expansion of the right to counsel, as well as the comparatively unfettered exercise of rights and freedoms. While the freedom to emigrate remained to be codified into law, emigration proceeded apace, with more than 400,000 people leaving in 1990.

When faced with serious challenges to its authority, however, the Gorbachev government has reacted with repression and violence. In Azerbaidzhan in January 1990, and in Lithuania and Latvia one year later, Soviet troops killed more than 100 civilians and wounded hundreds more in attempts to prevent the dissolution of central government authority. Six months after the passage of a law guaranteeing media freedom, the central government in December 1990 launched a vigorous campaign of media control, which continues to this day and includes censorship, disinformation, and the harassment of independent information sources. Faced with

criticism over the violence in the Baltics, Gorbachev called for a suspension of the law guaranteeing media freedom. Armed with executive powers granted him by a docile and unrepresentative legislature, Gorbachev has issued decrees giving the KGB wide power to conduct warrantless searches and has given the army the power to conduct "anti-crime" patrols, raising the specter of some kind of emergency rule that would suspend civil liberties indefinitely.

The response of the Bush Administration to these and other negative developments in Soviet human rights has been overly cautious, focusing on Moscow-centered quiet diplomacy. But with Eduard Shevardnadze's resignation as foreign minister and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs quickly losing its influence in Soviet politics, the American administration should modify this policy.

Quiet diplomacy

With the exception of recent violence in the Baltic republics, the Bush Administration has pursued a policy of avoiding public criticism of the Soviet Union, preferring behind-the-scenes negotiations through carefully nurtured channels between the State Department and the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The positive contributions of this policy cannot be gainsaid. But still unresolved cases of political prisoners and the repetition of military violence against civilians call into question the wisdom of quiet diplomacy. The Bush Administration failed to criticize the Soviet military invasion of Baku, Azerbaïdzhán, which far surpassed the Vilnius and Riga events in the scope of brutality, and military action was repeated in the Baltics one year later.

The administration must be more willing to use public condemnation to influence Soviet policy. Vocal American criticism of Soviet human rights practices during the height of the Cold War made clear to Soviet leaders that improvement of its human rights record was a predicate for normalization of U.S.-Soviet relations in many spheres, including the economic. And while this policy did not cause an immediate change of course in the Soviet Union, it clearly had an impact on a pragmatic politician like Gorbachev, who embraced the rhetoric of human rights and rule of law in part because he recognized that this was necessary for the Soviet Union to be accepted by the international community of democratic, economically developed nations.

Local governments' mixed record

The American administration must also acknowledge that human rights policy and practice is no longer the exclusive province of the Soviet central government; improvements and abuses are now likely to be the result of actions taken by republican or local government officials. Republican variants of central government laws and practice can be more permissive or more repressive, and many republics ignore central government laws altogether. For example, the ability to freely operate public organizations, newspapers, and religious groups

under the recent All-Union legislation enacted on each topic varies widely according to republic and even city; while the October region in Moscow has allowed civil society to flourish by registering every entity in sight, the Belorussian Republic refuses to register the Belorussian Popular Front, and the Republic of Turkmenia has refused to allow an independent press to develop. Both of the latter are under conservative Communist Party control. But non-Communists are also responsible for local abuses, as in Georgia, where the nationalist non-Communist leadership has made clear its distaste for press freedom.

The central government similarly has lost its monopoly on the use of violence against its citizens. While in Baku, Vilnius, and Riga the central government bears primary responsibility for violence against civilians, in Karabakh, southern Ossetia, and other regions, republican and local forces and policies are also implicated.

As many commentators have recently argued, Gorbachev's central government is no longer the prime mover in the Soviet Union. For American policy to be effective in human rights and other areas, the U.S. administration must forge ties with Republican leaders and maintain contact with independent Republican activists, regardless of the American stand on "sovereignty," "independence," or the legality of the incorporation of certain republics into the Soviet Union. These ties are necessary to ensure reliable sources of information about events in the republics; Soviet (and republican) disinformation is unfortunately alive and well. These ties must reflect more than antipathy to communism; they must be used to criticize, where necessary, tyranny bred by nationalism as well as that bred by communism. And finally, these ties must be used to communicate to the republics the same message that the United States has communicated to the Soviet Union: that political and economic support from the United States and the international community depends on respect for democratic values.

Explicit linkage of improvement in human rights and improvement in economic ties was enshrined by Congress in the Jackson-Vanik legislation regarding emigration. This kind of linkage has proven in hindsight to be simplistic. It would be folly to grant Most Favored Nation status just because the Soviet government tolerates the departure of its citizens, while at the same time the Soviet government shows remarkable equanimity about killing its citizens.

Implicit linkage, however, remains essential for the fulfillment of the human rights agenda. Through a mixture of public and private persuasion, the Soviet government and its constituent parts must be on notice that free trade depends, in part, on free borders, a free press, and free people. ■

Robert Kushen is a lawyer who follows the Soviet Union for Helsinki Watch in New York City.

Glasnost in the Bering Strait

Fixing the Alaskan-Siberian Border

ROBERT B. HOUSTON JR.

Editor's Note:

Next month marks the 250th anniversary of Vitus Bering's exploration of Alaska. Bering, a Dane serving the Russian tsars, was charged in 1728 by Peter the Great with determining whether Siberia was linked to North America. He found that the land masses were separated by a strait, which now bears his name. In June 1741, Bering set out again on the ship St. Peter, with his deputy, Lieutenant Chirikov, commanding the St. Paul. The two ships lost each other in the fog shortly after departure and never linked up again. Bering and Chirikov separately explored the coast of Alaska throughout the summer, and Bering is credited with being the first to report sighting the coast of Alaska.

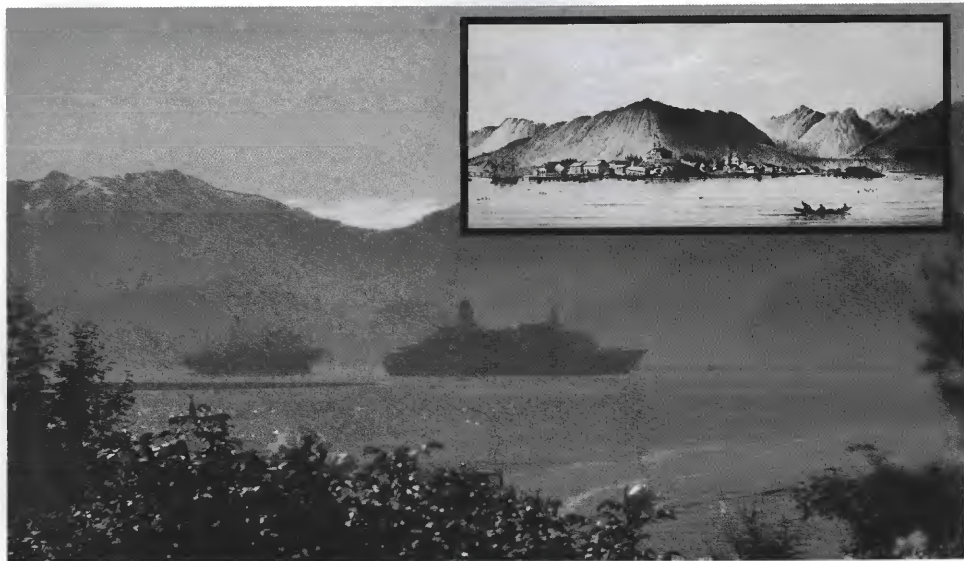
Chirikov's ship returned to Kamchatka before the winter storms. Bering's vessel was wrecked in November, however, on a small Siberian island now known as Bering Island. Here Bering died of scurvy and malnutrition early in December. According to Hector Chevigny's Russian America, most of Bering's crew survived, constructing a new vessel and returning to Petropavlovsk Kamchatka the next spring. The following article examines the historic ties between Russia and Alaska and the effects of a new and little-known boundary agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union.

**"From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic,
an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent"**

—Winston Churchill, 1946

Winston Churchill's famous speech at Fulton, Missouri focused the world's attention on the "Iron Curtain" cutting across the heart of Europe. The collapse of that Iron Curtain in 1989, capped by the dramatic breaching of the Berlin Wall, again drew the world's attention. But the Iron Curtain in Europe was only one of the protective measures the Soviet Union took to shut itself off from the outside. In the 1940s, the Soviets dropped another Iron Curtain, this time across the U.S.-Soviet border in the Bering Strait. This Iron Curtain, too, was raised in 1989, but with little world notice.

As part of the Washington summit of May to June 1990, an agreement was signed between the United States and the Soviet Union with little fanfare, specifying the boundary between Alaska and Siberia. The signing culminated 10 years of negotiations, begun as part of President Carter's energy policy. That policy aimed at limiting U.S. dependence on imported oil not only through conservation but also with increased domestic production. Then planning to sell offshore drilling rights in the Bering Sea, the Carter Administration hoped through the talks to gain clear title to possibly rich seabed oil resources in the Bering Sea. The boundary talks proposal must have puzzled the Russians, since the United States was then trying to



FROM A LITHOGRAPH BY F. S. DUNN

PHOTO BY ROBERT HANSEN

Sitka, Alaska has a deep, calm harbor for large cruise ships. Inset, lithograph of Sitka, capital of Russian America, ca. 1860.

"punish" the Soviet Union for invading Afghanistan by cutting back on Soviet fishing in Alaskan waters, among other things.

The 1990 agreement—which requires ratification—does not change ownership of any land area. It does make definite how marine and seabed resources are divided.

Close cousins

The 1867 boundary was a geo-political oddity. It divided the Inuit population of Siberia from the related Inuits of Alaska. It even split Big and Little Diomed Islands, which in recent geologic past had been connected by a sand spit and in 1867 were inhabited by closely related families. Furthermore, the line was drawn so that the two countries' territorial seas overlapped, even though both countries claimed only a 3-mile territorial sea and many possibilities existed for the dividing line. Another oddity: the 1867 boundary gave the United States St. Lawrence Island, which is closer to Siberia than to Alaska and whose people were linked with the Eskimos of Cape Chaplin in Siberia.

Early in 1917, 50 years after the United States purchased Alaska, American Professor Frank Golder was permitted to review tsarist files at the Russian Foreign Ministry up to the year 1870. Intending to prepare a list of American historical materials found there, he also used the opportunity to examine in detail documents on the sale of Alaska. Golder concluded that the first important advocate of the sale of Alaska was Grand Duke Constantine. Wanting to end the many headaches arising from the operations of the Russian American Co., Constantine in 1857 proposed selling all company territories to the United States. The Russians probably saw

sale to the United States as blocking unwanted British penetration of the North Pacific. This proposal, if adopted, would have put on the block not only what the United States bought 10 years later, but also the Kurile Islands. Golder notes that Russian naval officers opposed selling all Russian American Co. territories, arguing for keeping the Americans further away from the motherland. Serious Russian-American negotiations began after the American Civil War. Where to draw the boundary line was purely an internal Russian argument: the United States did not quibble about the territories the Russians offered, only about the price. Nor did congressional debate focus on the location of the boundary; the greatest congressional hurdle to completing the purchase of Alaska was instead a turf battle between the House of Representatives and the Senate. When President Andrew Johnson asked for the \$7.2 million specified in the convention as payment to Russia, some in the House charged that the prior Senate ratification of the convention violated the constitutional requirement that the House originate all appropriation bills.

After the United States recognized the Soviet regime in 1933, the new U.S. embassy in Moscow sought the same opportunity to explore Russian reasoning for selling Alaska. The Russians finally agreed in 1937. George Kennan, a young secretary at the Moscow embassy, looked at the tsarist papers on the sale of Alaska, like Golder, under watchful Russian eyes. Kennan sent back copies of the most relevant documents.

Laissez-faire

Whatever its origin and peculiarities, the 1867 bound-



In the late 1970s, the leaders of the 30,000 Eskimos in Alaska, 25,000 in Canada and 40,000 in Greenland began to organize to advance Eskimo rights. The first of a series of Inuit circumpolar conferences met at Barrow, Alaska in 1977. One cause the conference espoused was ending the isolation of the several thousand Inuit in Siberia ... in 1989, the Soviet Union proposed that native visits resume under essentially the same conditions as prevailed in 1938.

ary made little difference in the real world. Neither party to the 1867 convention did much to enforce it for at least 50 years. American whalers continued to hunt in Siberian waters until World War I, when whale pods diminished to the point of unprofitability. They often took Siberian natives on board as cheap labor. Americans mined gold in Siberia at least as late as 1921. American traders operated freely in northeast Siberia until the Bolsheviks got control of most of the coast in 1923 to 1924. At least one American trader, with Bolshevik blessing, continued until 1929 to transport consumer goods from Seattle and Alaska to remote areas of Siberia to exchange for furs. When Moscow cut this trade in 1930, opening a centralized yearly fur auction in Leningrad, Siberian coastal villages lost their direct supply of consumer goods from the U.S. West Coast Cutters of the U.S. Revenue Marine Service (the Coast Guard after 1915) were sent into the Bering Sea on patrol duty beginning in 1870 as an early means for Washington to project its authority in remote parts of Alaska. The cutters visited Siberian villages almost as often as Alaskan ones, distributing rewards to natives who aided distressed American vessels, purchasing from Siberian natives reindeer for introduction into Alaska, and mediating quarrels between American traders and Siberian officials. Foremost among these ships was the cutter Bear under its redoubtable captain, Michael Healy.

Even after the Bolsheviks took full control of Siberia in the mid-1920s, the United States hoped that American gold miners could work there again. When the United States recognized the Soviet government, in 1933, Ambassador Bullett pressed the Soviets to readmit American miners to Siberia. The Soviets turned down Bullett's request in 1934.

The penetration of Europeans into the Bering Strait area in the 18th century stimulated among the native populations a demand for consumer goods. This caused a considerable development of trade between the native peoples on both sides of Bering Strait. Before American traders took over, native traders were moving Alaskan furs to Siberia to exchange for such consumer goods as tobacco products. From 1867 until just before World War II, the native peoples of the Bering Strait area continued to cross the boundary freely.

