

# FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

JULY 1991

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## AFTER THE WAR

- ★ The Same Old World Order—Janice Gross Stein
- ★ Why the Kurds Fled—David A. Korn
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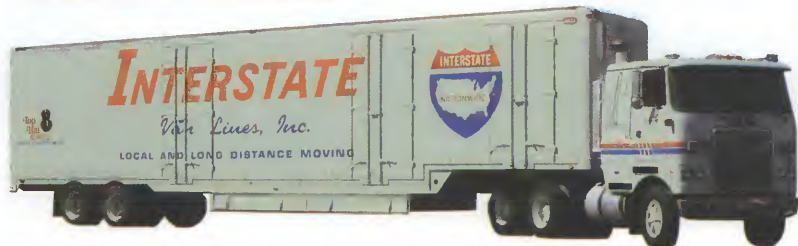
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# AFSA VIEWS

## CHEQUES AND BALANCES

This spring's *Congressional Record* should reassure any civil libertarian with doubts about the continuing vitality of Montesquieu's axiom for durable democracy. Legislative restraints on the administration's excesses of zeal have proliferated far beyond those foreseen in the *Federalist*. The more imminent danger in the field of foreign affairs may be paralysis.

The power of the purse remains paramount, of course, but consider the additional instruments of influence that the legislature has devised to inflict on the executive—Government Accounting Office investigations, appointment of inspectors general with authority for criminal investigations, hearings, calculated leaks, fact-finding trips, and, above all, *micromanagement*.

Earmarking in the foreign aid bill is perhaps the best known example of the phenomenon, and it's not surprising that the White House plans to seek legislation "to put an end to micromanagement of all our foreign economic, security, and humanitarian assistance programs."

Current debate on the State Department authorization bill provides some choice examples. The case of the Moscow Embassy is instructive. Foiled last year by several powerful legislators who considered it wasteful to rebuild the nearly completed new chancery, the administration this year has proposed an imaginative alternative: leave the bottom floors intact, bugs and all, and replace the top two with four new, U.S.-constructed floors as a secure "top hat" for the structure. Now other legislators are insisting on the original raze-and-rebuild option. The tug-of-war between rival legislative kibitzers ended in a standoff on the House version of the authorization bill, which mandates a new, detailed study. House appropriations action is still pending, however, and the issue has yet to be fought out in two Senate committees.

Another controversial authorization bill issue concerns implementation of the report of the 1988-89 Thomas Commission. The conclusions and recommendations of the report were carefully reviewed in early 1989 by AFSA, by the Bremer Committee formed by Under Secretary Selin, and by State Department management itself. Some of the recommendations were implemented as submitted, or in modified form, and some were set aside—with good reason. Now, however, at the initiative of critics who want to involve Congress even more directly in management of the department (e.g., by having Congress authorize the number of Foreign Service officers *at each rank* annually), there are renewed efforts to legislate implementation of *all* the Thomas recommendations. A motion to this effect has resurfaced in the Senate in the current text of the authorization bill that would reconstitute the Thomas Commission. The reconstituted commission would not only report on compliance with the earlier recommendations but would also have a hunting license to study "any other question or issue relevant to efficiency, cost effectiveness, and morale" in State.

AFSA would be foolish to oppose judicious action by Congress to limit rogue activities by renegade elements of any administration, e.g., the clandestine adventures of Oliver North & Co. But, it's hard to fault the White House for launching a counteroffensive against micromanagement. The process takes too much time even for a congressional staff that has grown fourfold in the last 30 years. Nor is there time or money for an adequate response from the foreign affairs agencies, or from a Foreign Service that hasn't grown at all in the same time frame.

—TED WILKINSON



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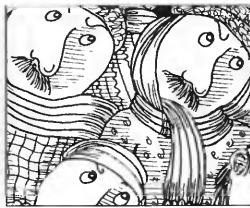
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Photo by AP/Wide World Photos.



Iraq's Kurds .....20



Diplomacy in Reverse .....36

## FEATURES

**The Diplomatic Mistake That Made Yugoslavia** ..... 11  
STEPHEN A. SESTANOVICH

### FOCUS: THE AFTERMATH OF WAR

**It's Still the Same Old World Order** ..... 16  
JANICE GROSS STEIN

**Iraq's Kurds: Why Two Million Fled** ..... 20  
DAVID A. KORN

**Truth or Dare: The Glaspie Affair** ..... 25  
GEORGE GEDDA

**Mechanics of Diplomacy: The ABCs of Sanctions** ..... 28  
LARRY ROEDER JR.

**Rise of the Russophiles: Soviet Conservatives and the Gulf** ..... 30  
VLADIMIR SHILAPENTOKH

**Journal: Diplomacy in Reverse** ..... 36  
ROBERT K. CARR

**Diplomats in History: Presidential Kin** ..... 41

**Books** ..... 43  
Lawrence J. Kennon on Indira Gandhi; George F. Jones on Panama

## DEPARTMENTS

AFSA Views .....2  
Letters .....4  
Clippings .....6  
50 Years Ago .....10  
Foreign Service Quiz .....10  
AFSA News .....47  
Marketplace .....52  
Real Estate .....56  
Classifieds .....59



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## LETTERS

### DOWN WITH INCENTIVES

To THE EDITOR:

The department is in the midst, it seems, of a serious budget crunch that has broad and long-term implications. During trying times like these, innovative approaches are needed to confront and resolve problems. The talented ones among us are encouraged to step forward with their ideas to tackle and overcome obstacles.

When the seriousness of the budget crunch became apparent in Tokyo, management immediately responded. The first item to fall to the axe was the mission's cash (incentive) awards program. Hurrah!

*Jim Horn*  
*Personnel Officer, Tokyo*

### DANGEROUS BAGHDAD

To THE EDITOR:

I enjoyed the article in the May 1991 *Journal* entitled, "It's Never Been Easy to Serve in Baghdad," concerning events in Baghdad a century ago.

It might be of interest to readers to note that life in Baghdad was not easy a half a century ago either. In May 1941 the American Legation consisted of a minister and four American staff members. They spent the entire month of May sheltering 162 refugees, interned incommunicado in our legation, surrounded by Iraqi troops and police and under constant threat by the then Iraqi "revolutionary" government.

A full account of these events was published in the June 1972 issue of the *Journal*.

*Gordon H. Mattison*  
*Foreign Service Officer, Retired*

### A DEVELOPMENT DISASTER

To THE EDITOR:

It should not come as a surprise to Frank Ruddy ("The Kindness of Strangers," March 1991) that the likes

of Samuel Doe and Mobutu Sese Seko, as well as otherwise misguided heads of state such as Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda continued to benefit from American largesse in Africa long after it had become clear that these resources were being wasted from a developmental perspective.

This is a direct result of the Cold War, which made Africa one of the cockpits for gaining influence, manipulating proxies, and "keeping allies" by the superpowers. Once a donor country subordinates development policy to political and security concerns, meaningful development flies out the window. As a result, Africa has remained a development disaster over the past decades.

*Curt C.F. Wolters*  
*USAID, Islamabad*

### A RADICAL DINNER

To THE EDITOR

I have just read a biography of the Italian freedom-fighter, Giuseppe Garibaldi by Max Gallo, which made me realize that 19th-century American diplomats and consular officers were not always "cookie pushers" who associated only with high society. In the 1850s Garibaldi was invited to a dinner in London by the American consul, Saunders. Others present were Ambassador James Buchanan, Mazzini (prophet of Italian unity and democracy), Louis Kossuth, Theodore Herzen, and the French radical, Ledru-Rollin.

It seems that Saunders knew what he was doing. He had the future of Europe and the United States at his table. The American Foreign Service needs more of the imagination of Saunders today. Don't just invite the people in power. Look to what may happen next.

*William G. Marvin Jr.*  
*Foreign Service Officer, Retired* ■

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## CLIPPINGS

### COLD-WAR COCOON

NEWSWEEK, MAY 13, 1991

Just when Soviet society is more open than ever before, the U.S. Embassy has drawn a curtain around itself. . . . The embassy has morale problems. "I resent having to have a chaperon with me whenever I meet a Soviet," says one employee. "I got a security clearance before I came and I know what a secret is." Washington insists that the KGB is still working hard to pry secrets out of Americans in Moscow [and] "there have to be guidelines."