Cutting family ties

Then, the Soviet Union decided to limit the movement

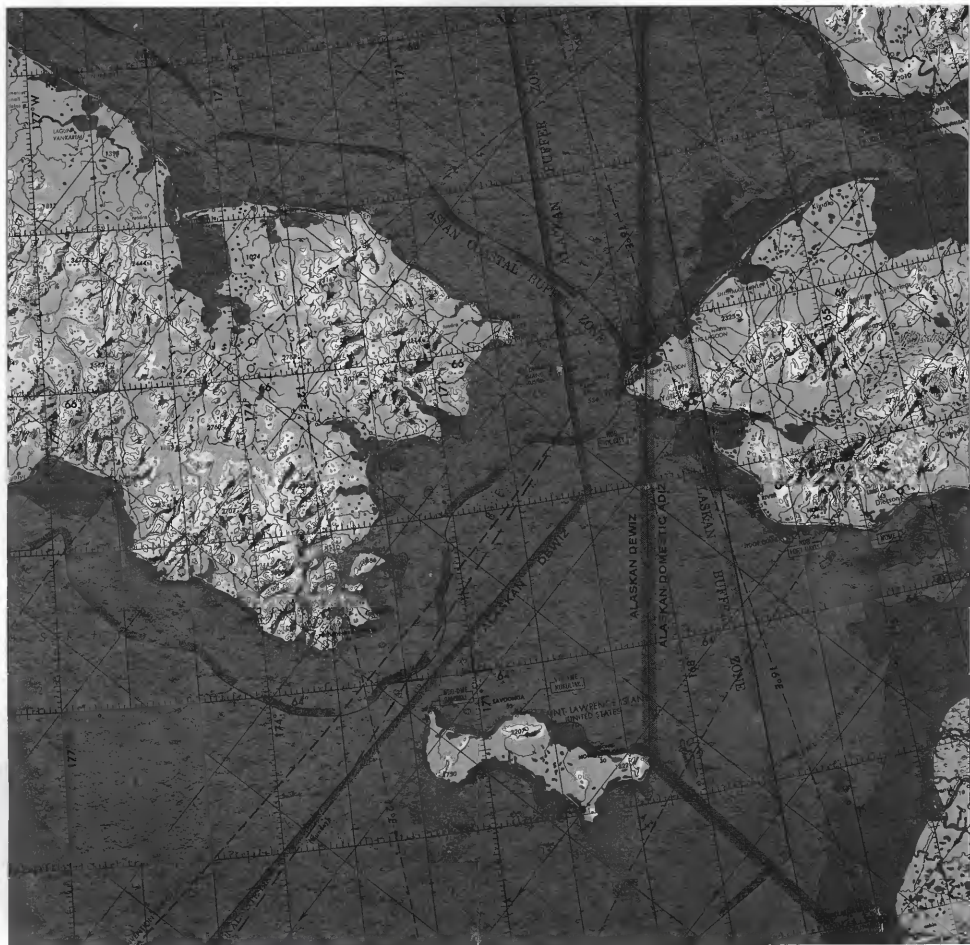
of native peoples across the border. On February 7, 1938, the Soviet Embassy complained to the State Department about Alaskan Eskimos coming to the coast of Chukotia every summer from St. Lawrence and Little Diomedé islands. The Soviet complaint centered on the visitors' sale of skins and crafts and purchase of consumer goods. The Soviets proposed limiting such visitors to 100 per year, and asked that they be documented by U.S. authorities. Although the United States found it difficult to arrange to document the Alaskan Eskimos, it finally accepted the Soviet proposal. Native visits remained possible for another 10 years, although slowed by the Japanese invasion of the Aleutians.

In 1948 the Soviet Union informed the State Department that it was terminating the 1938 arrangements for visits by Alaskan Eskimos to Chukotia. Word of the cancellation came too late for a group of about 30 persons from

Little Diomedé. In June, the group had embarked on a traditional summer visit to friends and relatives on Soviet territory. They were held by the Soviets on Big Diomedé for more than two months. Also at the end of the 1940s, the Soviet Union began to transfer the Big Diomedé Eskimos to the Soviet mainland. Moscow closed a 25-kilometer deep strip along the coast of Chukotia, including the town of Provideniya. The Iron Curtain descended across the length of Bering Strait.

Thereafter, the only meetings between Siberian and Alaskan Eskimos took place at Easter along the international boundary between Big and Little Diomedé demarcated on the ice by poles with flags put up by the Soviet military. Soviet authorities stopped even these visits after a 1975 American press article stated that Soviet soldiers were turning their backs on this fraternization. Native Alaskans did not give up hope of re-establishing contacts with their Inuit brethren in Siberia. They criticized Greenpeace's 1983 raid on the milk farm on the Chukot coast as likely to increase Soviet paranoia and delay renewal of cross-border visits.

In the late 1970s, the leaders of the 30,000 Eskimos in Alaska, 25,000 in Canada and 40,000 in Greenland began to organize to advance Eskimo rights. The first of a series of Inuit circumpolar conferences met at Barrow, Alaska in 1977. One cause the conference espoused was ending the isolation of the several thousand Inuit in Siberia. Efforts to this end were finally



rewarded in 1989, when the Soviet Union proposed that native visits resume under essentially the same conditions as prevailed in 1938.

But not only the native populations were affected by the border tensions. The Soviet Navy seized an Alaskan supply vessel, the *Frieda K.*, in Bering Strait in 1984 for allegedly violating Soviet waters. In the mid-1980s, the Soviet Union and the United States seized fishing vessels operating with permission of the other country in the Bering Sea.

The Gorbachev factor

After Mikhail Gorbachev delivered a speech at Vladivostok on July 28, 1986 on his policy in the Pacific, his more relaxed foreign policy began to show up in the Alaska-Siberia region. In the summer of 1987, for example, former IBM Chairman and former Ambassador to Moscow Thomas J. Watson Jr. was granted

permission to fly his private Learjet across Siberia to Alaska over a route he had flown in World War II for the Army Air Corps. In 1988, at the Reagan-Gorbachev summit, the Soviets agreed that American fishermen could enter the formerly off-limits Siberian port of Provideniya. The Soviet Union won brownie points by sending an icebreaker to help liberate two gray whales trapped off Point Barrow in 1988, and an oil skimmer to Prince William Sound in 1989 to help clean up the Exxon Valdez oil spill. In 1989, the Soviets accepted an old American idea for an international peace park straddling Bering Strait. Moscow also for the first time allowed tourist ship's with mostly Americans aboard to visit the remote Siberian coast.

Credit for lowering tension across the Bering Strait does not belong to national leaders alone. Alaskan officials have established direct contacts with their Soviet opposite numbers in Magadan. Nome has devel-

oped a special relationship with the town of Provideniya. Stores on Nome's Front Street have Cyrillic signs in windows. Alaskans persuaded the Soviet Union to permit an Alaska Airlines 737 in June 1988 to fly from Anchorage to Provideniya by way of Nome. The trip, ostensibly for Alaskan Eskimos to visit their Siberian relatives, included many others. Alaskans invited Siberians to pay return visits, one in September 1988 and another in February 1989. Nome-based Bering Air, which in 1989 received Federal Aviation Administration approval for charter flights to Provideniya, made more than 100 such flights in 1990. At the end of 1990, Anchorage-based Alaskan Airways announced that thrice weekly flights would begin in June 1991 between Anchorage, Magadan, and Khabarovsk.

In contrast to the mega-deals large American firms typically work out with the Moscow authorities, Alaskan entrepreneurs have sought out small, personal ties with Siberia, establishing, for example, a plant making sausage from reindeer meat and one producing batteries from local lead. More than one Alaskan is working on mining Siberian gold.

Avenues for growth

While the 1990 summit may have finally fixed the border, Alaskan-Siberian economic relations remain in flux. The United States is poised, for example, to develop the region's oil resources, once the boundary agreement is ratified. In 1984, the Department of the Interior granted oil leases in the Navarin Basin on tracts outside the maximum area claimed by the Soviet Union. Money bid on tracts claimed by the Soviet Union was initially put into escrow, but returned to the bidders in December 1988, when there were still no clear prospects for a boundary agreement. If the agreement is ratified, a future sale offer will no doubt include tracts in the formerly disputed areas, in line with Bush Administration proposals to develop more domestic oil production.

While no commercial oil production has begun from the Navarin Basin tracts leased in 1984, this is not to say that no worthwhile strikes have been made; drillers are notoriously close-mouthed about their finds. And American companies may have a chance to develop oil resources on the Soviet side of the agreed boundary, in



Left: Captain and Mrs. Whitesides of the trading vessel *Nevarch*, on the deck of the Coast Guard Cutter *Bear*, after their rescue from ice near Bearing Strait, in the 1890s. Above: Native houses on the steep cliffs of King Island, 1913, from a photograph collection of Lomen Brothers, a Nome firm formerly active in reindeer herding and in trading with Siberia.

keeping with Gorbachev's policy of seeking outside help for the ailing Soviet oil and gas industry.

Alaska has developed relationships with its neighbors across the Bering Strait, Magadan and the Chukot Autonomous Okrug, that reflect shared conditions and probably psychological as well as physical distance from the national capitals. As centrifugal forces in the Soviet Union gained strength following the Russian Republic's declaration of sovereignty on June 20, 1990, Magadan and Chukotka (both part of the Russian Republic) began to show signs of wanting to loosen their own ties to the center. The Chukchis declared themselves autonomous and sought local control of their reindeer and fish resources. Magadan and Chukotka signed preliminary contracts with an American oil company active at Prudhoe Bay in Alaska allowing exploration and development of oil sources both on land and offshore. If the Soviet Union continues on its path of liberalization, independent contacts between Alaska and Siberia, artificially cut in the 19th century, should continue to flourish. ■

Robert B. Houston Jr. is a retired Foreign Service officer whose last foreign assignment was as counselor for science and technology in Moscow.

DIPLOMATS IN HISTORY: JOHN C. SUNDBERG



Editor's Note: The Journal is grateful to Foreign Service officer Peter Eicher for the following historical dispatch and introductory note.

IT'S NEVER BEEN EASY TO SERVE IN BAGHDAD

Dispatches from U.S. Consul in Baghdad John C. Sundberg to Assistant Secretary of State Edwin F. Uhl, 1894.

The American public followed with tremendous interest the difficulties faced recently by American diplomats in Baghdad. Less generally known, however, are the problems faced by their predecessors a century earlier. The United States opened its first consulate in Baghdad in January 1889. Consul John Henry Haynes traveled overland by caravan from Constantinople to Alexandretta [Iskenderun] to reach his post, a journey of over three months. Haynes was captivated by the ancient splendors of Mesopotamia; after a little over a year as consul, he resigned to join the University of Pennsylvania's archaeological excavations in the region. Haynes was replaced by John Sundberg, a physician who had immigrated to San Francisco from his native Norway. Sundberg chose the ocean route to Baghdad, traveling by steamer to Hong Kong then to India. From Calcutta, he reported that he would be delayed several weeks, because his wife had contracted pneumonia, leading to premature childbirth, while sailing around Singapore and through the Straits of Malacca. From Calcutta, the Sundbergs traversed India by train then took passage on a boat to Basra. Sundberg had his first run-in with local authorities when he stepped off the boat. A lazy and officious customs inspector left him and his still-weak wife standing in the desert sun for two hours for no apparent reason. In order to get action, Sundberg reported,

he had not only to pull the man's beard but also to twist it. Sundberg's official dispatches from Baghdad provide a fascinating insight into aspects of life in the region a century ago. The selections below provide glimpses of some of the problems and issues with which our early consuls in Baghdad were faced.

•••••

EPIDEMIC

Baghdad, June 20, 1894

Sir:

I beg to report that since the flood of which I wrote in dispatch No. 26, dated May 10, began to subside, a malignant and very fatal fever has prevailed in the city and suburbs, more especially among the *fellahs* (tillers of the soil) down along the river; and these poor people are left to die without the aid of doctor or medicine. Having lost all their crops, I also fear the survivors of the fever will soon be starving. I learned only yesterday of this sad state of affairs, and this morning, before sun rise, I embarked in a *kuffah* (a circular boat made of wicker work and coated with bitumen) armed with two ounces of quinine, some calomel, Dovers powder and Epsom salts, for a reconnoitering tour among the huts of the *fellahs* with which the banks of both sides of the river, for thirty or forty miles down, are thickly dotted. About four miles down I landed, and in the first court yard I looked into, I saw scattered all over and mixed up with donkeys, buffaloes, dogs and chickens, heaps of filthy rags, around which millions of flies held carnival, and

which when stirred, disclosed each a human being. I salaamed and enquired about their health, and was told they were nearly all sick. I then said that I was a physician and had come to give them medicine, upon which they set up a cry of lamentation, saying they had no money with which to pay. Evidently the word physician was to them synonymous with highway robber or tax collector. Upon being told that I would treat them not for money but for Allah's sake, the sound of their voices changed to shouts of jubilation. Alas that their momentary hopes and rejoicings should be so hopeless! The fever, of paludal origin, as the surroundings fully showed, was mostly of a continued type, though in some cases intermittent. As soon as the purpose of my visit was known, crowds began to gather from neighboring huts begging me to come and see their sick, and I continued my visits, giving each adult 20 grains of quinine with other remedies according to needs, as long as my stock held out. From what I could gather, the mortality during the past week had been very high, many dying after only one day's illness, others holding out three to five days. The misery I saw, no one who has not practised medicine in the Orient, and among the poor during epidemics, can have any conception of, and I was told that it was the same as far as the river bank was settled.

I walked home again, and everywhere were stagnant pools of green slimy water, emitting a stench which even I, who have been toughened in such matters, could hardly stand. A caravan of Persian pilgrims bound for Kerbelah and Nedjef, holy shrines

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venerated by the Shiah sect of Moham-medans, was just arriving, and many of the mules were loaded with coffins containing corpses that had been dead for months, some perhaps for years. The immigration of defunct Persians having just been reopened, many thousand corpses will pass through

*During the recent inunda-
tion most of the cemeteries
which completely surround
Baghdad were under water,
and the dead had to be buried
wherever a spot of elevated
ground could be found outside
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graves were opened at night by
robbers for the sake of the
clothes the corpses had on.*

Baghdad this summer for their final resting place. It is a source of both revenue and pestilence.

During the recent inundation most of the cemeteries which completely surround Baghdad were under water, and the dead had to be buried wherever a spot of elevated ground could be found outside the walls; and I am told that the graves were opened at night by robbers for the sake of the clothes the corpses had on. The graves of the poor are always thus plundered. That this is a means of spreading contagion will be readily understood. But the fear of having the graves plundered led, more than at other times, to surreptitious interments in the cellars of the dwelling houses—a common practice during epidemics.

During the feast of the sacrifice which began on the evening of the 13th (the 9th of the month Zil-Hyjah, the last month of the Mohammedan year, which is eleven days shorter than ours) probably not less than 20,000 sheep were sacrificed, besides buffaloes and camels. This wholesale slaughter, which is done with barbarous cruelty, will not

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improve the sanitary condition. Last year it was followed by an epidemic of homicides which preceded the outbreak of cholera.

Great floods, such as we have witnessed this year, are usually, so the health inspector as well as other old citizens inform me, followed by the plague, and a visitation of this dreaded scourge is expected next winter, if not sooner.

If I had a large supply of quinine and other remedies, I might be able to save the lives of some of the fever sufferers; but with no salary and but a trifling income from fees, what can I do? I have given two ounces of quinine today to about fifty patients; but who will give tomorrow or the day after, and who will help the many hundreds that I cannot reach? Shall we shut our eyes and ears and hearts, and let our fellow beings perish without an effort to save?

I have the Honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant

JOHN C. SUNDBERG

~*~*~*

SLAVERY

Baghdad, July 9, 1894

Sir:

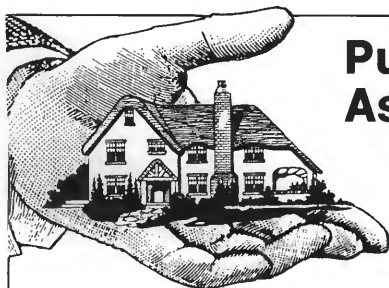
Although slavery has theoretically been abolished in Turkey, and slave trade is now forbidden, practically, they continue to flourish and will probably so continue, as long as the Mohammedan religion prevails. Slaves, it is true, are no longer bought and sold openly in the market places, but nearly all prominent men, both in Baghdad and Bassorah [Basra], own domestic slaves, and black eunuchs still guard the harems and profit by love intrigues. The greater number of slaves are carried from Africa across the Red Sea to Jeddah, where they are

sold to pilgrims and brought by them overland through Central Arabia, which is yet the favorite route for pilgrims to Mecca, though many now go by sea, several steamers leaving Bassorah every year. Some slave dhows land their cargo at Muscat, whence the slaves are carried either by land or coasting craft to Bassorah, care being taken to avoid British cruisers and also the Persian war ship, the "Persepolis." If a slaver is boarded, however, the cargo will nearly always claim to be the crew and their wives, and the vessel is allowed to proceed unmolested. Many of the Arab slavers fly the French flag. Circassian slaves for the harems are brought from Constantinople, Trebizond or Erzroou [Erzurum].

I have the Honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant

JOHN C. SUNDBERG



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BOOKS



Photo: Douglas/World Wide Photos

A rainy day in Skanderberg Square in Albania's capital, Tirana

Albania's Awakening

ALBANIA: A SOCIALIST MAVERICK

By Elez Biberaj, Westview Press, 1990,
\$35.50 hardcover

Reviewed by Larry W. Roeder Jr.

This is the best book in print on Albania, and now, with the recent re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Tirana in March, it has become an important one for business people and policy-makers. After years of ignoring this small Balkan republic, the United States is beginning to take note of Albania's mineral wealth and strategic geographical position. Perhaps more immediately important, Albania's manifest instability could sweep the country into a Romania-style revolution. Whether change comes through violent means or peaceful evolution, some degree of democratization and economic reform are certainly on the

way. For these reasons, American diplomats and business people must understand the winds that move Albania in order to respond in a constructive manner. This book provides a good primer.

Why is Albania changing? The answer is found in chapter five of Biberaj's book and is a clue to future policy direction. "No issue seems to have preoccupied the post-Hoxha leadership more than the economy, particularly . . . reversing the effects of decades of mismanagement. Albanians know how their economy stacks up against those of the West. They know about Eastern Europe, the collapse of communism, and why the collapse occurred. It is commonly believed that the standard of living is unacceptable, and that the Communist revolution is to blame. As Biberaj points out, even back in the 1970s, the leadership felt pressured by a public who wanted "cultural liberalization, economic reforms, and a more realistic foreign policy posture."

Except for the fact that Albania owes virtually nothing, the state of the economy reads like a summary of communism's failures. Add to that Biberaj's observation that Albania is overly xenophobic and possesses shockingly few educated people, antiquated management techniques, poorly designed factories, and ancient equipment. All of these Biberaj observations illustrate why the following has happened:

- This is Europe's worst economy. It's getting worse.
- Per capita income is only \$800.
- Agriculture and industry can't keep up with demand.
- Housing is scarce and of abysmal quality.
- There isn't enough meaningful employment.
- Meat and other foods are rationed.
- Albanian products are usually uncompetitive in the world market and don't meet domestic demands.
- The technology, training, and money needed to improve the situation are lacking.

To turn around the results of decades of authoritarian mismanagement will require reform in every sector of life, and that will happen only if the government gives the process the green light. Biberaj notes that Ramiz Alia has become the government's only genuine reformer since the imposition of communism after World War II and the one who wants western connections. Being the impelling force behind normalization is a risky proposition in a nation that threw off a history of malignant foreign domination before the war and a series of less than happy alliances afterward: Yugoslavia, 1945 to 1948; the Soviet Union, 1948 to 1961, and China, 1962 to 1978. But is it too late? As Biberaj asks, can the leadership "devise policies that will somehow enable the Albanian People's Liberation Party (APL) to gain the confidence of the population?"

I believe that it must, or else the

government will not last another five years. Alia seems to agree, and the West is investing—especially Italy, Germany, Greece, France, and Turkey, followed by Austria and Japan. They and others will be commercial competitors to any American enterprise. The later American firms wait to enter the market, the harder it will be to gain a foothold. But even if a nation's leader wants change, investors need to know whether he can carry it off. UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar visited in mid-May and noted that the leadership wants "to move further along the path of reform and show greater flexibility in the human rights sphere." Alia himself said, "The democratization process . . . is irreversible."

The process is irreversible, but the definition of democracy is in doubt, and there does not seem to be a clear blueprint for the future. For example, though some farmers can now sell their surplus (a change), the private sector is limited in that Tirana has yet to acknowledge the merits of a true market economy. That's confusing. That is also central to the problem—but it is also a clue to where we can help. The West must convince Alia his best interests and those of Albania lie in the direction of Poland and Hungary, despite the political risks associated with economic dislocation.

Biberaj believes that like any dictator or oligarch, Alia will be reluctant to go to a market economy unless he thinks his regime is not threatened. But Biberaj also correctly points out that the alternative is social upheaval. The United States cannot ethically guarantee his security, but the government can show Alia how to improve the standard of living and people's perceptions of their govern-

ment. That could provide the sense of security he needs. After all, only 4 percent of the population belongs to the party. A powerful security force and no democratic heritage have inhibited organized opposition; but as riots in the summer of 1990 graphically illustrated, the desire for reform may soon become stronger than the ability to effectively use billy clubs and rifles.

Biberaj shows that Albania's current regime realizes salvation lies not in isolation but in the world community. For example, Albania has established diplomatic relations with the United States, the Soviet Union, and seven members of NATO—Western nations which could hold the key to Albania's economic salvation. It also wants to join

Being the impelling force behind normalization is a risky proposition in a nation that threw off a history of malignant foreign domination before the war and a series of less than happy alliances afterward: Yugoslavia, 1945 to 1948; the Soviet Union, 1948 to 1961, and China, 1962 to 1978. But is it too late?

the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In October 1990, Tirana hosted the Balkan Foreign Ministers' Conference. It is a member of numerous international bodies, mostly connected with the United Nations, and is exploring reopening relations with the United Kingdom. But despite these positive actions, Albania will resist overtly tying economic assistance to political change. I believe that attitude must change.

Time may be running out. Since this book's publication, Ismail Kadare, Albania's most prominent writer, defected to France, in October 1990. Small groups of Albanians are illegally crossing the border, though they risk being shot. About 5,000 people tried to seek asylum in western embassies in July in an event that might easily have led to civil war if it had been handled as the Chinese handled Tiananmen, which almost happened. The danger in Albania, like Romania, is that the lack of organized opposition may leave no

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BOOKS

alternative besides chaos, should dissatisfaction erupt into civil disorder.

What can we do to help? First, we can provide economic assistance, which will cost less than one might think, due to Albania's small size and population. The first priority is agriculture. There will be a food crisis by the end of the decade if it is not managed.

Government aid can be supplemented by the Albanian-American community. They are able and willing to provide capital and expertise in tourism, restaurants, construction, investments, etc. They know the language and customs. Another alternative source is the international banking community. This will be difficult, given historic fears of foreign domination, but the exercise will be healthy, given there will be a demand for accurate statistics for each critical area.

Alia needs to seek agreements allowing U.S. joint ventures or cooperative efforts to develop tourism, housing, chromium and petrochemicals, and small industry, as well as training in basic principles of management and labor utilization. The development opportunities are multiple and varied: in agriculture, investment in equipment and proper management could raise yields. A wealth of beaches, monuments, and ancient ruins could attract tourists and hard currency, but success will require overhauling the industry. Resources in chromium, copper, and other minerals and metals could ultimately earn much hard currency for Albania. But production and quality are down. The country needs modern extraction and processing technology, new management techniques, and a modern mineral survey. In heavy industry, factories must be torn down and replaced with new facilities, while employees are trained and some are laid off. Finally, in education, Biberaj makes the shocking observation that, as reported by Alia himself, "about half the managers of economic sectors have only secondary education." Functional illiteracy is rampant and a major impediment to development. Those who are educated (especially economists, who were often imprisoned

or executed in the mid-1970s) are afraid to speak their minds. Tirana needs to develop trust in ideas—never an easy concept to swallow in an ideological setting.

An international commodities economist in the Office of East-West Trade, Larry Roeder recently produced a research paper for the Economic Bureau's "East European Committee" entitled "Prospects for Change in Albania." Views expressed here are his and not necessarily those of the Department of State.

Phoenix Rising

ASHES TO ASHES: THE PHOENIX PROGRAM AND THE VIETNAM WAR.

By Dale Andrade, Lexington Books/D.C. Heath, 1990, \$22.95 hardcover

Reviewed by Sol Schindler

We are in the midst of a spate of books on the Vietnam war, all of improving quality. Sufficient time has elapsed for a certain amount of objectivity to have set in, and it is no longer sufficient to be an advocate or an activist. Professionally sound research is expected.

In *Ashes to Ashes*, the author gives us that. He does not set out to explode the schoolboy notion that the Phoenix program consisted of a gang of over-achieving assassins who knocked off Viet Cong administrators. Although he does address this myth, his main purpose is to give as accurate an account as possible of the convoluted birth and nurture of the combined Vietnamese-American intelligence effort to displace the Viet Cong-South Vietnamese Communist-infrastructure. By doing so, he is able to shed further light on the American war effort in Vietnam, the strategy employed, and what was and was not valid.

In the early 1960s, when this country came to the aid of South Vietnam, U.S. advisers began to train the Army of the Republic of Viet Nam (ARVN) so that it could repel an invasion from the north. Internal intelligence and security were

left to the Vietnamese government and its various police forces. As the Viet Cong insurgency grew, it was inevitable that the army would be called upon to play a major role. When it failed in its mission, it was reinforced—sometimes superseded—by American military. The strategy then was that U.S. forces, sometimes with ARVN cooperation, would take care of the VC strike forces and whatever North Vietnamese Army (NVA) battalions had infiltrated the south. Large forces would handle large forces, while the police—national and provincial—would handle internal security. After a time, it became apparent that little progress was being made on rural pacification and that the strategy was flawed.

The author, along with numerous critics, thinks that the American effort was misdirected. He points to other Communist insurgencies in Asia, such as those in Malaya and the Philippines, which were put down through efficient police work, albeit with army help. He

believes, along with many others, that American advisory efforts from the beginning should have been directed toward counter-insurgency (i.e., police-intelligence) efforts rather than conventional army training.

It was not until 1967 that appropriate American resources were assigned to internal intelligence, while it was the Tet offensive of 1968 that finally forced the Vietnamese government into active cooperation; thus, when the Phoenix program began in earnest, it was a post-Tet phenomenon, and rather late in the day.

Phoenix was directed against the VC political cadre, what the military called VC infrastructure, as distinct from the VC armed forces. It was effective immediately for a variety of reasons, the most important probably being the high casualty rate the VC had suffered in the Tet offensive. When the survivors viewed the results, no permanent gains on the ground, losses so heavy that

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The author's objectivity and attention to detail are exemplary, and it is from such professionally written and researched works as this that we may someday gain a full picture of how the Vietnam War was conducted.

replacements could come only from the north, with subsequent control passing to the north, their morale plummeted. Defections increased dramatically. Interrogation, usually under American direction, became far more professional, and considerably more information was retrieved, leading to the capture of more Viet Cong who supplied further information leading to further captures. It was a welcome snowballing effect. Thus, by the time of the 1972 Easter offensive, which was conducted almost entirely by North Vietnamese troops, the VC was no longer a significant fighting force. It had lost a large proportion of its combatants, while its administrative cadre continued to defect right up until

the final battle of 1975. Ironically, the final battle was fought between two conventionally structured armies with virtually no guerrilla involvement.

Andrade does not claim the Phoenix program was without failings. There were many, most caused by bureaucratic sluggishness, both American and Vietnamese. In a way, the organizational problems the Phoenix program suffered mirrored organizational problems in the entire American effort, thus making the author's detailed analysis particularly enlightening.

For the record, it might be worth citing some of the figures Andrade gives us. From 1968 to the end of 1972, Phoenix claimed to have neutralized 81,740 Viet

Cong (the total does not include those VC sentenced to jail for less than a year from 1969 onwards). Out of this total, 22,013 rallied to the American side or defected, 33,358 were captured or detained, and 26,369 were killed. It should be noted that most of the ralliers were captured before their change of heart. Regardless of the validity of these numbers, the result is impressive.

The author's objectivity and attention to detail are exemplary, and it is from such professionally written and researched works as this that we may someday gain a full picture of how the Vietnam War was conducted.

Sol Schindler is a retired Foreign Service officer who writes on international affairs. He served with USIA in Vietnam from 1966 through 1967.