[Since 1986] office chores have fallen to diplomats. "The irony is that, for a diplomat, this is the most sexy, glam-

orous job in the world," says one staffer. "Then you get here and you have to do all this piddling office work." . . . Other tasks don't get done at all.

The March 29 fire made things worse. . . . The fire pretty well devastated the embassy's capability to intercept signals from Soviet radio and telephone traffic. It also knocked out telegraphic communication with Washington. . . . Even now the diplomats must wait for an hour or more to send messages over one of the six secure terminals that have been set up.

Staffers argue that the embassy's human-intelligence capabilities have been needlessly degraded by the limits

on contact with Soviet citizens. "Without this contact policy, I could absolutely do a better job," says one diplomat. Staffers are not allowed to bring Soviet citizens into their own offices or buy them lunch in the embassy cafeteria. . . . At a time of high uncertainty about the future of the Soviet Union, when U.S. diplomats should be spending more time than ever with Soviet citizens, they are being wrapped in a cold-war cocoon.

### TOP HAT DEFERENCE

WASHINGTON POST MAY 29, 1991

BY ROWLAND EVANS AND ROBERT NOVAK

[The Moscow Embassy debate] is an extreme example of the be-nice policy assiduously followed by James A. Baker III from the day he became secretary of state. Determined to avoid the searing policy fights of the Reagan days, Baker has cultivated and avoided provoking the barons of Capitol Hill—including Rep. Neal Smith (D-Iowa), chairman of the appropriations subcommittee handling the State Department's money.

In this year's State Department budget, the administration advocated the "tear down" option. . . . But the State Department less than three months ago switched to a "top hat" option—keep four stories of the bugged building and build four new ones on top of it. That's an open invitation to further KGB mischief. . . . Why then would Baker buy it? He and CIA Director Webster explained in a joint letter that they "proposed top hat only out of desperation because members of Congress will refuse to make these funds available." . . . Yet the actual difference between the \$215 million top hat and the \$280 million tear down is only \$65 million—the price of one big city post office. . . .

Top hat may yet be foiled. There was not enough support for top hat

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passage in the House, which sent the matter back to the State Department to decide (presumably in favor of top hat, out of deference to Smith). . . . Thus the Moscow Embassy fiasco continues because Jim Baker pursues non-confrontation with the grandees of Capitol Hill.

## NO SUNUNU

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, MAY 5, 1991

By SARA FRITZ

[Secretary of State] Baker—unlike other cabinet officials—always flies aboard government aircraft for security reasons, no matter what the purpose of the trip. But he and his family members routinely reimburse the government for personal trips, one of which cost nearly \$4,000.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS AND BEYOND

CLAIBORNE PELL'S TWILIGHT ZONE

THE NEW REPUBLIC, JUNE 10, 1991

By SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

Since William Fulbright's defeat in 1974, the [Foreign Relations] Committee has not had a strong Democratic chairman. The wavering, unfocused quality of the Democrats' thinking on foreign policy greatly reflects the effective loss of this concentrating instrument. Under Claiborne Pell . . . most of the committee's functions [have been dispersed] to its subcommittees—a virtual dismemberment. Never has its reputation been lower. "It's the doormat committee for foreign policy."

In Congress, control of jurisdiction is the *sine qua non* of power. But Pell steadfastly refused to fight for that which is his, and his rapid diminishment began at once. His position as chairman made it necessary for the congressional leadership to create a select committee to investigate the Iran-Contra scandal, and it was handled with memorable incompetence.

To handle the president's request for war authorization, Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell formed a special committee that superseded Foreign Relations. Never before, except in the case of Pearl Harbor, had the

committee been bypassed in a matter of war.

The committee now has distributed nearly all of its duties and staff to its subcommittees and their chairmen. Pell

---

*Never before, except in the case of Pearl Harbor, had the committee been bypassed in a matter of war.*

---

has essentially eliminated himself from responsibility for handling nominations, the State Department budget, foreign aid, and regional issues; he doesn't have to produce mark-up documents, hold hearings, or defend bills on the floor. He has staged a coup against himself. . . .

Pell's staff justifies the dispersal of duties to the subcommittee by saying it will box in Jesse Helms (R.-NC). Yet it is producing a contrary effect. . . . As the Democrats decentralized, the Republicans centralized. Now all mark-ups and

amendments on the GOP side must pass through Helms' staff. His chokehold on the committee has been tightened.

Thus, the emasculation of the committee will be drawn out until Pell retires after the 1996 election.

## THE PROS

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, MAY 21, 1991

Malcolm Toon, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union and Israel, once met a Navy admiral who said that when he retired he wanted to become an ambassador. Toon shot back that when he retired he would like to command an aircraft carrier.

In the shifting world of the 1990s . . . America can no longer afford to have second-rate ambassadors—men and women of dubious diplomatic qualifications.

It is time ambassadorships ceased to be political favors. Tougher criteria, those of merit alone, should be applied—perhaps by an advisory panel

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## SECRETS AT STATE

IALOGUE: AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE  
*THE NEW YORK TIMES OP-ED*, MAY 19, 1991  
THE STATE DEPARTMENT CAN DO THE JOB  
BY DANIEL MOYNIHAN

... It is possible, for the first time since the onset of the Cold War to ask whether we need the [Central Intelligence Agency] as it now is. I, for one, think not, and have a bill in to put the secretary of state in charge of our intelligence activities.

For a quarter of a century, the CIA has been repeatedly wrong about the major political and economic questions entrusted to its analysis. . . . Increasingly, except for technical military matters, our intelligence system has become learning disabled.

We could do better. Not least if the State Department would speak up and insist on carrying out its own responsibilities with its own resources.

BY BUD SCHUSTER

IALOGUE: AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's effort to abolish the Central Intelligence Agency and transfer its functions to the State Department is a recipe for disaster. Giving the secretary of state chief responsibility for intelligence raises the specter of "cooking" intelligence to support a preconceived policy. The separation of intelligence gathering and foreign policy is a fundamental principle.

A separate CIA protects analysts from pressure to gather information favorable to an administration's initiatives. It is doubtful that the State Department would relish a reversal of this wise policy. For reasons of safety and credibility, Foreign Service officers distance themselves from "spies."

The focus of U.S. intelligence may fluctuate with our interests and roles. But we should get over the idea that intelligence is dirty, that it represents the abandonment of American innocence and ideals rather than a wise way to preserve those ideals. ■

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## FOREIGN SERVICE QUIZ

Answers on page 48

1. What is the full title of an officer who is temporarily in charge of a diplomatic post in the absence of the chief of mission?
2. Which U.S. president issued an executive order stating that a Foreign Service officer must resign in order to marry an alien?
3. Which U.S. diplomat's name is subscribed to seven of the first 14 American treaties?
4. Who was chosen as the first U.S. consul in France but never served?
5. Because of the lack of Foreign Service personnel, this group was formed in 1941 to implement programs in Latin America. What was it?

# THE DIPLOMATIC MISTAKE THAT MADE YUGOSLAVIA

By STEPHEN N. SESTANOVICH

**T**hose interested in diplomacy need shed no tears for Yugoslavia. Objective observers and most of that country's people now concede that the impending breakup of the Yugoslav nation is a delayed historical inevitability.

The fault has not been necessarily with the Croats, nor with the Serbs, the principal antagonists; it has been with the fatal combination of Croats and Serbs trying to run a country together.

The Yugoslav union was doomed from square one. Draconian practices instituted by the late President Josip Broz Tito to keep it all from falling apart are being challenged by most of the constituent republics. From the beginning, uniting Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes into a federal union was a chancy undertaking. Heavily sprinkling such an association with a disparate collection of Montenegrins, Hungarians, Romanians, Albanians, Italians, Macedonians, Bosnian Muslims, and Turks, and attempting to draw ethnic boundaries to satisfy them all, was the ultimate in gerrymandering.

A union of such diverse cultures was heady stuff in 1919, as the victorious World War I wheeler-dealers sat down in the Hall of Mirrors to redraw the map of Europe. In their noble effort to correct the wrongs committed by the vanquished Austro-Hungarian empire and its guiding principle of *divide et impera*, they gave life to a south Slavic nation with inherently greater vexations than existed before.