Quest for China


WANDERING KNIGHTS: CHINA
LEGACIES, LIVED AND RECALLED

By Robert W. Barnett, M.E. Sharpe, 1990,
\$24.95 hardcover

Reviewed by Pamela Baldinger

More than 2,000 years ago, China's master historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien wrote in his *Historical Records* about a group of men who were "True to their words, resolute in their endeavors, honest in their commitments, and indifferent to their own personal safety." In this ambitious, thoughtful book, retired diplomat Robert Barnett weaves together his search for essential "Chineseness" with the biography of a Chinese friend and scholar to present his vision of a modern "wandering knight."

Born and raised in China, Barnett was stationed in Kunming during World War II as an adviser to General Chennault. There, Barnett met the historian Sun Yutang, with whom he studied the Chinese classics. After the war ended, Barnett lost touch with Sun for nearly 40 years. Then, in the early 1980s, the two resumed contact when Sun came to the United States to pursue his research. The resumption of their friendship—



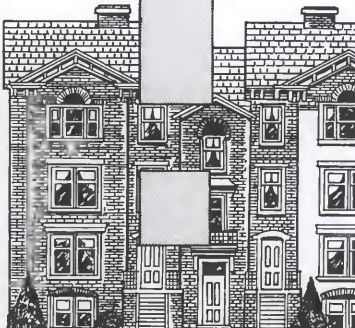
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and the opportunity it provided to examine Chinese history—provide the basis of this book.

Well and engagingly written, *Wandering Knights* will especially interest China hands, most of whom have had Sun-like mentors and pondered many of the same questions Barnett does, such as what constitutes "Chineseness." When Barnett directly puts forth his ideas to Sun, asking him, for example, to discuss the concept of human rights in China, the responses are intriguing and timely. Sun tells Barnett that American concepts of human rights are nowhere present in Chinese history, and that "The Chinese do not know very well what Americans are talking about when they discuss human rights."

Unfortunately, Barnett never directly raises with Sun an important issue that seems to greatly irritate him: Sun's lack of curiosity about what it is like to be American. Although Barnett protests that describing his experiences as a victim of McCarthy-era hearings would be a "wasteful distraction" to Sun's recollections, he nevertheless includes 12 pages of his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee. The implied parallels between his interrogations and those Sun endured from Red Guards are noteworthy, but Sun's trials get far less detailed coverage, and he is never given a chance to comment. In the final analysis, Barnett comes across as trying a bit too hard to gain sympathy for his own trials.

Readers less interested in such concepts as "Chineseness" will still find the biography of Sun's life fascinating. Raised in Tianjin, Sun represents the last generation of Chinese educated in the classics—he did not learn vernacular Chinese until he was 15. Barnett retells Sun's story skillfully, giving the reader a clear sense not only of the man but of the major forces that have shaped modern Chinese history. Whether or not one can consider Sun a "wandering knight," his story is both touching and compelling. ■

Pamela Baldinger is editor of the China Business Review in Washington, D.C.

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What Your Boss Wants You to Do, but Won't Tell You

JANE F. BONIN

The Foreign Service is still in some ways an old, tradition-laden organization, replete with baroque forms and largely unarticulated expectations.

A strong esprit de corps gives the Foreign Service a performance edge over many other organizations. Yet the service, unlike the military, seldom passes on to recruits in any systematic fashion the attitudes and codes of behavior by which it lives. Diplomacy is of necessity a conservative business, and the Foreign Service still holds to the old idea that a gentleman of the Foreign Service doesn't have to be told; he just knows. The democratization of the service doesn't seem to have changed that. Senior officers often expect new employees to intuitively adopt the desired behavior and attitudes. Thus, recruits on their first tours are held to a standard that many don't even know exists. This paper, prepared after consulting a number of ambas-

sadors and deputy chiefs of mission, is intended to unveil the mysteries.

Ambassadors and DCMs want you to:

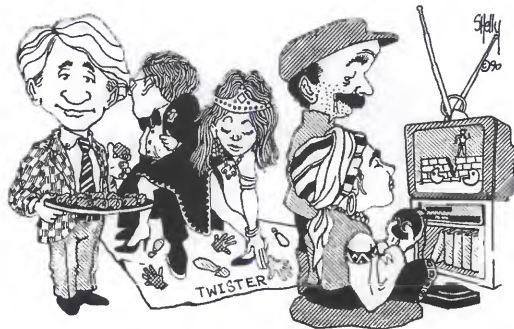
- **Do your job well**

Of course. Sometimes they even say this one out loud. What they don't say is that this is the floor, not the ceiling. Doing a good job, even a brilliant job, is no guarantee of success in the Foreign Service. As David Hare in his play *Plenty* has a character say of the British Foreign Service: "Everyone here is bright; everyone is diligent." To distinguish yourself from all the other bright and diligent

folks, you'll have to do the rest of the things on this list. Another expectation is that you'll hit the ground running, be ready to work without much training. There's not a lot of on-the-job training in the field.

- **Understand and accept the chain of command**

People who came of age amid the relative egalitarianism of the 1960s and afterwards sometimes have problems with this one. Attention to protocol in the Foreign Service is an imperative. One always says "Sir" or "Ma'am" to ambassadors, stands up when they come into the room, stays at parties until they leave, etc. If you can't stomach deferring to people who rank you, the service may not be the right business for you. It helps to remember that it's the rank and not the person you're expected to defer to. A note of caution: some senior people are warm and fuzzy, seeming to invite you to call them by their first names. Erring on the side of formality, without being too stiff



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about it, is the safer course here.

- **Participate in the life of the mission**

After a bruising day on the visa line, you might feel like folding up at home in front of the TV. In fact, going to the Commissary Board meeting or the cake sale at the Marine House may be the last thing you want to do. But your job

they are expected to entertain. Most ambassadors and DCMs are disappointed that junior officers don't do usefully ceremonial events (but of course, they seldom make this clear). Representation means having people in your house, be it ever so humble. It means having foreigners in your house, not just other junior officers. It means doing it at your expense if no representational



extends beyond the consulate. Senior officers know right away who participates and who doesn't, who volunteers and who doesn't, who contributes and who doesn't. If you're an introvert, you may have to press yourself on this one, but an effort here is well worth it.

- **Participate in the local life**

Immerse yourself in the culture. Perfect the language, meet and socialize with the local people, make friends, eat the food, get out into the countryside, study the history of the region. What you learn and whom you meet can make a contribution to the entire mission. Write memcons and reports about what you discover and introduce the people you meet to your colleagues. One ambassador said he wished that junior officers would have all their contacts in the student and young professional set to a party and invite him. Which brings up the next point . . .

- **Take representational duties seriously**

Most junior officers don't realize that

funds are available. It means doing it even if you're at a post where food, liquor, and servants are expensive. It means doing it even if you're single, can't cook, don't have time, don't feel like it. No excuse will do here: As one ambassador put it: "If you don't entertain, you're not a real diplomat; you're just a bureaucrat overseas."

A tip: Have the ambassador and DCM to something within the first six months after your arrival at post. If your digs are too ratty or you feel you simply don't know how to entertain, get together with the other junior officers and do a party jointly.

Another facet of representational entertaining is working at events the senior people give. The ambassador and DCM have heavy representational responsibilities. They want you to help out, meet and greet people, talk to people, see that they have drinks, that they get food, that they get introduced. They expect you to come 10 to 15 minutes early, to refrain from taking the best parking places, and to stay until the event is over. They don't want

you to use the party for grazing, having a few free drinks, and talking with your buddies from the embassy. "Working a party" is not a figurative expression.

The importance of representational entertaining can hardly be over-emphasized. Ambassadors are impressed when junior officers take it on; they appreciate knowing that you're entertaining your contacts and can be counted on when they entertain theirs.

• **Be committed to the service**

Even if you are just checking out the Foreign Service, be committed to it while you're in it. Don't let your ideas of what a "professional diplomat" does prevent you from serving when needed, where needed, and for as long as needed. If what's needed is someone to watch the luggage at the airport or direct traffic at the ambassador's garden party, do that, even if you have a PhD from Harvard.

• **Master the basics of protocol**

Who sits where, who follows whom into dinner, who gets in the car first, who walks on whose right or left? It's useful to be alert to such matters and to practice things like introductions until they seem easy and natural. Especially in foreign countries, formalities are assumed. Slips in or inattention to protocol look unprofessional or even boorish to people skilled in the ways of diplomacy. Remember: "Protocol" is not "etiquette," although the two may overlap. Protocol is the way diplomats avoid confusion and bruised egos as they go about their official business. It's the social equivalent of traffic control.



Every post has a protocol officer, so you're not on your own. Also, there are many useful references available. Try *Protocol* or the venerable *Miss Manners*.

• **Practice the simplest courtesies**

Arrogance and rudeness, especially to foreigners, are inexcusable, of course; but beyond that, the common decen-



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cies should be scrupulously practiced. When a number of Foreign Service nationals around the world were asked, "What makes a good Foreign Service officer?" most gave examples of garden-variety courtesy; she says "Good Morning;" he asks about my elderly mother; she sent flowers on my birthday; he remembered to send us a Christmas card from his next post; she speaks to us in shops and on the street, not just at the embassy, etc.

• **Be open to coaching**

Many junior officers overlook the possibilities of learning from senior people, peers, and subordinates. In an attempt to look knowledgeable, new officers often try to figure out something that another person could tell them in



a minute. Remember that ambassadors often think of themselves as wise elders, and they like the role of mentor. Foreign Service nationals usually have an encyclopedic knowledge of how an embassy works, and they certainly know their own culture. In most in-

stances, it's smart to ask.

• **Present yourself appropriately**

This is a business in which intangibles count for a lot. If you want to march to the beat of your own drum, to fight to the death over your right to wear whatever you like or express yourself without benefit of editorial filter, you may not be happy or successful in the Foreign Service. Foreign societies, especially at the official level, are often more formal than our own. Accordingly, a certain amount of decorum and restraint are required of people who represent their governments 24 hours a day. ■

Jane Bonin, a writer and former university professor, is Senior Education Specialist with the FSJ's Orientation Division.

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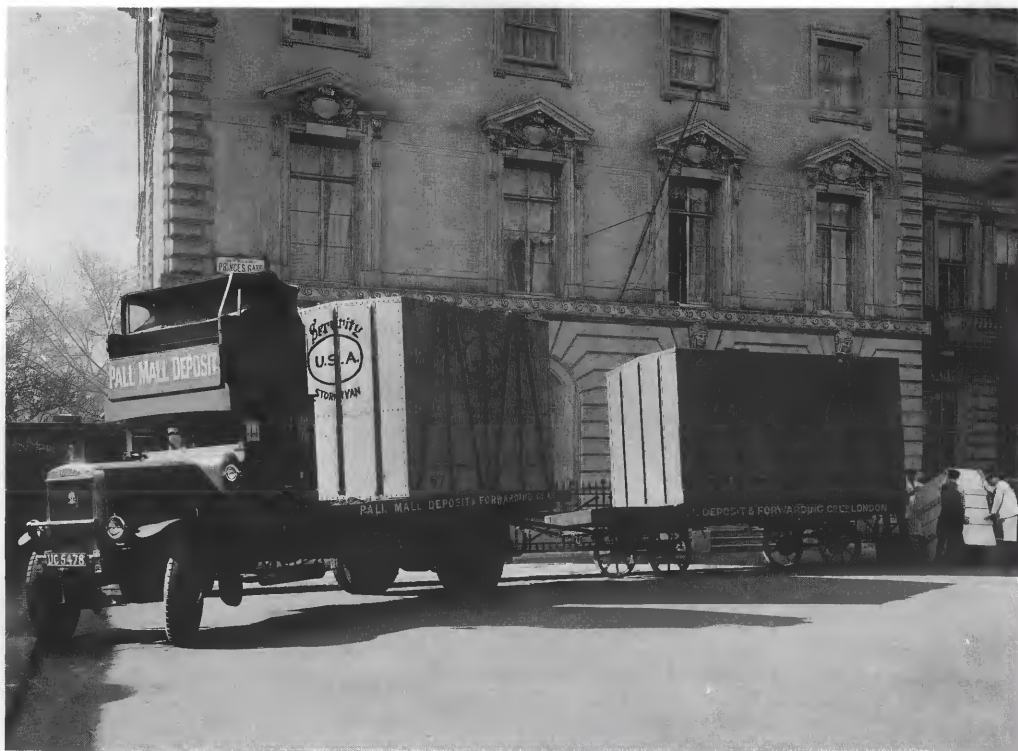
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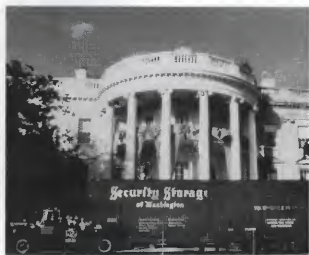
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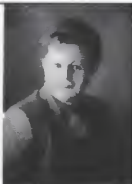
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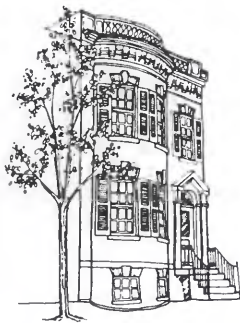
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Editor's Note: On March 12, AFSA President Ted Wilkinson testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Subcommittee on Terrorism, Narcotics, and International Operations about current issues of concern to Foreign Service personnel. Following are excerpts from his testimony.

Challenges of the 1990s

As a professional organization AFSA has a broad interest in how our nation conducts its foreign affairs, including in maintaining and strengthening an effective Foreign Service that can support the secretary of State and president in meeting critical international challenges. The most recent such challenge, which in many respects is still with us, is the expulsion of Iraq from Kuwait. While the central theme of this victory is surely the magnificent performance of our military forces, who can forget Ambassador Nat Howell doggedly preserving the American flag over our embassy in Kuwait, or Tom Pickering determinedly forging a consensus at the UN for collective action to restore peace?

The tasks performed by these exemplary officers and their colleagues are fresh reminders of the important role the Foreign Service plays in defense of our national security and welfare. We expect this role to be more critical than ever in the forthcoming effort to build a stronger framework for the maintenance of peace in the Middle East.