Three-quarters of a century of honest effort to reduce the differences that separate the Yugoslav peoples has

failed. The debate now going on within Yugoslavia is whether to continue as a centralized federation, which is what the Communist-led Serbs and Montenegrins seem committed to, or to construct a new confederation of independent republics modeled on the European Community, which would be the choice of Slovenia and Croatia. The recent elections overwhelmingly confirmed Croatia's and



Slovenia's long-term desire to separate. Either federation or confederation would require sublimation of parochial differences to the national interest. Both would be mere replays of past failed efforts.

## Squaring the circle

Yugoslavia's track record in reconciling ethnic contrariness is not an exalted one. Even President Tito's modest success in keeping the various groups from killing each other had to call on police-state methods and only made the present disarray more glaring than ever. History, tradition, national temperament, and lack of a common heritage all tend to pull Yugoslavia's peoples apart. They differ in race, language, religion, and

cultural tradition. They have been historical rivals. They have fought on opposing sides in countless wars. Their philosophies in art, music, and literature are totally different.

The map-makers of 1919 did not pause to take a closer look at any of these disparities. They saw only that the Croats and Slovenes, long-time vassals of Austria-Hungary, and the Serbs, who were survivors of centuries of Ottoman domination, were a somewhat kindred people who yearned for nationhood. What better way to break up the vanquished empires than to grant immediate nationhood to their aspiring ethnic minorities?

As the Versailles tribunal heard the mournful plaints of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes about their imperial masters, its members were touched by the evident cooperativeness of the plaintiffs. Indeed, when acting independently, these ethnic groups demonstrated extraordinarily conciliatory attitudes toward

one another—attitudes they were never able to replicate once nationhood was achieved.

## Restive troika

Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes came upon the scene in 1919 by different routes. Slovenia, home to the most homogeneous of the south Slav peoples, had never been an independent country. From their first appearance in Europe in the sixth century, the Slovenes had been tossed back and forth among Frankish, Bavarian, and Austrian overlords. Only the church of Rome and its priesthood kept alive Slovenia as a linguistic entity and a

people. Becoming a part of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1919, and Tito's Yugoslavia in 1944, Slovenia has been the best-run of Yugoslavia's six nationality republics and the most prosperous.

Croatia, perhaps the most politically sophisticated of the Yugoslav republics, had been an independent kingdom in the 10th century, with its own dukedoms, a feared military, and papal recognition as a nation. But the Croats lived in a highly volatile area, the crossroads between Europe and the East, and in 1091 they were conquered by the neighboring Hungarians, who, together with the Austrians and, at times, the Venetians and the French, ruled them for eight centuries. In 1919, the Croats were encouraged by the victorious Allies to sever all ties to the humiliated Austro-Hungarians and be incorporated into the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

In 1941, when the Axis powers overran the south Slavic kingdom, the Croats were goaded by the Fascists to declare a phony republic under native Fascist tutelage. As the Axis went down in defeat, the Croatian state went with it. Tito's victorious Partisans, who included large Croat cadres, made Croatia part of the new Socialist Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia. However, the Serbs never forgave them for their defection, and Croatia's stance as a quiescent state has been a bone of contention between them ever since.

The Serbs are different yet—a people schooled to survive under hundreds of years of Turkish rule and the demanding obedience required by an Eastern-oriented church. The Serbs look back to their golden age, a brief period in the mid-14th century, when their leader, Dushan the Powerful, became emperor of Serbs and Greeks in a kingdom including Albania, Epirus, Aetolia, and Thessaly.

Serbia's heydays were short-lived. The Serbs, too, were overrun by neighboring Turks in 1389; only in 1882 were Serbs able to have their own kingdom again, this time under Russian protection. After a war against the Turks in 1912, they were given Macedonia, which made Serbia a Balkan power on the eve of World War I.

## Serbian supremacy

Thus, Serbia came upon 1919 as one of the victorious western Allies. The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was hastily born on December 4, 1919, only one month after the armistice that ended the war. It was actually a greater Serbia, with a Serbian king-regent, a Serbian capital city, and a Serbian-led government and military establishment.

The Serbs were riding high again. It is understandable that in the euphoria, they would consider themselves the hegemonic power over the lesser Croats, Slovenes, Bosnians, and Hercegovenians, who came into the newly formed union from political serfdom. King Alexander ran his kingdom like a Serbian police state. It was not long before the Croats and Slovenes, who consider themselves culturally superior to the Serbs, were at odds with the Serbs, and what harmony had existed previously was impaired.

As World War II began, the quarreling and divided Yugoslav kingdom was no match for the well-oiled and disciplined German war machine that trampled the country in a few days. The king and his government fled to London, leaving behind the legendary Chetniks, under General Draza Mihailovic, to ward off the invaders.

Communist groups, banned under the monarchy, surfaced throughout Yugoslavia and rallied around the man who, in 1936, had made a name for himself by taking a battalion of Yugoslav Communists to fight in the Spanish civil war: the Croat, Josip Broz, code-named Tito.

Partisans and Chetniks fought their own separate wars, often against each other. The Allied forces at first stood solidly behind the Serb, Mihailovic, grooming him for a future role in a resurrected Yugoslavia. But as the ethnic composition of Tito's ragamuffin troops became more representative of the Yugoslav nation, and as his troops fought better against the German and Italian enemies, Allied sentiments changed. At Prime Minister Winston Churchill's insistence and President Franklin Roosevelt's concurrence, Allied support was transferred from the Chetniks to Tito's Partisans.

In 1944-46, now-Marshall Tito pro-

claimed the restoration of the Yugoslav state as a socialist federation of six constituent and allegedly equal republics. The consent of the people was not even considered.

The Serbs, still the largest component in both area and population, soon recovered both their political and military primacy. In 1990, the incorporation into the Serbian republic of the autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo further inflamed Croatian fears of a Greater Serbia. Foreseeing a breakup of Yugoslavia, the Serbs are now seriously eyeing chunks of Croatia, where large numbers of Serbs have relocated, for annexation into Serbia.

The presence in Yugoslavia of large enclaves of non-Slavic Macedonians (who form one of the nation's republics), Albanians in Kosovo, and Hungarians in Vojvodina has been the source of endless pugnacity. These tensions are not likely to be reduced under any reform program now on the table.

Many decades of Serb-Croat disquietude have brought the Yugoslav nation to a decisive crossroads: their choice is either to continue as best they can, seeking illusive solutions, such as reconstitution as a confederate union, or simply to make a clean break with the past and separate.

Without a negotiated and peaceful separation now, the universally feared vision for the future is continued strife and eventual civil war.

It is time to re-examine the mistakes of the map-makers of 1919 and 1945 in the light of three-quarters of a century of acrimony among the warring constituencies of Yugoslavia, remembering that World Wars I and II both had their origins in explosions of ethnic incompatibilities. Helping to correct these old mistakes now, by supporting popular movements toward freedom in Croatia, Slovenia, and, yes, even in Serbia, would be the actions of a maturing American foreign policy.

Democratic forces are on the march in Yugoslavia, and their most valuable advantage would be America's benediction. ■

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*Stephen Sestanovich served for 30 years in State, Defense, and USIA. He travels frequently to Yugoslavia.*

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Why It's Still



# THE OLD WORLD ORDER

By JANICE GROSS STEIN

EVERY WAR GENERATES LESSONS AND SPAWNS MYTHS. EVEN THOUGH IT IS STILL EARLY, SEVERAL MYTHS ALREADY HAVE BEEN CREATED IN THE EUPHORIA OF VICTORY IN THE GULF WAR, AND PRELIMINARY LESSONS CAN BE DRAWN ABOUT THE MANAGEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT. THE MYTHS ARE MISLEADING AND THE LESSONS CAUTIONARY.

TWO LESSONS EMERGE FROM THE PERIOD THAT PRECEDED THE WAR: DETERRENCE AND COMPULSION BOTH FAILED. A STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE USES THREATS TO PREVENT AN ADVERSARY FROM TAKING AN UNWANTED AC-

tion—"don't do that or else." Compulsion involves using the threat of force to convince an adversary to do something he does not wish to do. Both strategies assume as a minimum condition sufficient military superiority to make the threat credible. Despite its unquestioned military advantage, the United States practiced a flawed strategy of deterrence in the two weeks preceding Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2. From the invasion until the onset of war on January 16, the American-led coalition vigorously attempted to compel Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. Neither strategy of conflict management succeeded. Why?

## Confused messages

In the weeks immediately preceding Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Washington sent ambiguous messages about its likely response to a use of force by Saddam Hussein. At the now infamous July 25 meeting in Baghdad, Ambassador April Glaspie told Hussein that "...we have no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait." Glaspie subsequently testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that, during that meeting, she had also warned several times that "we would insist on settlements being made in a nonviolent manner, not by threats, not by intimidation, and certainly not by aggression... I told him orally we would defend our vital interests, we would support our friends in the Gulf, we would defend their sovereignty and integrity."

At worst, in the critical two weeks when Saddam was considering the use of force, the United States sent a weak and confused message about its likely response, should Iraq use force. At best, to the extent that Washington did try to deter, the warning was not credible. The president of Iraq doubted not the capability but the resolve of the United States to defend Kuwait. American resolve was in question not because of inept strategy by the American ambassador, but because of confused policy. In the last several years, the United States had courted Iraq as a counterweight to Iran and turned a blind eye to evidence that Hussein might be considering aggression against his neighbors. Under these conditions, it was difficult for the United States, irrespective of its military capability, to make its threats credible.

The second lesson is unambiguous. Compulsion did not work. Despite the best efforts of the Bush Administration to manipulate the risk of war and its unquestioned military superiority, Saddam Hussein did not back down. This time, signals were clear, unequivocal, and overwhelming, but the strategy still failed. Several



COLLECTOR NAME: J. G. ROBERTSON

factors explain the failure to avoid war.

Saddam continued to doubt American resolve, not on the basis of U.S. military capability but rather on the basis of its willingness to suffer casualties. In discussing the battle of Fao, which had been decisive in the Iran-Iraq war, Saddam told Ambassador Glaspie that, "Yours is a society which cannot accept 10,000 dead in one battle." Drawing an analogy to the withdrawal of American Marines from Beirut, President Hussein was persuaded that the American public would not tolerate large numbers of casualties in a ground war.

More to the point, Saddam's calculation of the costs and benefits was different from that of the United States. One probable interpretation of his refusal to retreat is that he could not accept the political costs; after the first week, once he was condemned by fellow Arab leaders at the summit in Cairo, the loss of pride and honor and the humiliation of backing down were intolerable. Saddam preferred to fight and lose than to pay the personal and political price that retreat involved.

The success of threat-based strategies of conflict management depends not only on superior military capabilities, but on an understanding of the other side's decision criteria. George Bush and Saddam Hussein could not cross the cultural divide to understand the basis of the other's calculation. In the Gulf, threat-based strategies failed to prevent both crisis and war. These are cautionary lessons for the future management of international conflict.

### Smart weapons and talking heads

The war, fought from January 16 to February 27, spawned other lessons on the management of international conflict in the post-Cold War era. Two stand out in importance. First, smart weapons, especially used from the air, greatly reduced the political costs of conventional warfare. "Smart" weapons thus make it easier for great powers to fight conventional wars against middle and smaller powers in the Third World. Analysts suggest that international cooperation may grow as the cost of military technology escalates. If "smart" weapons are easily available over the next decade, they may undercut peaceful settlements of a myriad of disputes in the Third World and make some kinds of north-south wars more likely.

Second, the political constraints operating on President Bush during the war, as distinct from the prewar period, were overestimated. Although the war was high tech, its coverage was not. Management of the media and control of information were carefully planned by the Pentagon before the fighting began. Due to what leaders thought they had learned from Vietnam, this was the first radio war in two generations, in which home TV coverage was largely restricted to "talking heads." In part because the public saw very few visual images of death and damage in the fighting, and because the war was brief, President Bush conducted the war virtually free of political constraints. This lesson has been well learned by military leaders in Washington as well as other Western capitals. Electronic wars and

radio coverage make war more, rather than less, likely as a future instrument of international conflict management.

## New world order?

In the post-war period, several dangerous myths have already been accepted. The first and most important is that the orchestration and management of the war confirm "American hegemony" or the emergence of a "unipolar system" dominated by the United States. Some critics allege that the United States, working under the guise of collective security to preserve a hegemonic order, went to war to secure strategic resources in the Gulf and to protect its client regimes. Others insist that the most striking feature of the post-Cold War world is its unipolarity, with the United States unchallenged at the center of world power. The first group sees continuation, the second fundamental change in the system, but both agree on the preeminence of the United States in the post-Cold War international system.

This analysis of a unipolar hegemonic order as demonstrated by the performance of the United States in the war in the Gulf mistakes the shell for the substance. The war occurred under very specific conditions that are not likely to be replicated. President Saddam Hussein was widely feared and hated in his own country and beyond his borders in the Middle East. Although his political agenda received wide support in the Arab world, he personally had almost no constituency. In addition, Iraq sat close to the largest proven reserves of the world's oil, upon which the industrialized economies generally depend. This created a uniquely shared perception of threat and common interest among the major powers at the United Nations. It is inconceivable, for example, that a Syrian invasion of Lebanon, or an attack by Libya against Chad, would evoke the same response.

Soviet interest in cooperating with the United States was also extraordinarily high. It can be explained in part by Soviet expectation of Western economic and technical assistance critical to the reorganization of its economy. But if a politically weakened President Gorbachev cannot resist the renewed political importance of the military, the KGB, and the conservative constituencies in the Foreign Ministry, the Soviet "moment" that created the myth of unipolarity may well have passed.

Finally, a hegemon in a unipolar system traditionally

bears a disproportionate share of the burden to persuade would-be free riders to join; it does not ask others to pay unless it is in decline. But even before the fighting began, Washington exacted pledges from the Gulf states to finance more than half the costs of the war. Again, that the threat was directed principally against the oil-wealthy made it relatively easy to arrange multilateral financing of an American-led coalition. Interestingly, the contributions of the strong industrial-

ized economies—Germany and Japan—were small proportional to the cost of the war. Without the multilateral financing provided largely by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, the impact on the American budgetary process would have been severe, with real political costs. As it has done with its debt, the United States was able to export most of the costs of the war to those most directly threatened by unchecked aggression.

In short, a historically specific and unique set of conditions permitted the United States to engineer a series of steps that were all necessary to move down the path to war. It is dangerous and misleading to generalize from this single case, however. The United States did not so much "control" the international agenda as it carefully, at considerable political risk, crafted and led

a coalition to shape the agenda. Washington was extraordinarily skillful in deploying the resources it commanded. The role of the United States in conflict management in the decade ahead will be shaped more by its diplomatic and political skills than by its economic and military power.

## Israel's trauma

A second myth is that wars create new opportunities in their aftermath. Creative leadership can restructure once-frozen political forces and resolve long-festered conflicts. What is remarkable is how little the war has changed the world. War, generally associated with great uncertainties and unpredictabilities, changed little in the political geography other than to eliminate Iraq as a threat to its neighbors for the rest of the decade.

The Gulf War has also made it more, not less, difficult to resolve the Israel-Palestinian conflict. It strengthened the governments of Syria and Israel and

**The government of Yitzhak Shamir also comes out of the war strengthened in Israeli public opinion. Shamir was able to persuade the Israeli public, under extraordinarily trying circumstances, that restraint was the wisest course of action. Given public support of the government, it is going to be extraordinarily difficult to persuade the governing coalition of the urgency of the concessions.**

badly weakened the leadership of the Palestinians. President Hafez-al-Asad used the opportunity provided by the Gulf War to consolidate formal control of Lebanon and to end his isolation of more than a decade in the Arab world. Syria's troubled economy is also receiving substantial help from Saudi Arabia in the wake of Syrian participation in the war. Despite declining Soviet military assistance and diplomatic support, Syria is now in a far better position to shape the agenda and the terms of Arab-Israeli negotiations than it was before the war in the Gulf.

In Israel, the war had contradictory consequences. Now that Iraq is no longer in a position to join a coalition against Israel, the most serious strategic threat to Israel has been removed for a decade. Syria, which poses the remaining serious threat to Israel, is less likely to attack alone than in conjunction with an Arab coalition; consequently, a large-scale war involving ballistic missiles and counter-city warfare is far less likely than it was a year ago. Israel is therefore relatively more secure than it was a year ago.

On the other hand, the war was a traumatic experience for Israel. Its civilian population was sent night after night into sealed rooms and forced to don gas masks. For many among that population, it brought back traumatic memories. From left to right across the political spectrum, there was a deep reaction against pictures of Palestinians chanting for Saddam Hussein to use chemical weapons against Israel. Even the peace movement in Israel, which had long urged negotiations with the PLO, now expresses deep disappointment with Arafat.