Looking beyond this current crisis, the world is changing, and the Foreign Service must change with it. The traditional diplomat familiar

with the politics and culture of other countries and fluent in foreign languages is still needed, but alongside him or her we need a growing array of functional experts capable of dealing with the new issues of common international concern, such as the environment, refugees, financial analysis, arms control, terrorism, narcotics, human rights, communications technology, etc. Some of these functions, together with reporting requirements about these subject areas, have been recognized and wisely mandated by Congress. Others have been added at the initiative of the administration. To cite only current examples of expanded Foreign Service requirements, the department's 1992 budget proposal would create a major increase in new positions to implement the expanded visa workload from the Immigration Act of 1990, and smaller increases for strengthening the Nuclear Risk Reduction Center to oversee additional arms control agreements and for establishing a permanent delegation office in Helsinki for U.S. participation in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

As our able generalists are called upon to meet growing functional challenges, in-service training becomes even more important.

However, resources have not kept pace. We see that training expenditures dropped from \$47.5 million in 1990 to \$40.3 million programmed in 1991, and only \$42.1 million in the proposed 1992 budget, a zero increase in real dollars. Furthermore, training requires not only money but positions. Requiring managers to choose between long staffing gaps and untrained personnel forces on them an unfair Hobson's choice. We recall that in testimony here over a year ago, Under Secretary Selin dedicated himself both to improving training ratios and curtailing staffing gaps, and we regret to note that these efforts have yet to bear fruit.

For this reason and for many others, we urge the subcommittee to recommend authorization of the full level of expenditures requested by the Department of State for 1992. Many of our embassies are now operating on 1991 budgets that are substantially reduced from their 1990 expenses. Training, staffing, and services will all suffer substantially if this is not alleviated in 1992.

Career ambassadors

AFSA over the years has taken a strong interest in the quality of ambassadorial appointments. We ques-

Answers to the Foreign Service Quiz

(Questions appear on page 7.)

1. Robert R. Livingston. The only other incumbent in this office before the adoption of the Constitution was John Jay.
2. \$17,500
3. There were 50 consulates general and 408 offices in total.
4. It began when the Office of Naval Intelligence was created in 1882.
5. Representative Frank O. Lowden, of Illinois. The legislation was killed in part because it was feared that such a school would open the door to elitism and patronage in the assignment of consular officials.

tioned the qualifications of some of the early non-career appointments of this administration. We were, of course, gratified by news of the planned nomination of Raymond Seitz as ambassador to the United Kingdom, who has served twice before in London and will now be the first career officer among 65 ambassadors to the Court of St. James. We note that this administration has kept its promise to appoint at least two career officers for every non-career ambassador.

Let me be quick to add, however, that we see nothing sacred in this two-to-one ratio, and we applaud the efforts of some courageous legislators to raise the ratio to four or five to one, perhaps even to do away with patronage in selecting the men and women who show America's face to the rest of the world.

Outreach Program

I would not want to let the occasion pass without mentioning AFSA's interest in developing American public support for the conduct of foreign relations by the United States, and for the Foreign Service as a profession. To pursue this goal, AFSA has undertaken several initiatives, including organizing and sponsoring a series of conferences and symposia, mostly in the Department of State, with the central theme of enhancing the collaboration between American business

and government and improving our commercial competitiveness abroad. Deputy Secretary Eagleburger chose the first of this series of meetings in late 1989 to put forth an important "bill of rights" for American business that has now become a guideline for all our diplomatic missions. We have had excellent support from Secretary Baker and the leadership of the State Department for this effort, and a number of distinguished legislators have given us their time as participants. I would like to express our appreciation for this support here and on the record.

In addition, AFSA has begun an effort to supplement the official public outreach of the State Department in sending speakers at minimum cost to the many regional fora in our country where there is a thirst for more information about foreign affairs issues. In our view, the department has not allocated enough funds to this key educational effort. Nor does AFSA have a funding source for our own efforts, but we are actively seeking grants to sustain it. We are also convinced that better use can be made of the large pool of expertise in our retired Foreign Service community, and we have encouraged the department to create a Foreign Service Reserve to make better and more coherent use of this rich source of volunteer or "at cost"

manpower. We understand that this proposal is now being given favorable consideration.

Medical benefits decision: no right of review

Turna R. Lewis
General Counsel

The U.S. Supreme Court recently denied AFSA's *amicus curiae* request for certiorari in the Tarpeh-Doe case, in which a member of the Foreign Service claimed that inadequate medical treatment provided to her son led to his permanent physical and mental impairment.

In refusing to grant certiorari, the Supreme Court has essentially upheld the decision of the appellate court denying that employees who file claims under the Federal Tort Claims Act are entitled to due-process protections. This means that when agencies deny benefits, they will not be obligated to grant applicants an opportunity to review and reply to the evidence on which the denial is based.

To change this procedure, AFSA will consider alternative measures, such as discussions with the State Department to fashion a fair system and working with Congress to provide explicit legislative language affording due process.

Pharmaceuticals Symposium

AFSA and the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association will sponsor an all-day symposium on "American Pharmaceuticals in the Global Village" at the Department of State on June 13.

The symposium will feature panel discussions of:

- International competition in the pharmaceuticals industry
- The high cost and special importance of research and development for an industry plagued by rising costs and increasing government controls
- The effects on the industry of existing international trade rules, especially those affecting intellectual property rights, and the prospects for improvements in the rules, and
- Third World health policies

Each panel will include government and industry representatives and independent critics.

PMA will subsidize attendance by qualified government employees who wish to attend. (The registration fee is \$190 for those who sign up by May 20 and \$250 for others.)

Further information on the symposium will be published in the June *FSJ*.

You can go home again !

Victory in the Persian Gulf conflict did not bring immediate resolution of all the difficulties facing Foreign Service evacuees, but at least it brought the end into view. Mail service was gradually improving for both military and civilian addressees, and several of the drawdowns of personnel were being reversed as the *FSJ* went to press. AFSA asked the department to speed up decisions on whether to allow dependents to return, since school schedules were becoming critical.

Responding to AFSA's prompting, State management on March 22 initiated an evacuation "lessons learned" review. AFSA expects to be briefed on the outcome and, at that time, to receive answers to the

comprehensive list of questions we earlier submitted.

One AFSA initiative paid off just in time. At our instigation, American Express proposed to several airlines special consideration for evacuated Foreign Service members in Washington whose dependents were safeshavened elsewhere. By March 15 American and Northwest had responded, American eliminating advance-purchase requirements for discounted fares and Northwest extending government rates to cover such personal travel. It was a nice break for those with one last visit with the kids before returning to post alone. Hats off to American Airlines, Northwest, and Gale Courtney Welch of American Express.

Information and foreign policy

Richard S. Thompson
Professional Issues Coordinator

The Department of State must find its special niche in the information age distilling and analyzing information, according to Diana Lady Dougan, former assistant secretary of State for Communications and Information Policy, who spoke to a Foreign Service Club audience February 21.

Dougan noted that technology has provided the means to bypass traditional channels. Governments can talk directly to one another and also to their own people. Many agencies are able to bypass the traditional discipline of the executive branch and the ambassador with their own representatives at

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H O U S I N G

embassies and their own travel budgets, phones and faxes. Governments can also address people directly in other countries. Wide-spread ownership of VCRs is breaking down government control of the media and traditional authority in the Gulf states.

Dougan observed that the transmission of information in real time has an obvious impact on decision-making and on reporting. Many

journalists stand in line waiting to go live on satellite rather than work on stories. The emphasis on real time reporting has reduced time for analysis or reflection.

Dougan urged policymakers to keep three points in mind as they deal with the information age. First, don't underestimate the continuing speed of technological growth, which will blur the traditional distinctions among broadcast-

ing, telecommunication, data, and voice technology. Second, don't be intimidated by information technology, whose use almost always has a political dimension. It is important to have a function in the State Department that can put the technical process in the broader economic and political framework. The last point is that State must learn to use and understand advanced technology.

CALENDAR

May 3: Foreign Service Day

May 4: AFSA brunch for Foreign Service Day attendees

May 6: State Standing Committee, 12:30 (room to be announced)

May 7: AFSA election candidates' forum, Room 1107 New State

May 13: State Standing Committee, 12:30, Room 3524 New State

May 16: Ivan Selin, undersecretary for management, gives luncheon address at the Foreign Service Club, 12 noon. For reservations, call Dick Thompson, 338-4045.

May 20: State Standing Committee, 12:30, Room 3524

June 7: Deadline for applications for the Federal Employee Education and Assistance Fund scholarships and educational loans. Federal employees and their families are eligible. Contact Steve Bauer, 303/933-7580

June 13: AFSA conference on "American Pharmaceuticals in the World Economy"



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A.I.D. Standing Committee

GAO may report on equal opportunity

Paula Bryan
A.I.D. Vice President

At AFSA's instigation, Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-Maryland) has requested that the General Accounting Office (GAO) undertake an investigation of equal employment opportunity at A.I.D. AFSA initially raised concerns about the continuing underrepresentation of women and minorities and the need to reform policies and practices that may hinder their employment and advancement.

Over the past six months, AFSA has contacted selected members of Congress regarding the agency's apparent lack of managerial commitment to and accountability on equal employment opportunity and affirmative action.

The following is the text of the letter from Senator Mikulski to the comptroller general of the United States, General Accounting Office:

"I am writing to request that the General Accounting Office undertake a study of the Agency for International Development's practices

and procedures in the recruitment, appointment, assignment, evaluation and promotion of minorities and women in A.I.D. Foreign Service personnel system.

"As you know from your outstanding review, 'State Department: Minorities and Women are Underrepresented in the Foreign Service' (GAO/NSIAD-89-146, June, 1989), the Foreign Service Act of 1980 (PL96-465) establishes the framework for the Foreign Service and its personnel system. While closely related to the State Department, A.I.D. has its own separate Foreign Service personnel system that has never been reviewed by the GAO. While some problems in A.I.D. may be similar to those identified in the Department of State, hiring practices, personnel policies and employee assignment and evaluation processes differ substantially from the State Department's.

"There is evidence that personnel practices in A.I.D. may have an adverse impact on the selection and advancement of women and minorities. For example, in fiscal year 1989, the representation of women in A.I.D.'s Foreign Service personnel system remained at 20.4

percent, only a marginal increase over the past decade.

"In contrast to the State Department, however, A.I.D. has had no long-term comprehensive sex discrimination lawsuit pending against it. Nor had A.I.D. benefited from the remedies and concentrated attention, oversight, and publicity that the 1976 lawsuit has generated within the State Department.

"I would welcome a statistical analysis that provides a clear profile of the status of women and minorities in A.I.D., the trends with respect to personnel practices and procedures over time and recommendations for how the agency might confront and solve underrepresentation of women and ethnic minorities. This analysis should describe grade, duration of time serving in position above rank, functional work, political versus career officers (women and minorities), Executive Position Assignment Panel breakouts, promotions, time in grade, tandem couples (dual career couples), and other profile data that would show the representation and career progression of minorities and women in the Foreign Service over time.

As the summer transfer season approaches, AFSA encourages employees leaving post to earmark the profits from the sale of private automobiles to the AFSA Scholarship Fund. Profits from the sale of personal property overseas must be contributed to a charitable organization. You can't take it with you . . . but you can invest it in the future of our children.

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"I have outlined in an attachment additional details which I believe warrant investigation by the GAO. Both the GAO review of the State Department and the lawsuit recommended that an investigation should look beyond the numerical data and examine the attitudes and informal personnel practices which characterize the A.I.D. environment in Washington and at overseas A.I.D. missions. . ."

AFSA appreciates Senator Mikulski's strong support in response to our request for congressional action.

Copies of AFSA's Directory of the 102nd Congress are now available to AFSA members on request. Write to: Congressional Directory, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

Schaffer to head insurance board

Teresita Schaffer, deputy assistant secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, was recently appointed to chair AFSA's Board of Trustees for Insurance Programs. Schaffer was a charter member when the board was established in 1981. She replaces Hugh W. Wolff, who is resigning after having served for 13 years as a volunteer adviser, committee member, and trustee for AFSA's group insurance programs.

When the board was established, then-chairman, Ambassador Herman Cohen, Schaffer, Wolff, and other trustees undertook a series of measures that brought about major improvements in the Group Accident and Hospital Income Plans. Schaffer also led the campaign to persuade the Foreign Service Protective Association and the Department of State to offer an "overseas option" under the Foreign Service Health Benefit Plan.

Such an option was introduced in 1986, providing reduced rates for personnel serving abroad, but was terminated by the department as of December 31, 1988, allegedly because of heavy claims and budgetary restraints.

With the development of a new Disability Income Plan last year and with the well-established Personal Insurance Plan covering household effects overseas, AFSA members now have access to four group insurance programs that are unexcelled in terms of the coverage and benefits provided and the costs relative to competing programs.

Wolff's services will be missed. As one of two retiree members of the Board of Trustees, he has given generously of his time, serving as chairman since 1984 and also, in effect, as recording secretary. In addition, he has provided the board's principal liaison with program administrators and AFSA members. These functions are now being assumed by Janet Hedrick, AFSA's membership coordinator.

News Briefs

Honoring great merit This year the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards are named in memory of Clifton Reginald Wharton, who died April 23, 1990. During his exemplary, 40-year career in the Foreign Service, Wharton was the first black American to attain the rank of career minister, and the first black career officer to be appointed an ambassador.

The Merit Awards were established in 1976 to recognize the outstanding academic and community activities of the sons and daughters of Foreign Service personnel. Applicants submit essays, descriptions of extra-curricular activities, references, high school transcripts, and SAT scores. After each applicant is ranked, a final panel coordinates the scoring, and the winners are then announced. — Gail Volk, Scholarship Coordinator

Front-loaded leases: As summer transfer time rolls around, AFSA has received many inquiries about the front-loaded lease question. (FMP is denying full reimbursement to employees whose leases, structured to take advantage of a per diem that diminishes over time, show "declining" rents.) Although there is a case on this subject currently before the General Accounting Office, we have been told not to expect to receive a ruling from GAO in the near future. Until GAO rules in favor of front-loaded leases, the department will not provide full reimbursement for them. To avoid any unpleasant surprises during upcoming summer transfer, we urge members to avoid front-loading leases. If you have any further questions, please contact AFSA's Member Services Department. —Deborah M. Leahy, Member Services

SF-312 Victory: AFSA recently won an affirmation of its right to attend security awareness briefings to safeguard the rights of our membership. For a year, the State Department denied AFSA the right to attend meetings in which the SF-312 nondisclosure form is discussed. AFSA filed an unfair labor practice charge against State last October, and in February the Federal Labor Relations Board upheld our position. Official notices now posted around the department affirm AFSA's right to attend the Security Awareness Briefings and all other official meetings in which conditions of employment are discussed.