The government of Yitzhak Shamir also comes out of the war strengthened in Israeli public opinion. Shamir was able to persuade the Israeli public, under extraordinarily trying circumstances, that restraint was the wisest course of action. Given public support of the government, it is going to be very difficult to persuade the governing coalition of the urgency of the concessions.

Yasir Arafat has been crippled in the Arab world by his open and strong support of Saddam during the war. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, as well as some of the smaller Gulf states, were the principal source of funds for the PLO. These funds have now been cut off and are not likely to be renewed as long as Saddam is in power in

Iraq and Arafat is chairman of the PLO. Political support for the PLO has also been decimated within the Arab world. Iraq can no longer provide meaningful political or military support to Arafat, and the leaderships of all the Gulf states are now angered and embittered by Arafat's position during the war. Only Egypt, the pivotal state in the politics of the Middle East, offers lukewarm political endorsement of the PLO. Within the Arab world, Arafat's support is now restricted to North Africa,

Yemen, and Libya. It is no coincidence that at the recent Arab summit meeting, no mention was made of the PLO in the resolution dealing with the Palestinian question.

Finally, the changed international context works against immediate resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. For almost three decades, the Arab-Israel dispute was embedded in the larger Soviet-American conflict. The United States moved vigorously in the 1970s in large part because it feared that the conflict could explode and draw the United States into a dangerous confrontation with the Soviet Union. That fear has largely evaporated.

The last, most tentative, yet most revolutionary outcome of the war may lie in its ending. The international community's intervention in the internal affairs of a mem-

ber state in response to the creation of a massive number of Kurdish refugees is unprecedented. Whether the refugee camps and the safe havens that have been created in Northern Iraq are protected by foreign or UN troops, Iraq's sovereignty has clearly been violated. Although the intervention grew out of the war and is therefore historically specific, the response of the international community nevertheless sends a strong message about the acceptable limits of the treatment of minorities in the Middle East. This may be a more important bellwether of the kinds of international conflict—and solutions—likely to dominate the rest of this decade than a war begun to defend the principle of state sovereignty and the legitimacy of state borders. ■

*Janice Gross Stein is a professor of political science at the University of Toronto and a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. She recently edited Getting to the Table: Processes of International Prerequisite.*

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A FEW DAYS AFTER U.S. AND COALITION FORCES smashed Saddam Hussein's army in southern Iraq, an astonishing thing happened at the opposite end of that country. Rebellion swept Iraqi Kurdistan like wildfire through dry brush. In a matter of days, the cities and towns of the Iraqi Kurdish heartland—Suleimaniya, Irbil, Dahok, and even Kirkuk—were all in the hands of insurgents under the banners of Jalal Talabani, head of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, and Masoud Barzani, leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party and son of the

sudden of recent times, and it quickly created a human tragedy of immense proportions. Hundreds of thousands of Iraqi Kurds, Assyrian Christians, and Turcomans—people who had tasted brutal oppression at the hands of Saddam Hussein's regime—were soon crowded without food or shelter on mountainsides up against or just over Iraq's borders with Iran and Turkey. They began dying by the hundreds, then by the thousands. As pictures of dead and deathly ill children flashed across television screens in America and West-

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## Iraq's Kurds



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# WHY TWO MILLION FLED

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By DAVID A. KORN

legendary Kurdish guerilla fighter Mulla Mustafa Barzani. The Baghdad government's Kurdish militia rushed to throw in its lot with the insurgency, and other Iraqi military units in the north quickly surrendered. Seldom had power over an entire region fallen so swiftly from the hands of a central government.

Some two weeks later, there was even more astonishing news. As rapidly as it had risen, the Kurdish revolt collapsed, and some 2 million panicked Kurds jammed into cars, trucks, and buses or struck out on foot or horseback for the Turkish and Iranian borders with little but the clothes on their backs. It was a spontaneous mass flight, one of the largest and most

ern Europe, the Bush Administration was forced into a reversal of policy every bit as spectacular as its earlier turnabout from collaboration with Saddam Hussein to confrontation with him after his army invaded Kuwait.

Like the reversal the previous year, this one too, was at least in part the result of the administration's own miscalculation. Once Saddam Hussein's army was beaten (or thought to have been beaten) the administration's nightmare scenario was not that Kurds and Shi'ites would be massacred or flee for their lives by the hundreds of thousands, but that they would seize power, each in their respective zones. Iraq would become another Lebanon, torn apart; Iran would step in to impose a regime steeped in its own noxious brand of extremism, or the Kurds would defy reason and declare an independent state, or both. The one would unsettle our Saudi friends, the other our Turkish ally. So the administration opted for the path of *realpolitik*. It would stand aside and let the Iraqi army put down the Shi'ite and Kurdish rebellions: Iraq would thereby be kept together and postwar stability assured.

### See no evil

The nightmare scenario was realistic, and it couldn't have turned out to be more wrong. One of the reasons it was wrong is that the administration was so afraid of being contaminated by the Iraqi opposition that it wouldn't talk to them. A Kurdish delegation headed by Talabani was in Washington during the last week of February hoping for an appointment at the White House or State Department. For the administration, they were about as welcome as bearers of the plague. An order came down from the White House banning any meeting. Talabani and Hoshayr Zebari, Masoud Barzani's representative, left Washington without seeing anyone from the executive branch—and without anyone from the executive branch's learning from them what was about to happen in Iraqi Kurdistan.

If there was one key event afterwards, it was the administration's decision to look the other way while the Iraqis cut down the Shi'ite and Kurdish resistance

with helicopter gunships. In the mountainous terrain of Iraqi Kurdistan, the helicopters gave Iraqi forces a decisive edge. Helicopters could strike where tanks could not, and their armor and the insurgents' lack of surface-to-air missiles or anti-aircraft guns made them practically invulnerable. The president and his spokesmen offered a variety of rationales—none more than marginally persuasive—in justification of the decision to ignore Iraq's use of helicopters: anything the United States might do would violate the principle (suddenly sacred) of non-intervention in Iraq's internal affairs; the president did not "want to risk the life of one American boy" in a "conflict that has gone on for centuries;" helicopters would be too difficult to track, and shooting them down wouldn't do any good anyway, because the Iraqis could still send armor and artillery against the insurgents.

The hands-off policy brought results the administration had not expected. The flood of Kurdish refugees toward Turkey set off a clamor from President Turgut Ozal's government for allied action to halt the Kurdish exodus from Iraq. And the French and the British upstaged and embarrassed the United States by being the first to call for urgent measures to prevent a great human tragedy. Pictures of the Kurds' misery and of their dead wrapped in shrouds awaiting burial dimmed the glow of the great Desert Storm victory, while in Washington, the Democrats did their best to make the administration's apparent indifference a political issue.

A few days earlier, the White House had announced a paltry \$1 million contribution to Kurdish relief, to be handled through UNICEF. Now it did a swift about-face and launched a massive U.S. military airlift of food, blankets, and tents. And then the president did what he had vowed he would not do: he ordered U.S. forces into northern Iraq, to establish a safe haven for several hundred thousand Kurds and others who had fled toward Turkey.

## A divided people

Old Middle East hands in Washington, in and out of government, like to think of the Kurds as a quaint people who wear baggy pants and colorful turbans and periodically amuse themselves by firing World War I vintage rifles down from the mountains against government troops that come inconveniently to disturb their backward way of life.

So it may have been, once upon a time. Today, many Iraqi Kurds still wear baggy pants and turbans for ceremonial occasions. But the majority are now urban, and many are middle-class professionals: physicians, engineers, architects, accountants, teachers, civil servants, and businessmen.

The Kurds are the Middle East's fourth-largest ethnic group, after the Arabs, the Persians, and the Turks, and they are the only major one not to get a state of their own. Nobody knows exactly how many Kurds there

are; estimates range from a low of 15 million to a high of 30 million. The reason they never got a state was that in the new order that emerged out of the defeat of the central powers in World War I, the Kurds found themselves divided among Turkey, Iraq, and Iran, with smaller numbers in Syria and the Soviet Union. That too is why nobody knows how many of them there are. Neither Turkey, Iraq, Iran, nor even Syria has ever allowed a census to be taken among its Kurdish population. A good estimate would probably be 10 to 12 million in Turkey, 3 to 3.5 million in Iraq, and 5 or 6 million in Iran.