Notice from the Elections Committee:

This month, all AFSA members will be receiving ballots on which to mark their votes for the AFSA Governing Board. Following are campaign statements and brief biographies submitted by each candidate, according to rules set out by AFSA's Elections Committee. The candidates' names appear in alphabetical order by office. Candidates are as follows:

President: Hume Horan (Continuity and Outreach Slate); **State Vice President:** William Kirby (Continuity and Outreach Slate), Richard H. Milton; **A.I.D. Vice President:** Priscilla Del Bosque (Continuity and Outreach Slate); **USIA Vice President:** Bernard Hensgen (Continuity and Outreach Slate); **Retiree Vice President:** Robert Beers, Charles Schmitz (Continuity and Outreach Slate); **Secretary:** Teresa Chin Jones (Continuity and Outreach Slate); **Treasurer:** Joseph Huggins (Continuity and Outreach Slate); **State Constituency Representatives** (five positions): Catherine Barry (Continuity and Outreach Slate), Purnell Delly (Continuity and Outreach Slate), Harry Gallagher, John K. Naland, Robert Perry (Continuity and Outreach Slate), Barbara Reieux (Continuity and Outreach Slate); **A.I.D. Constituency Representatives** (two positions): William D. McKinney, Michael S. Zak (Continuity and Outreach Slate); **USIA Constituency Representative** (one position): Lauren Hale; **Commerce Department Constituency Representative** (one position): No candidate; **Department of Agriculture Constituency Representative** (one position): Tom Hamby (Continuity and Outreach Slate); **Retiree Constituency Representatives** (four positions): Patricia Byrne (Continuity and Outreach Slate), John J. Harter, Daniel Newberry (Continuity and Outreach Slate), Donald R. Norland (Continuity and Outreach Slate), David Schneider (Continuity and Outreach Slate)



President Hume Horan

Continuity and
Outreach Slate

The past two years have been active and productive for AFSA and for our Foreign Service. May I have your support for continuing and enlarging upon the accomplishments of Ted Wilkinson and his board?

Early in the present administration, Under Secretary for Management Ivan Selin asked Ambassador Jerry Bremer to chair a study of FSO generalists. I was a member of his panel. Jerry Bremer's report complemented a wider study of our personnel systems that was proceeding concu-

rently under the direction of former Assistant Secretary for Administration John Thomas.

Director General Edward Perkins afterwards asked me to work with him to implement the recommendations of the Bremer and Thomas reports. You'll have seen the results as a set of measures designed to "strengthen implementation of the 1980 Foreign Service Act." They were announced in May 1990 and included the non-coning of junior officers, the creation of the multi-functional cone, a language requirement for entry into the Senior Foreign Service, a combined OC/MC time-in-class (TIC) of 14 years, and an assurance to Foreign Service officers of a 22-year career after tenure.

Likewise, I've worked on personnel initiatives concerning Foreign Service secretaries, other specialist categories, plus efforts to increase outreach and provide greater job opportuni-

ties for American family members overseas.

My connection with management ended before the start of the electoral period.

My hope is that the benefit of these initiatives can be preserved and increased by an informed, alert, and involved AFSA leadership. We can speak to management on the need for better opportunities and terms of service for all Foreign Service people—remembering that FSO generalists are only one of 16 Foreign Service categories.

On another plane, however, AFSA must address issues that are both professional and public. We must tell a wider constituency, including the Congress, universities, and our fellow citizens, why the United States needs a highly expert and representative group of men and women to further and protect the republic's interests in the next decade.

To this end, the Continu-

ity and Outreach Slate will seek to:

Expand public awareness of the service: We should raise the profile of the Foreign Service with the Congress and the public as "torchbearers," upholding and promoting U.S. interests around the world. The department, for instance, could more vigorously and effectively have drawn public attention to the performance of our embassy people in Kuwait.

Expand our recruiting outreach: We will press management to better institutionalize its outreach to first-rate men and women of all ethnic backgrounds and to include more department principals and offices in this effort. Better outreach will enhance the effectiveness and legitimacy of our service at home and abroad. We've been working at outreach for a generation. By now, our members and the public are right to expect results, not just ongoing

status reports.

Strengthen AFSA's outreach to the U.S. business community: The Foreign Service should take the lead in actively promoting U.S. economic policies and interests, including U.S. trade and investment abroad in partnership with the U.S. business community. This priority reflects our full awareness of the fact that national security depends as much on economic strength as on military power. This purpose can, in part, be promoted through a continuation of AFSA's conference series, its corporate memberships, and a speakers' pool of active alumni/ae.

Press management to develop further a Foreign Service that has the professionalism our country's interests require. Our military colleagues, for instance, planned and prepared well for the challenge of war in the Middle East. Shall we in the Foreign Service and the Department of State be as well prepared for the challenge of peace? What are our plans? Why are there only eight students from all agencies now studying Arabic at the Foreign Service Institute—for an important region that includes 21 Arab countries?

Press management to maintain only the highest standards with regard to presidential nomination of both career and non-career appointees. As patriotic Americans, we believe emphatically that the United States must be served abroad by ambassadors who do honor to the nation

they represent. Congress and the American people will understand, now more than ever, that diplomatic competence is an imperative and not just an option.

On issues more specifically related to our career, we will seek to:

Persuade management to provide additional resources for the conduct of our consular functions overseas—and especially for the welfare and protection of American citizens.

Press for a range of improvements in the secretarial function: i.e., expeditious funding and implementation of the banding concept for Foreign Service secretaries, establishment of a secretarial career ladder to permit acquisition of secondary skills, and recognition—in job title and description—of the transformation of secretarial work. FS secretaries should have an "organizational home" similar to that of other specialists. The AFSA board will work with its subcommittee on secretarial issues to attain these and other reforms. In the push for equity and opportunity for secretaries, AFSA must be at the forefront.

Strengthen AFSA's Constituency with our Retirees: the Foreign Service Reserve Corps should be established to facilitate a recall of Foreign Service people to duty as needed, especially in times of crisis. A minor point: *Management should make it easier, while mindful of security, for retired Foreign Service people to have access to the department.*

Seek favorable resolution of a range of evac-

nation issues that have become of especial concern to service people whose lives have been disrupted by violence in various regions of the world.

Recognize the role and contribution of our Foreign Service Nationals in ways that emphasize their contribution to the service and their collegiality with our Foreign Service people.

Maintain and improve AFSA's financial stability and insure its financial soundness in the future.

Hume Horan

Hume Horan is a Career Minister in the Foreign Service. He has served overseas in Africa and the Middle East. He was Chief of Mission to Saudi Arabia (1987-88), Sudan (1983-1986), Cameroon (1980-83) and to Equatorial Guinea (1980-82; Non-Resident). Previously he served as principal DAS in the Bureau of Consular Affairs (under Ms. Barbara Watson). Other field assignments include Saudi Arabia (DCM), Libya, Jordan, Iraq, and Lebanon. Since 1989 he has been special assistant to Ambassador Edward Perkins, the Director General of the Foreign Service. Horan speaks Arabic, French, Spanish and German. His interests include bicycle touring, swimming, sky diving, and literature. He is married; the Horans have an older son (captain, USMC), a daughter (former PCV-Zaire), and a younger son, 15.

State Vice President William A. Kirby

Continuity and Outreach Slate

Bill Kirby is a counselor in the Senior Foreign Service. From 1987 to 1989 he was deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs. He has also served on the Policy Planning Staff and in the Intelligence and



Research Bureau. Overseas assignments have included Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Israel. From 1978 to 1989 Kirby was actively involved in Arab-Israeli affairs and participated in most of the negotiations undertaken during that time. His interests include photography, fishing, and touring country inns. The Kirbys have three daughters, the youngest of whom is a college senior.

State Vice President Richard H. Milton

Dick Milton is a 26-year veteran of the Foreign Service. His overseas tours include 12 years in ARA, plus assignments in Warsaw and Bangkok. In the United States he has been a congressional fellow, an assistant professor at the USCG

Academy, deputy assistant director of ACDA, a Pearson Program fellow, and Political Advisor at the U.S. Space Command/NORAD. He served as president of the Consular Officers Association in 1982. His BA and MA degrees are from Marshall University. Dick's wife and two children live with him in Arlington, Virginia. His principal hobby is trying to get his 1954 Packard to run. Evy tells friends she approves of his avocation, saying, "It keeps him off the



streets!"

Statement: I have served as AFSA Vice President (State) since the end of August 1990, when I was appointed by the Governing Board to fill the unexpired term of George Jones. It fell to me to lead the organization's responses to two crises for the Foreign Service—the furlough threat of September/October and the Middle East/African evacuation turmoil.

As this statement went to print, I was preparing for our anxiously awaited March '91 "lessons-learned" review with management of the Open Assignments and Promotion Board policies that were negotiated in May of last year. I believe the changes made went too far. In this round we can only "consult" under the terms of the State/AFSA 1990-92 agreement, but in March 1992 we will renege-

te. If elected, I will ensure that every member has ample opportunity to be heard on these important topics and I will keep in mind always that the exclusive bargaining agent for the Foreign Service will be AFSA only as long as we remember our reason for existence—to preserve, protect and advance the interests of our members.

The 1990-91 initiatives I will continue working on if returned to office include:

Pressuring for decent mail service to all posts.

Blocking arbitrary changes in tour-of-duty policies.

Insisting upon real career ladders, more training options, and an official advocate/home in the department for secretaries.

A.I.D. Vice President Priscilla Del Bosque

Continuity and Outreach Slate

Priscilla Del Bosque began working for A.I.D. in 1979 and became a direct-hire Foreign Service officer in 1983. An FO-02, she currently works as the coordinator for Asia and Private Enterprise and for Security Assistance in the Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination. Previously, she served as chief of the Project Development Office in

USA.I.D./El Salvador and assistant program officer in USA.I.D./Costa Rica. Her interest in and commitment to development began 23 years ago when she served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Honduras. Since then she has spent a total of 19 years living and working in Latin American countries. She is married to another A.I.D. Foreign Service officer, and they have two sons, ages 20 and 15. She enjoys reading, cooking, and relaxing with friends.

USIA Vice President Bernard Hensgen

Continuity and Outreach Slate

Bernard Hensgen has been a Foreign Service officer with USIA for 22 years. He has served in Panama, Colombia, England, and Germany, most frequently as information officer/press attaché. In Munich, Germany, he was branch public affairs officer and director of the U.S. Cultural Center. He is presently chief of the Office of Media Reaction in Washington. He is married and has two children.

Statement: The US Information Agency is experiencing a time of threat and opportunity. The USIA AFSA Standing Committee should be a vehicle for Foreign Service officers to know better what is going on and to contribute to the future shape of the agency.

The agency has entered the fifth year of budget cuts, with more likely to come. The National Security



Council has mandated a review of international broadcasting that could result in an independent Voice of America and a crippled USIA.

Built on the twin pillars of the nation's desire to "tell America's story to the world" and the need to combat communist ideology, the agency now finds itself struggling in a domestic political climate that questions every dollar spent by government, and it appears somehow startled by a brand new world with little need for ideological cold warriors.

The world has changed around us, and it is high time that we, through AFSA, speak up for ourselves and take a hand in shaping our future. In the coming months, we should suggest priorities for the future. In particular, we should put USIA in the forefront of the country's efforts to further democracy around the world.

Together with our Foreign Service colleagues from the State Department, A.I.D., and other foreign service agencies, we should reach out to tell a wider constituency, including the U.S. Congress, why the nation needs an adequately funded public diplomacy agency in the 1990s.

At the same time, the USIA AFSA standing committee should challenge AFGE as the exclusive bar-

gaining agent in USIA. A unified Foreign Service bargaining unit, including State, USIA, and A.I.D., will bring a stronger voice to the labor-management bargaining table for Foreign Service officers.



Retiree Vice President Robert Beers

This is the first opportunity for AFSA's membership (rather than AFSA's Governing Board) to elect an AFSA retiree vice president. I have announced my candidacy for this office because I believe that the paramount concern of the person holding this position should be the interests of AFSA's retired members, rather than the management of other AFSA programs.

For the past 15 years I have been working in the field of federal retirement and disability. I thus can bring extensive experience and in-depth knowledge to serving effectively as AFSA's retiree vice president.

I retired in 1970 as a USIO after 27 years' government service in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the International Division of the Bureau of the Budget, the old IIA area of the Department of State and its successor agency, USIA, with overseas assignments in Karachi, London,

and Vietnam.

After retirement, I served as the national vice president of the National Association of Retired Federal Employees, dealing with the Congress and the old Civil Service Commission on the full range of retirement issues, following which I came to AFSA in 1979.

In my years with AFSA, I served as executive director until 1983, when I became AFSA's congressional liaison officer, working on the development of the Federal Employees Retirement System (including the Foreign Service Pension System); retiree tax and budget issues; the preservation of the annual COLA; and participating in studies leading to the eventual revision of the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program. I am a regular panelist in the State Department's pre-retirement seminars.

I inaugurated AFSA's Retiree Letter, established AFSA's Retirement Desk to respond to members' personal inquiries, set up a community speakers' program, and assisted members in establishing regional and state Foreign Service retiree groups. Currently, I am completing two terms as a member of the Governing Board of DACOR (Diplomatic & Consular Officers Retired).

My program as a candidate: to continue to devote all of my efforts to serving the best interests of all members of AFSA's present and prospective retiree community.

Retiree Vice President Charles A. Schmitz



Continuity and Outreach Slate

Charles A. Schmitz, current AFSA vice president (Retirees), U.S. Foreign Service, 1965-1989, minister-counselor (retired). Served in Germany, Panama, Japan, Morocco, and USUN. Domestic assignments in East Asia Bureau, Personnel, and Office of the Legal Adviser; two Superior Honor Awards. German, Spanish, and French. Yale College (BA, Magna cum laude), Yale Law School (LLB). Married, four children.

Statement: As AFSA's current (and first) Vice President for the Retired Constituency, a position created by the membership only two years ago, I have worked to benefit both the retirees and the Foreign Service by new approaches and programs. Our *Journal*, bimonthly *Newsletter*, and *Directory* keep retirees better informed than ever before. Our push for a true *Foreign Service Reserve* in State, Commerce, A.I.D., and USIA will make possible an orderly and rational recall of needed experts to the colors when future foreign affairs crises emerge. *Our Bald Eagles Speakers*

Bureau will put hundreds of our well-informed alumni on podiums and before cameras around the United States to help fellow Americans understand front page international news. With AFSA's encouragement, Foreign Service alumni are organizing to create a first-class *international business consultancy*, separate from AFSA but to which all Foreign Service alumni are welcome. We have done all this and still have maintained AFSA's traditional flow of vital information about insurance, Medicare and pensions.