## Emerging political identity

Down through the centuries, Kurdish tribes in the secluded northern Zagros mountains resisted the encroachments of governments, but the idea of a Kurdish national identity did not take root until the 20th century. The Treaty of Sevres, signed between the allied powers and the defeated Ottoman Empire on August 10, 1920, called for establishing a Kurdish state under a League of Nations mandate with a vague promise of independence to come later. But the allies backed down after Kemal Ataturk defeated the Greek Army in Anatolia and seized uncontested control of the territory we now know as Turkey. In the 1920s and 1930s Ataturk's government launched repeated, brutal, and highly effective campaigns to suppress not just the nationalistic aspirations but the cultural identity of the Kurdish population. The Turks barred the public use of the Kurdish language and carried matters to the absurdity of denying that there was such a people as Kurds within their borders. "Mountain Turks," they called them.

In Iraq, things were different. Iraq had no true historical antecedents and no nationalistic strongman to throw out the foreigner and impose unity. It was an entirely artificial state, pieced together by the British at the end of World War I from the shattered remains of the eastern flank of the Ottoman Empire. The British insisted on including in this mainly Arab state the largely Kurdish Ottoman Wilayet of Mosul, because oil had been found there in substantial quantities, and London wanted to ensure that its latest vassal would not be a drain on the treasury. The Kurds objected, though at that point not strongly, for their world was still mainly tribal and their loyalties were to tribal leaders. The British bought them off with vague assurances of autonomy. The League of Nations exacted from the government of Iraq, as the price for accession to independence and admission to the League, a promise to respect Kurdish cultural, linguistic, and administrative autonomy.

When successive governments in Baghdad ignored these promises, the Kurdish tribes of Iraq rose in revolt. Little by little, in the cauldron of Kurdish revolt and Iraqi government repression, there was forged a sense of Kurdish identity and nationalism that transcended tribal



PHOTO BY SHARON SHINDLER/THE IMAGE WORKS

limits. Every Iraqi regime has had a part in this process, but none has done more to make Kurds think of themselves as Kurds and want to lead an autonomous existence than the Ba'ath Party, which seized power in Baghdad in 1968. And no Iraqi leader has been a more cruel, treacherous, and implacable adversary to the Kurds than the Ba'ath's strongman, Saddam Hussein.

### Empty promises

One of the first things the Ba'ath did after taking power in Baghdad was to launch a military offensive against the Kurds. By late 1969, however, it had become clear that Iraq's army lacked the means to crush Kurdish resistance. So Saddam Hussein turned to his own

particular brand of dual-track diplomacy. He opened talks with Kurdish leader Mulla Mustafa Barzani for a special status for the Kurds within Iraq, and he put out feelers to Moscow for a friendship treaty and for the arms he would need to resume the war against the Kurds.

On March 11, 1970, the Iraqi government and Barzani's negotiators reached agreement on a text that recognized "the national rights of the Kurdish people and of other minorities within the overall context of Iraqi unity." Kurdish was to be the language of instruction in Kurdish areas and would be taught as a second language in the rest of Iraq. A single administrative unit was to be established for the Kurdish region of Iraq, senior government posts there were to be held by Kurds, and steps were to be taken to "ensure that the Kurdish people enjoy a growing degree of self-government and hence internal autonomy." And a portion of the revenues from the Kirkuk oil fields was to be devoted to development in the Kurdish region.

A census was to be taken to establish the boundaries of the Kurdish region, but the Baghdad government never got around to it. Instead, it began expelling Kurds from Kirkuk and from towns and villages on the fringe of the Kurdish heartland, whittling away at the area to be accorded to the Kurds. In 1971, the Iraqi security services tried to assassinate Barzani by planting a bomb on an unsuspecting Moslem cleric sent to meet with the Kurdish leader (it blew up prematurely, killing the cleric

but only lightly wounding Barzani); they tried again in 1972 but failed the second time too.

### Enter the shah

In 1972 Baghdad and Moscow signed their friendship treaty, and Soviet arms began to flow into Iraq at an accelerated rate. This alarmed the shah of Iran, who decided it was time to play the Kurdish card. The shah offered Barzani arms and money to fight the Ba'ath regime. Barzani, who, after two attempts on his life and other outrages, had lost confidence in Saddam Hussein, found the shah's offer attractive. Still, he did not trust the Iranian; he wanted U.S. backing as well. The shah, he knew, was an unreliable ally who might easily

betray him, but he could not imagine that the Americans would do the same. At the shah's insistent request, Nixon and Kissinger secretly authorized \$16 million in aid to Barzani's forces.

The wily old Kurdish leader was right to be wary of the shah, but his confidence in the United States turned out to be misplaced. The Iranian monarch had no intention of seeing the Kurds win; he wanted only to make trouble for the Iraqis, and he was ready to drop his Kurdish allies the moment he could reach agreement with Saddam Hussein. Even while urging the Kurds to revolt, the shah put out feelers to the Iraqi leaders. Saddam was not interested so long as he thought he could win with his new Soviet arms, but by early 1975, he realized he could not. In March of that year, he made a deal; he gave the shah the mid-channel line of the Shatt al Arab. The shah agreed to cut off all assistance to the Kurds, and the United States followed suit.

It was surely the most shamefully cynical U.S. covert operation ever to come to public light. According to the summary of the report by the House Select Committee on Intelligence that was leaked to the press in 1976, the operation was launched without committee approval. Nixon and Kissinger were fully aware of and in accord with the shah's intent that the Kurds should not prevail. The committee's report concluded that had it not been for the U.S. role, "the insurgents might have reached an accommodation with [the government of Iraq]." The committee also found that while the United States encouraged the Kurds to pursue hostilities, on one occasion American representatives intervened to restrain them from launching an all-out offensive at a moment when such a move might have been successful.

The March 1975 agreement between the shah and Saddam Hussein brought catastrophe upon the Kurds. An estimated 200,000-300,000 fled to Iran. Many who eventually returned under Iraqi government offers of amnesty found themselves facing execution, imprisonment, or internal exile. Large numbers of Kurds were relocated to camps controlled by the Iraqi army or sent to the south of Iraq.

### **Saddam's revenge**

It was not, however, to be the end of Kurdish resistance to the Iraqi Ba'ath regime. Saddam Hussein coupled his repression in Kurdistan with the award of a largely fictitious autonomy for that region, but it won him few converts. After Iraq invaded Iran, the Kurds once again rose in revolt, this time without U.S. backing but with strong support from the Iranians. When Iran and Iraq reached agreement on a ceasefire in August 1988, the Kurds once again became the chief victims. Even before that—at Halabja in March 1988 and in earlier instances—the Iraqi army had used poison gas against Kurdish rebels and civilians. Then, in an act of

sheer vengeance, Saddam Hussein's forces again turned on the Kurds with chemical weapons. Thousands were killed or maimed and tens of thousands fled in panic to Turkey and Iran.

Having thus put down the latest Kurdish rebellion, Saddam Hussein moved to do what he evidently thought would make another revolt impossible. The Iraqi army razed the villages of Iraqi Kurdistan, not just along the Turkish and Iranian borders, but throughout the area; only the major towns and cities were left standing. Half a million Kurds—some say as many as 1 million—were expelled from their ancestral homes and forced into "new towns"—virtual concentration camps—in the Kurdish lowlands. When public opinion in the United States and Western Europe stirred against these savage measures, Hussein called the criticism interference in his internal affairs. The Reagan and Bush administrations, keen to develop their relations with the Iraqi strongman, essentially bought onto this line. Not once did the United States publicly protest Iraq's mass forced relocation of the Kurds, though Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's government and other Europeans did.

So what was it that made 2 million Kurds abandon their homes and flee in March 1991? Kurdish sources attribute it to two main causes. One was the United States' failure to make good on what the Kurds saw as a public U.S. commitment to keep the skies clear of Iraqi combat aircraft of any kind; once again, as in 1975, they felt betrayed and abandoned. The other was sheer terror of Saddam's revenge and, in particular, memory of the Iraqi army's resort to poison gas after the 1988 ceasefire. According to foreign observers who were on the scene, the Kurds were persuaded that this time, Hussein was going to annihilate them.

### **The Kurds' gamble**

Within days after Saddam Hussein crushed their rebellion, Jalal Talabani and Masoud Barzani went to Baghdad to pay him a visit. It seemed almost a hallucination. Stories of Iraqi atrocities were still fresh off the presses, and hundreds of thousands of terrified Kurds huddled miserably in makeshift camps in the mountains. Yet the two Kurdish leaders sailed for the TV cameras and embraced the Iraqi dictator.

Was it just another twist in the old Middle Eastern game of fight and reconcile? Hardly. Before Barzani would go to Baghdad, Saddam had to send one of his sons to the Kurdish rebel-held area in the north as a guarantee of Barzani's safety. So why did the Kurds, distrustful of Saddam Hussein, rush into negotiations with him?

The answer is simple: it is a matter of national survival. In the camps in the mountains of Iraqi Kurdistan, in Turkey and in Iran, Iraqi Kurdish children were dying in alarming numbers, from polluted water and bad food or from no food. It is estimated that one

out of every two children of families who fled have died or will die—an entire generation reduced by half. Beyond that, Kurdish leaders do not want to see their people become perpetual refugees, embittered, debilitated, and dependent upon the uncertain good will of others. They want them to be able to return to their homes and live normal lives.

The Kurds say they hoped to exploit Saddam's weakness to extract an agreement giving them broad authority to run their part of the country as they see fit. But even if a deal is struck, neither side expects it to last. The negotiations are a play for time: an opportunity to regroup and rebuild for Hussein, and, for the Kurds, a time to consolidate their hold over most of Iraqi Kurdistan outside the major cities, bringing people back to the thousands of villages and towns the Iraqi regime methodically laid to waste in the late 1980s.

The Kurds are betting that the United States and Western Europe won't allow Saddam to crush them once again. But it is a very big gamble, and they know it.

### **Tattered *realpolitik***

Why did the Bush Administration miscalculate so badly? To blame it all on an intelligence failure hardly seems plausible. Months before the war began, the intelligence community forecast massive humanitarian problems, and in early February 1991, the CIA predicted that the war might generate as many as 1.5 million refugees.

What led the administration astray in this instance was its seemingly irrepressible urge to apply the rules of 19th century diplomacy to nearly every foreign policy problem in sight. Balance-of-power politics required that Iraq be preserved as a bulwark against Iran. Not only Iraq had to be preserved, but its government as well; as a National Security Commission staffer reportedly said on March 1, "Our policy is to get rid of Saddam Hussein but not his regime" ("Civil War in Iraq," Peter Galbraith, 1991, page 28). This meant that the Kurds and the Shi'ites had to be left to their grisly fate; that was sad, but it was just *realpolitik*, the sort of thing nations do from time to time when broader interests are believed to be at stake.

But do Metternich and Bismarck and their doctrines of balance of power and *realpolitik* really fit comfort-

ably into the landscape of the late 20th century? Even refurbished by Henry Kissinger, clearly they don't, particularly now that U.S. Cold War rivalry with the Soviet Union is suspended. In a world in which everything our government does eventually becomes subject to public scrutiny, the public demands that its leaders do what is right, not just what is expedient, and nothing is harder to justify than expediency. Balance of power and power politics are not likely to disappear

from the international scene anytime soon, but those who manage American diplomacy need to give a little more attention to humanitarian and human rights considerations. Even Jeane Kirkpatrick, who made her fame as the advocate of forgiveness for dictators (so long as they were *our* dictators) and as an outspoken critic of an earlier administration's human rights policy, now proclaims that American diplomacy must take serious account of the exigencies of human rights.

A review of the doctrine of non-interference in internal affairs would be a good place to start. In earlier times it may have had its usefulness. In the 20th century it has become the last refuge of a tyrant intent upon persecuting his people. Hitler invoked it to legitimize his laws against the Jews before World War II, and at that time it was held in such solemn

awe that no government ever thought of challenging him. Today, largely because of the experience of the 1930s and World War II, it is no longer sacrosanct. Over the past half century, an extensive body of law has emerged that makes it illegal for a government to abuse its population and entirely legitimate for the international community to intervene to prevent its doing so.

The true lesson of the post-Persian Gulf War crisis is that the sacrifice of human life and humanitarian values for coldly calculated concepts of national interest simply goes against the grain of our times. In an era in which television can bring the suffering of even the most remote victims into everyone's living room, diplomacy—and diplomats—that fail to recognize this will inevitably come to grief. ■

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*David A. Korn is a former Foreign Service officer who is author of Human Rights in Iraq (Yale University Press, 1990).*

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**UNTIL A YEAR AGO, LIFE HAD BEEN KIND TO APRIL** Glaspie. She was the first Foreign Service woman to rise through the ranks to become an ambassador to a Middle Eastern country. She had mastered two foreign languages, was widely recognized for her expertise on Arab issues, and enjoyed the respect and esteem of her colleagues.

But things changed for her last August 2. One can only imagine her reaction when, during a stopover in London while en route to Washington, she turned on the television in her hotel suite and learned that Iraq had invaded Kuwait. In that instant, Glaspie, the U.S. ambassador to Iraq since 1987 realized that long years of U.S. efforts to modify Saddam Hussein's behavior through trade and other inducements—in which she played a major role—had gone up in smoke.

Ever since, she has been the object of a torrent of questions to which the answers never seem quite satisfactory. Was she tough enough when she met with Saddam a week before the invasion? Why was she unable to foresee what Saddam had in mind for Kuwait? Was the State Department willing to have her play the scapegoat for a failed policy? Or, in a strangely convoluted way, was the State Department trying to protect her?

The truth probably will never be known. For example, only Hussein himself knows whether his decision to invade Kuwait had been made irrevocably before his July 25 meeting with Glaspie, the one in which she told him the United States has no opinion about his border dispute with Kuwait. Many believe that Hussein was so contemptuous of Western will that he would have invaded Kuwait even if Glaspie had warned that the United States would respond militarily—something she was not authorized to do.

As for her inability to predict the invasion, Glaspie's defense is simple: no one else did either, not the Kuwaitis or the Saudis or Western experts on the region. She is almost right. Her assertion a month after the invasion that no one foresaw it does not take into account CIA and Pentagon estimates days before the invasion that an attack was highly likely, based on evidence of preparations for an offensive. But those warnings were ignored by the White House and the State Department, which generally felt that Hussein was using scare tactics.

### Twisting in the wind

One of the more compelling aspects of the Glaspie saga is the way in which she was treated by the State Department, particularly in the months after the Iraqis released a partial transcript last September of her July 25 meeting with Saddam.

The Iraqi transcript was indeed damaging. It portrayed Glaspie as treating Hussein deferentially almost to the

point of obsequiousness. She assured Saddam that President Bush "personally wants to expand and deepen the relationship with Iraq." She expressed admiration for Saddam's "extraordinary efforts" to rebuild Iraq after its war with Iran. This was followed by her declaration of neutrality concerning the border dispute with Kuwait.

The State Department greeted the Iraqi transcript with almost total silence, a curious response for an institution that had been trying for weeks to demonize Hussein in any way possible.

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## Truth or Dare

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# THE GLASPIE AFFAIR

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By GEORGE GEDDA

Inevitably, the administration's silence seemed to signal that Secretary of State Baker was content to let Glaspie be the lightning rod for the administration's failed policy in Iraq. His complimentary words about Glaspie seemed tame ("a fine public servant"). He derided as "ludicrous" the notion that the United States somehow invited Saddam to invade Kuwait. But there was a more pertinent question: Had the administration done enough beforehand to prevent the invasion? On that point, Baker has had little to say. (At least one columnist, Michael Kinsley, said Baker obviously was asleep at the switch during that late July period and should have resigned, much as British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington did at the time of the Falklands crisis nine years ago.)

All the while, during the post-invasion period, Glaspie was being a good soldier, working on Persian Gulf affairs

out of the State Department, discouraging friends from speaking out on her behalf, and saying nothing publicly about the slings she endured from critics for supposedly having been too cozy with Saddam. Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-VT), said Glaspie, on instructions from the State Department, "virtually gave a green light to Saddam Hussein" for the invasion.

William Quandt, a Middle East expert who worked in the National Security Council for President Carter, said Glaspie was getting a "bad rap." The administration, he said, was inclined "to let someone take the blame for this and no one came to her defense. I can't say why. I would have expected the State Department to say the transcript was inaccurate."

The State Department explanation was that it wanted to avoid a "sideshow" last fall at a time when President Bush and Baker were trying to build the coalition against Iraq. The explanation did not have the ring of authenticity, however, to those who wondered how coalition building would have been impaired if the administration had simply pointed out that the transcript was selective and misleading.