If I am elected as vice president, you can count on me and on the Continuity and Outreach Slate to continue to develop these energetic and promising new programs.



Secretary Teresa Chin Jones

Continuity and Outreach Slate

After a career as a research chemist in industry and government, I entered the Foreign Service in 1974. I have served as a consular officer in Brussels, as a science officer in ACDA (arms control verification), in INR (strategic technologies), in EB (technology transfer), and twice in OES (non-pro-

liferation and S&T negotiations). I had long-term economic training at FSI. Despite my rather "specialized" assignments, I have always been very interested in general issues, including personnel and management. My AFSA experience includes three years on the *Foreign Service Journal* Editorial Board (1984-7) and *FSJ* articles on EER survival, hi-tech diplomacy, economic training, and S&T agreements. I am married to a fellow Foreign Service officer and have three daughters.

Treasurer Joseph Huggins

Continuity and Outreach Slate

Joseph Huggins is an FS-2 officer in the Foreign Service. His field assignments include Moscow, Nairobi, Conakry, and Lome. Previously he served in the Executive Office of the Bureau of African Affairs. Since 1989, he has worked in FMP/BP as division chief of the Regional Overseas Analysis Division. His AFSA experience includes AFSA representative for Nairobi (1980-81).

State Constituency Representative Catherine Barry

Continuity and Outreach Slate

Serving as a Consular officer, Catherine Barry has worked in several geo-

graphic areas: Mexico City (1977-79), Quebec City (1980-82), Seoul (1982-84), and Jerusalem (1988-present). In Washington, she worked in the Operations Center, the Citizens' Emergency Center, and the Cuban Desk. Through these assignments she has



experienced the demands of large visa operations, handled politically sensitive consular issues, participated in task forces, and experienced the tragedy of inter-communal violence. Ms. Barry attended the University of Illinois and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. She speaks French and Spanish.



State Constituency Representative Harry Gallagher

I joined the Foreign Service and AFSA in 1985. Before beginning my career as a security officer with the Diplomatic Security Service, I worked with the Drug Enforcement Admin-

istration, as a special agent and member of the Hispanic Agents Association. I currently serve on the AFSA Board of Governors as a State representative and would like to continue. In addition to the goals of Continuity and Outreach, I encouraged my colleagues and other specialists to take an interest in AFSA.

Other Experience: I negotiated a labor contract, as the chief negotiator and lobbied on Capitol Hill for special interests.

State Constituency Representative John K. Naland

During my five years as an AFSA member (including service as an AFSA post rep. overseas) I have often been disappointed with the performance of our organization. Despite having a large Governing Board and a paid professional staff of 25, my experience has been that AFSA is sometimes slow to respond to our concerns. This slowness results from three causes: an apparent timidity on the part of AFSA's elected leadership in confronting management on some issues, an occasional lack of follow-through by AFSA's professional staff, and AFSA's sometime over-concentration on the problems of one membership group to the detriment of others.

I seek election to voice these and related concerns. If elected, I will ask the tough questions which many feel need to be asked at AFSA board meetings and will push AFSA to vig-

orously represent the interests of all of its members.

Joining State in 1986, I have served two overseas tours (one consular and one admin). I received a Meritorious Honor Award at Embassy Bogotá, where I was also the elected AFSA post rep. I am now in Washington in S/P (the Secretary's Policy Planning Staff) and transfer this fall to S/S-O (the Operations Center). I ask for your vote.



State Constituency Representative Robert Perry

Continuity and Outreach Slate

Bob Perry is an FS-1 currently serving in the Bureau of International Narcotics matters as Division Chief for Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean. He attended the National War College in 1989-90, following his 1986-89 assignment as DCM in Mauritius. Other foreign assignments include Mexico City, Asmara, Santiago, and Vietnam. His State Department assignments have included South-

ern African Affairs, Cuban Affairs, INR Latin American analyst, and special assistant to the under secretary for Political Affairs. He speaks Spanish and French. He is married to Blossom Perry, FS-5. They have two teenage children. Bob Perry has been a member of AFSA since the early 1970s.



**State
Constituency
Representative
Purnell Delly**

**Continuity and
Outreach Slate**

Mr. Delly entered the Foreign Service in 1983, and has served in El Salvador, Scotland, and Washington. He is now country desk officer for Sri Lanka in NEA's Office of India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka Affairs. A life member of AFSA, Mr. Delly served as a State representative on the last board, and would like to continue working for a better Foreign Service on the new one. He received long-term training in economics at FSI, and is a graduate of Dartmouth, the University of Chicago, and William and Mary Law School. He is married with two children.

**State
Constituency
Representative
Barbara
Reioux**

**Continuity and
Outreach Slate**

Barbara Reioux, a member of the AFSA Subcommittee for Secretarial Issues, joined the Foreign Service in 1980. She has served in La Paz, Rome, and Jakarta, and is currently assigned to AF/S as director's secretary and office manager. She speaks Spanish and Italian.

**A.I.D.
Constituency
Representative
William D.
McKinney**

No statement submitted.

**A.I.D.
Constituency
Representative
Michael Zak**

**Continuity and
Outreach Slate**

Michael Zak has served in A.I.D. overseas in Latin America and Africa. He recently completed an extended tour in Burkina Faso and is currently in Yugoslavia helping the embassy shape the new assistance program.

Mr. Zak, a life member of AFSA, was on the AFSA Governing Board as A.I.D. vice president and constituency representative (1986-88) and was AFSA key person in Burkina Faso (1988-90).

**USIA
Constituency
Representative
Lauren Hale**

**Continuity and
Outreach Slate**

Lauren Hale, an FO-01, joined USIA in 1978 and has been a member of AFSA since the early 1980's. She began her Foreign Service career in Morocco. She has served as Assistant Public Affairs Officer in Sudan, Information Officer in Cameroon and Public Affairs Officer in Chad. Her most recent overseas assignment was as Information Officer in Colombia. In Washington, she has worked at USIA's Foreign Press Center as well as at agency headquarters; she is currently on a short assignment at the Foreign Service Board of Examiners. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, she was a Peace Corps teacher in Cote d'Ivoire, a contract French/English interpreter for USIA's International Visitor program, and a freelance writer. She has a B.S. in Journalism from Northwestern University and an M.A. in Educational Media from Columbia University.

**Commerce
Constituency
Representative**

No Candidates

**Agriculture
Constituency
Representative
Thomas A.
Hamby**

Continuity and

Outreach Slate

Thomas Hamby is currently the deputy assistant administrator for foreign agricultural affairs, Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS), U.S.D.A. In this capacity, his primary responsibility is to support the FAS's Foreign Service field operations. He joined the FAS in 1977 and is a career member of the Foreign Service. His overseas service includes assignments as Chief of Section to Moscow (1986-88) and Taipei (1982-84) and to Tokyo (1980-82). He is married and has two children.



**Retiree
Representative
Patricia M.
Byrne**

**Continuity and
Outreach Slate**

Pat Byrne retired in June 1990 after a long career in the Foreign Service. She served as ambassador to Mali from November 1976 to October 1979 and to Burma from January 1980 to September 1983 and was deputy representative in the United Nations Security Council at USUN in New York from September 1985 to September 1989. Other assignments overseas included Athens, Saigon, Izmir, Ankara, Vientiane, Paris (Asian Affairs officer), and Colombo (deputy chief

of mission). In the Department she served in EAP and IO and as special assistant to the deputy under secretary for administration. She is a graduate of the National War College and the Senior Seminar, and was a foreign affairs fellow at the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service between her assignments to Rangoon and New York.



Retiree Representative John Harter

Education: B.A. in history, master's in library science, U.S.C.; master's in economics, Harvard.

Pre-Foreign Service: lecturer (History), U.S.C.; division chief, D.C. Public Library.

Foreign Service: Consular officer in South Africa; GSO in Chile; UN economic affairs specialist (IO); financial analyst in Thailand; Bulgarian language trainee, FSI; trade negotiator (GATT); UNCTAD liaison officer; writer/editor (economics), USIA.

Other: Member, AFSA Board, 1960-61, 1989-91. Vestry secretary, American church, Geneva, 1969-70.

Statement: I have worked diligently for AFSA since July 1989, principally in conceptualizing, organizing, and financing a series of Outreach conferences. The lessons I have learned

should help us to do better during the next two years.

Retirees now comprise more than one-third of our membership. We obviously need an expanded "Retirees Department." If re-elected, I shall press again for a comprehensive questionnaire to inventory retiree interests to point the way.

My reelection will ensure continuity and an independent voice in the new Governing Board.



Retiree Representative Daniel O. Newberry

Continuity and Outreach Slate

Dan Newberry was one of the group of 18 "Young Turks" who brought AFSA into the modern age in 1968. He has served as chairman of the editorial board of the *Foreign Service Journal*, as first vice president of AFSA, and chaired the AFSA elections committee in 1988-89. During his 36-year career in the Foreign Service Newberry worked in every "cone," some of them even before cones were concocted, from an FSS-13 consular clerk to the Senior Foreign Service, concluding his career as principal officer at Istanbul, from 1981 to 1985. In retirement he is in his sixth year as executive vice

president of the American Friends of Turkey.



Retiree Representative Donald R. Norland

Continuity and Outreach Slate

Don Norland spent 29 years in the Foreign Service, nearly 20 of them abroad. His overseas assignments include Morocco (1952-56), Ivory Coast (1958-60), the U.S. Mission to NATO (1961-63), the Netherlands (1964-69), Guinea (1970-72), Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (1976-79) and Chad (1979-81). The last two assignments were as ambassador. His department assignments include Personnel and "M" where he was the first executive director of the Policy Priorities Group (PPG).

Since retiring he has served as a consultant, foreign affairs lecturer and as acting director of African Studies at the Foreign Service Institute (1987-89). In 1990, he was program director of the "Center for International Private Enterprise" at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. He is married with two sons in the Foreign Service and a daughter who is completing a book on some leading women in Vietnam.



Retiree Representative Dave Schneider

Continuity and Outreach Slate

Dave Schneider was appointed to fill a vacancy on the AFSA Board in 1987, was elected to the Board in 1989 and now is seeking election for the second time. Thus he will provide a strong element of continuity on the Board. As a retiree representative he has believed that AFSA should pursue retiree economic benefits and find ways in which those retirees who desire it can help build support for the Foreign Service in their local communities. Dave retired from the Service in 1984 when he was senior deputy in NEA and a career minister. He had previously served as ambassador to Bangladesh and spent much of his career in positions related to South Asia. He was chairman of the Editorial Board of the *Foreign Service Journal* for two years during the late 1960s.

Note from the Election Committee:

This proposed bylaw revision will be referred to the membership for a vote along with the ballots.

THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION BYLAWS as amended July 1991

ARTICLE I

Name and Place of Business

The name of this organization shall be the AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION, a nonprofit corporation incorporated in the District of Columbia.

ARTICLE II

Purposes and Objectives

In accordance with the general purposes and objectives set forth in the Certificate of Incorporation, the following are declared to be the primary purposes and objectives of this association:

1. To further the interests and well-being of the members of the association;

2. To represent the members of the Foreign Service of the United States, in accordance with Chapters 10 (Labor-Management Relations) and 11 (Grievances) of the Foreign Service Act of 1980;

3. To work closely with the foreign affairs agencies, the Congress, and other interested institutions and individuals to strengthen the ability of the foreign affairs community to contribute to effective foreign policies;

4. To accept and receive gifts, grants, devises, bequests, and funds as may be donated or otherwise

given to this association by any person or persons, group or groups, and to utilize or dispose of the same for the purposes of this association, or as directed by said donors;

5. To maintain and operate a scholarship fund and such other funds as may be established by the board commensurate with the purposes and objectives of the association;

6. To publish the *Foreign Service Journal* and other official organs of the association; and

7. To carry on such other activities as may be deemed practicable in order to serve the interests of the association or its members.

ARTICLE III

Membership

Section 1. General Provisions: The association shall be composed of regular members, associate members, and honorary members. The board shall establish terms, conditions, and privileges for the association and honorary member categories.

Section 2. Regular Members: Regular membership is limited to current or former members of the Foreign Service as defined by Sections 103 (paragraphs 1 to 5) and 202 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, or successor legislation. Individuals eligible for regular membership may be so admitted upon application and payment of dues, and shall be permitted to maintain their membership as long as they remain eligible and maintain current dues payments. Only regular members may vote, hold office, or exercise other rights regarding the con-

duct of the affairs of the association.

Section 3. Associate Members: Individuals or organizations closely associated with or interested in the foreign affairs of the U.S. but not eligible for regular membership may become associate members upon the acceptance of their application by the board and the payment of dues, and shall be permitted to maintain membership so long as they maintain current dues payments.

Section 4. Honorary Members: The board may invite to become honorary members such individuals as it deems proper. Honorary members shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

Section 5. Removal of Members: Members may be expelled or otherwise disciplined by the association for engaging in conduct which discredits or brings into disrepute the association or the Foreign Service, or for taking legal or administrative agency action against the association without exhausting all reasonable internal administrative procedures. No member may be disciplined by the association without being served with specific charges, given a reasonable time to prepare a defense, and permitted due hearing. The board shall establish procedures for removal or disciplinary actions, and its decisions shall be final and binding.

ARTICLE IV

Dues

The board shall establish the dues to be paid by members, and may alter

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such dues at its discretion; except that any increase in dues for regular members shall not exceed the cumulative increase in the national Consumer Price Index (CPI), as published by the U.S. Department of Labor, since the effective date of the last previous dues increase. Any proposal to increase dues of regular members by more than the CPI must be submitted to a referendum and approved by a majority of those members voting by secret ballot.

ARTICLE V

The Governing Board

Section 1. General: This association shall be governed by a Governing Board (herein called "the board") consisting of regular members in good standing, elected by the regular membership biennially for two-year terms as officers or representatives in the manner provided in Section 4 below.

Section 2. Authority and responsibility: The board is empowered to promulgate and implement the regulations and policies of the association; appoint and oversee its committees and publications; actively pursue its objectives; and supervise the disbursement of its funds. The board is responsible for:

(a) managing the property and affairs of the association;

(b) adopting rules and policies for the conduct of association business;

(c) maintaining fiscal integrity in the conduct of the affairs of the association, including provisions for accounting and financial controls, and for providing

regular financial reports or summaries to the membership;

(d) to the extent practicable, keeping the membership currently informed on, seeking its advice before making decisions on, and informing it promptly of its decisions on important matters affecting the membership, the Foreign Service, and the association;

(e) facilitating communication from any member(s) to the membership, or any practicable portion thereof, on association business, at the expense of the member(s) initiating the communication;

(f) ensuring that persons in any position of authority at any level of the association do not engage in business or financial activities or have financial interests which conflict with their duties to the association or its members; and

(g) reporting to the membership annually on its management of the association's affairs and finances, and its plans and budget for the succeeding year.

Section 3. Officers: The officers of the association shall be a president, constituency vice presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer. They shall be elected as described in Section 4, below. They shall have the powers and duties specifically conferred on them by applicable law and regulation, these bylaws, and the board.

Section 4. Manner of election:

(a) The president, secretary, and treasurer shall be elected by the regular

membership at the same time as other members of the board.

(b) The constituency vice presidents and representatives shall be elected from constituencies composed of the regular members belonging to the Foreign Service in each of the departments or agencies to which Chapter 10 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 applies, pursuant to Sec. 1003(a), and a single retired constituency for all former members of the service from all such departments and agencies.

Each constituency having a minimum of 100 members as of the last working day of the calendar year before the election shall be entitled to a con-

stituency vice president. In addition, each constituency shall be entitled to one representative for each 1,000 members or fraction thereof as of the last working day of the calendar year before the election year, provided that any constituency that for three consecutive months has a membership which would on that date have entitled it to an additional representative shall have an additional representative, who shall be appointed by the board.

Section 5. Meetings and voting:

(a) Meetings: The board shall meet at least once each month. The board shall also meet to consider a particular subject or subjects upon the written re-

Advertisement Foreign Service Alumni!

When we mark our ballots in mid-May for the AFSA election, let's be sure to re-elect



Charles A. Schmitz
Retiree Vice
President

AFSA needs **Continuity** and **Outreach**. We get both with **Schmitz**: AFSA's **current Vice President** for Retirees and **Director for Outreach**—Schmitz has brought us the **Foreign Service Reserves**, the **Bald Eagles Speakers Bureau**, new **business consultancy** opportunities for alumni of all the Foreign Service. All this, while continuing and improving individual services for our retirees: increasing the information flow in the **Newsletter** for retirees, and improving the **Directory of Retired Members** and the **Congressional Directory**. Record retiree contributions to the **Legislative Action Fund** and AFSA's **Scholarships**.

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This is a paid advertisement—Pat Byrne, Dan Newberry, Don Norland, Dave Schneider, members of AFSA, candidates for Retiree Representatives for the Continuity and Outreach Slate.

quest of the president, one-third of the board members, an overseas chapter, or 25 regular members, submitted at least five days prior to the date of the proposed meeting.

Meetings shall be announced and open to any regular member, provided that the board may adopt regulations to preserve good order, and may go into executive session. Minutes, except of executive sessions, shall be available to members on request.

(b) Voting: Each board member shall have one vote. A majority of the members of the board shall constitute a quorum and must be present for any vote. Board members who will be outside the Washington area for a board meeting may leave a written proxy with another board member who shall vote that proxy in accordance with the wishes of the absent member or, absent indication of such preferences, in accordance with his or her own preference.

Section 6. Vacancies: Vacancies occurring during the term of the board shall be filled by the board by appointment from the regular membership, provided that constituency vice presidents and representatives shall be chosen from the constituency of the vacancy as defined in Section 4, above.

Section 7. Recall: The membership has the right to recall the president, secretary, and treasurer, and the membership of any constituency has the right to recall any constituency vice president or representative in whom said mem-

bership has no confidence. Two-thirds of the board or 5 per cent of the membership concerned may recommend such recall by written request and supporting statement to the Standing Committee on Elections. The committee shall submit the recall proposal, supporting statements and statements, if any, submitted in favor of the board member in question to the membership concerned for vote by secret ballot.

Section 8. Residency: Board members shall be resident in the Washington area within 60 days of appointment or election to office and shall remain resident in the Washington area throughout their term in office. Board members who cease to be resident in the Washington area during their term shall submit their resignations to the board.

ARTICLE VI *Internal Organization*

Section 1. The following committees and boards shall exist on a permanent basis:

(a) Committee on Elections: The Committee on Elections shall have full power within the association, subject to applicable law, regulation, these bylaws and the association budget, to conduct regular elections for Governing Board, recall elections, referendum, and any vote on amendments to these bylaws. The committee shall establish regulations for these procedures and interpret relevant sections of the bylaws, resolve disputes and determine and declare election results.

The Committee on Elec-

tions shall be composed of at least five members, including a chair and at least one member from each constituency. The board shall appoint the chair and members of the committee for two-year terms beginning July 15 of each even-numbered year, and shall fill vacancies occurring during such term, but may not remove committee members except on recommendation of the committee or in accordance with disciplinary procedures. Committee members shall be impartial in the performance of their duties while serving, and for six months thereafter they shall not be board members or candidates or nominators thereof, or accept appointment to the chair of any other committee.

(b) Constituency Standing Committees: Standing committees for each constituency shall have primary responsibility, subject to the overall guidance of the board, for the interests of members of said constituencies in general and in particular for members assigned in the Washington area. The board shall appoint, and determine the terms of, the chair and members of each constituency standing committee from among the members within each such constituency.

(c) Journal Editorial Board: The board shall appoint and determine the terms of the chair and members of the Journal Editorial Board who, under the overall guidance of the board, shall be specifically responsible for the editorial policy of the FOREIGN SER-

VICE JOURNAL.

(d) Committee on Education: The board shall appoint and determine the terms of the chair and members of the Committee on Education who, under the overall guidance of the board, shall develop policies and criteria for awards under the association's scholarship programs.

Section 2: The board shall have the authority to establish and appoint and determine the terms of other committees as it deems necessary for the efficient operation of the association and to further its purposes and objectives. The board shall provide overall guidance to such committees, but may delegate to them such authority as it deems necessary. Where practicable, the membership and authorities of such committees should be spelled out in writing and approved by the board.

Section 3. Chapters and Representatives: Regular members assigned outside of the Washington Area may organize chapters at their post, under the general direction of the board. Chapters may adopt bylaws, which must be approved by the board. The president of any such chapter shall be the principal AFSA representative at that post, entitled to represent AFSA to post management in accordance with applicable agreements between AFSA and the foreign affairs agencies and agency regulations. Where a formal chapter does not exist, members may nevertheless elect an AFSA representative for their post or, in the

absence of such election, the board may appoint such a representative. The board will from time to time issue guidance to its post representatives and for the organization and functioning of chapters. The activities of both representatives and chapters shall in all respects be consistent with these bylaws, the board's guidance, and the association's agreements with the foreign affairs agencies.

ARTICLE VII *Elections*

Section 1. Candidates: All regular members of the association in good standing are eligible to be candidates for the officer or representative positions on the board.

Section 2. Procedures:

(a) In odd-numbered years the Committee on Elections shall issue to all Members an election call prescribing the terms and conditions of the election and soliciting candidacies in the February FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL and in other appropriate media.

(b) All nominations shall be in writing and must be received by the Committee on Elections not later than 30 days following the date of the election call. Nominations must be accompanied by evidence of eligibility as of June 30 of the year of the election. Nominations may be individual or by slate, and candidates may be self-nominated or nominated by any regular member.

(c) The Committee on Elections shall verify the eligibility of candidates for

each position and announce candidates' names on or about April 1.

(d) The committee shall receive campaign statements from candidates and/or slates and distribute them to the concerned membership at association expense pursuant to procedures it shall establish for that purpose. The committee shall also facilitate the distribution, during a campaign period of not less than 30 days, of additional material related to the election which candidates, slates and/or other members wish to distribute at their own expense. Those initiating such statements and materials shall assume full legal responsibility for their contents.

(e) The committee shall mail the official ballot bearing the names of all qualified candidates, slate identifications when applicable, and voting instructions to each regular member on or about May 15.

(f) Each regular member may cast one vote each for president, secretary and treasurer, one vote for the appropriate constituency vice president and one vote for each representative position available in the member's constituency. Members may vote for candidates as individuals or as a slate, or may write in the name(s) of any regular member(s) who fulfills the eligibility requirements as prescribed.

(g) The committee shall ensure the secrecy of each member's vote.

(h) The committee shall count on or about July 1 all ballots received as of the

close of business the last working day of June. Candidates or their representatives may observe counting procedures and are entitled to challenge the validity of any vote or the eligibility of any voter.

(i) The committee will decide on challenges and declare elected the candidates receiving the greatest number of valid votes for each position.

(j) The new board shall take office on July 15.

ARTICLE VIII *Referendum*

Section 1. The membership may, by majority vote in a referendum, determine the association's policy on any matter within the scope of the association's purposes and objectives.

Section 2. One-third of the board, 10 chapters, or 100 regular members may initiate a referendum by submitting a specific proposal to the Committee on Elections. The Committee on Elections will submit it to the regular membership for decision in a secret ballot under procedures established by it for that purpose.

ARTICLE IX *Amendments*

Section 1. Procedures:

(a) One hundred regular members or the board may propose, in writing and accompanied by a statement of justification, an amendment to these bylaws by submission to the Committee on Elections.

(b) The committee shall promptly circulate to the membership each such proposed amendment and justification by publication in

the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL and other appropriate media. The committee shall accept, for 45 days following the date of publication of the proposed amendment, statements of appropriate length submitted in opposition thereto and signed by not less than 10 members. No two statements shall be signed by the same member.

(c) Members may distribute, at their own expense, additional statements regarding a proposed amendment. To facilitate this process, the association shall make available on request the membership list or address labels, for which it shall be reimbursed for all related expenses.

(d) The committee shall commence a poll of the membership on the proposed amendment within 90 days following the date of its publication, and shall conclude the poll within 45 days. The committee shall provide, along with ballots, the statements in support of and in opposition to the proposed amendment.

Section 2. Adoption of a proposed amendment will require the affirmative votes of not less than two-thirds of the valid votes received and will be effective immediately.

ARTICLE X *Parliamentary Authority*

The association's parliamentary authority shall be the most recent edition of *Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised*, except as otherwise provided by applicable law, regulation, or decision of the Governing Board.



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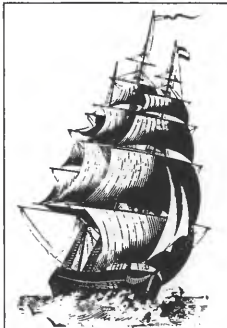
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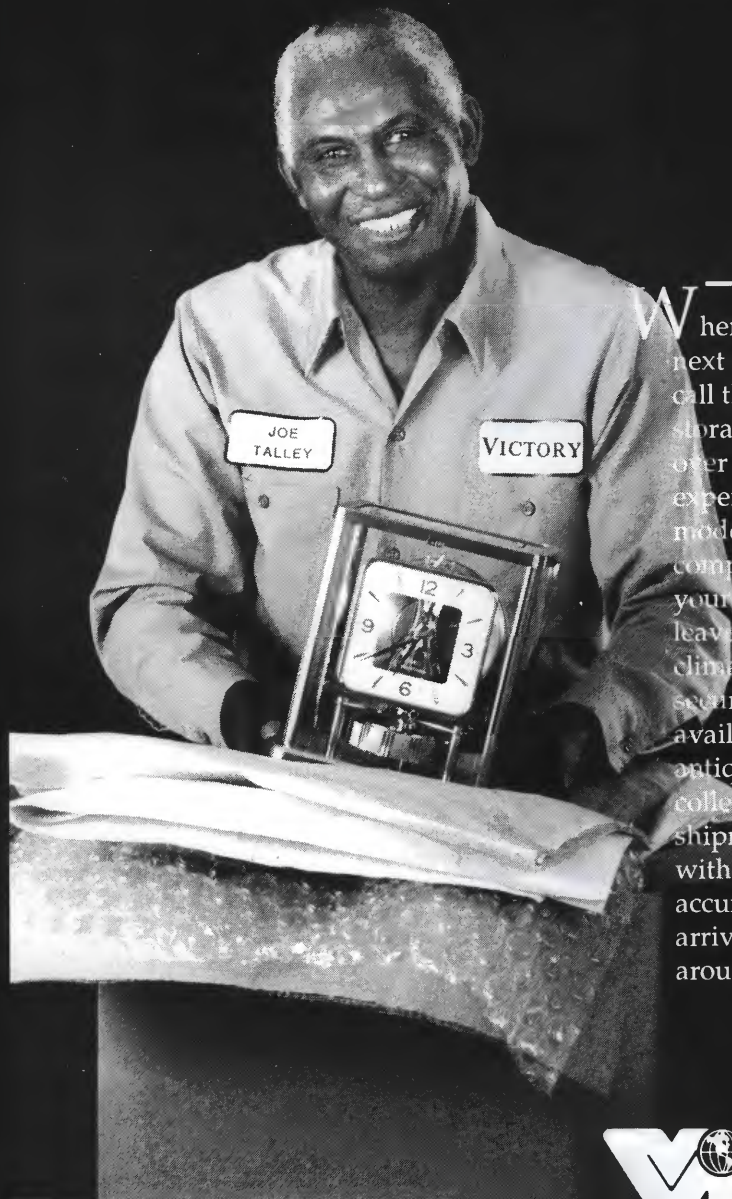
In July AFSA will have an opening for the director of the Member Services department. Duties include:

- Providing representation and counsel to members at all stages of the Foreign Service grievance process.
- Assisting employees with career counseling, resolving payroll/administrative problems, obtaining benefits and allowances that have been denied, etc.
- Participating in labor-management negotiations and other facets of AFSA's union responsibilities (e.g., drafting proposals and monitoring compliance in agreements with management)
- Maintaining expertise in personnel policies and statutory/regulatory provisions involving foreign affairs agencies

Knowledge of the Foreign Service, grievance procedures, federal sector labor relations, and association management is crucial for the successful candidate; strong writing and interpersonal skills are also important.

Interested parties are encouraged to send resumes to: Executive Director, AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. For details on the position, please contact AFSA's labor-management office at 202/647-8160.

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