Baker reinforced the Glaspie-as-scapegoat theory when he suggested that her comments to Saddam were not the result of his instruction. At one point Baker said, "What you want me to do is say that those instructions (to Glaspie) were sent specifically by me on my specific orders. There are probably 312,000 or so cables that go out under my name." In fact, Glaspie had no new instructions for her meeting with Saddam and simply reaffirmed long-standing policy.

### Glaspie strikes back

Within three weeks following the ceasefire, Glaspie broke her long silence, testifying before Senate and House Foreign Affairs panels on consecutive days. The department had ignored previous requests for her testimony.

The Democrats were hopping mad about Republican attempts to take partisan advantage of the January vote in Congress on giving Bush authority to go ahead with the war. The more partisan among the Republican faithful pilloried Democrats who voted against Bush. Many Democrats felt that it was fair for them to ask how the administration had led the country into war in the first place.

But Glaspie's aggressive performance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 20 appeared to disarm most panel members. She said

Saddam had assured her on July 25 that he would not use force against Kuwait and that the Iraqi leader engaged in a "deliberate deception on a major scale" when he invaded anyway.

U.S. policy failed, she said, not because it was ill-conceived but because "we foolishly did not realize that he (Saddam) was stupid, that he did not believe our clear and repeated warnings that we would support our vital interests." Instead of leading Saddam into believing the United States would acquiesce in an invasion of Kuwait, she said she repeatedly urged that the dispute be settled peacefully.

The testimony revived once again the question of why the administration had steadfastly refused to disavow the Iraqi transcript six months earlier. During the State Department noon briefing the day after Glaspie's testimony, there seemed to be a consensus among reporters that the administration's treatment of Glaspie had been shameful.

The briefing elicited an admission from deputy spokesman Richard Boucher, for the first time, that the Iraqi transcript was misleading—although Boucher's choice of words far much weaker than Glaspie's the day before. Boucher said the transcript was "heavily edited to the point of inaccuracy."

Tom Friedman of the *New York Times* was perhaps the most vocal of the reporters. "Had anyone during the last seven months,



APRIL C. GLASPIE. Former U.S. Ambassador to Iraq

from this podium or any other government official, simply said, "That transcript is a fabrication," there would have been no story here. Why did no one say that?"

Boucher: "I'm not sure I can agree with you that there would have been no story here. During the period in question, forming the coalition, prosecuting the war, we said repeatedly we weren't interested in starting a sideshow, starting a side debate, on who took better notes of the meeting."

When Boucher insisted that the administration had made "clear" its position on the July 25 meeting all along, Bill Plante of CBS demurred. "There was no vigorous effort on the part of the department to correct the record," Plante said. "There was no campaign out there to clear this record for the sake of the policy, the department, or the ambassador."

Departmental chivalry? The following day, an entirely new explanation about the administration's handling of the issue appeared in the *New York Times*. Friedman, a contributor to the sharp questioning of Boucher the day before, wrote that a senior administration official had told him, "If you read her cable, you would not say that the entire Iraqi cable was phony baloney. Since her cable was not 250 degrees different from the Iraqi transcript, no one felt entirely comfortable in going out and saying it was false."

According to this account then, the administration was actually protecting Glaspie by saying as little as possible about the transcript. On the other hand, if she was not forceful enough with Hussein, why didn't the department have her immediately deliver a new message to the Iraqis reflecting how strongly the administration felt about the need for a peaceful settlement with Kuwait?

There was perhaps another administration concern. What would have happened if the State Department sought last September to discredit the Iraqi version of the Saddam/Glaspie meeting, only to have the Iraqis respond by disclosing the full transcript? Would this have touched off a full-scale debate about how Glaspie might have handled her conversation with Saddam differently or about how the administration might have acted differently in the crucial pre-August 2 period? Viewed in those terms, the administration's decision to remain silent about the Iraqi transcript seems plausible.

Shortly after Boucher finished his briefing, Glaspie was back on Capitol Hill, this time before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee. She was treated far less gently than the day before. Some committee members rejected the notion that the administration had made clear its concern about the Gulf situation last July. They pointed out that six days after Glaspie's meeting with Hussein, Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs John Kelly had testified that the United States had no defense pact with Kuwait, perhaps leaving the impression among some, including Hussein, that he was free to do as he pleased. The invasion occurred two days later. Subcommittee Chairman Lee Hamilton (D-IN) believed the administration had given

Hussein mixed signals at best.

"It is a record that confused me, it confused this subcommittee, it confused much of the Washington press, and it is not unreasonable for me to think it might confuse Saddam Hussein as well," Hamilton said.

Glaspie responded that she warned Hussein that the United States was prepared to defend its vital interests in the Gulf. "He knew perfectly well what we were talking about," she said. "Saddam Hussein, who is a man who lives by the sword, believed that we were going to do it by the sword."

## Assigning blame

Questions about her meeting with Saddam could be put to rest if the State Department released its files on the meeting. Public Citizen, a group founded by Ralph Nader, filed a law suit in April seeking the release of the files.

Attorney Alan B. Morrison said it was important to determine "the extent that Saddam Hussein felt free to go into Kuwait." The public, he said, needs to know "who's responsible for the invasion and the war that followed." Glaspie has said that making such cables public would set a bad precedent and have a chilling effect on future conversations between ambassadors and heads of state.

The answer to Morrison's question about responsibility for the invasion is easy. Hussein was responsible. Beyond that, things get murkier. If Glaspie was indeed too deferential toward Saddam in that July 25 encounter, she was simply perpetuating a mistake dating back to the early Reagan years, when Hussein was first seen as the best hope for neutralizing the Iranians. On that basis, the State Department should have done more to defend her once the Iraqi transcript was released. There could be nothing wrong with a statement saying, "She was not misguided, the policy was. We misread Saddam." And for Baker to imply that she was acting without his instruction in the meeting with Hussein looks like buck-passing.

Richard W. Murphy, a former assistant secretary of State, says he hopes that the turn of events in Iraq will not be held against her. "April inherited an effort of years' standing to try to help mold a more sensible Iraq," said Murphy. "She didn't invent the policy."

The entire episode has caused uncertainty about her future in the Foreign Service, which before Baghdad included stints in Amman, Kuwait, Stockholm, Beirut, Cairo, London, and New York, in addition to Washington. It still is not clear whether her superiors on the seventh floor believe she mishandled her dealings with Saddam. With no offer of a new ambassadorship, Glaspie, 49, has decided to take off for a year to teach as a diplomat-in-residence. She will resume her diplomatic career afterward.

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*George Gedda, a correspondent with the Associated Press in Washington, is a frequent contributor to National Public Radio and the Associated Press Radio Network.*

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ON THE NIGHT OF IRAQ'S INVASION OF KUWAIT, immediate military retaliation was not possible. Instead, it was decided to impose strong sanctions. The implementation of these sanctions highlighted tremendously effective inter-agency and multilateral diplomacy that was perhaps unparalleled before the Gulf crisis. The complexity of the issues also demonstrated the constructive use of expert committees as an effective tool for crisis management.

Between 10 p.m. and midnight on August 3, 1990,

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## Mechanics of Diplomacy

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# THE ABCS OF SANCTIONS

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By LARRY ROEDER JR.

Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Christopher G. Hankin, the deputy secretary of the Treasury, the director of the Office of Foreign Assets Control, the president's Chief Counsel G. Boyden Gray, and I gathered with others in the White House situation room to hammer out the first two presidential executive orders of the war, a cut-off of trade with Iraq and occupied Kuwait and a freezing of Iraqi and Kuwaiti government assets. These were followed a few days later by two more orders essentially implementing UN Security Council actions. In part, the intent was to punish Iraq, but the measures were also designed to protect Kuwaiti government assets from being plundered. This was important, because the war was less an effort to redress a boundary dispute than it was an old-fashioned raid by 20th-century vandals.

As the days rolled on and Hussein toyed with the West, Kuwait's rape became more apparent and the possibility of war increasingly real. How could it be otherwise, when tanks were blowing up banks, children were tossed out of hospitals, and innocent civilians were summarily executed and tortured? That war would come before March was hardly in question because of weather considerations and the soon-to-begin Islamic holy days; in the meantime, every diplomatic effort was made to bring Saddam Hussein to his senses. These efforts included the president's use of a series of binding UN Security Council resolutions, coupled with an unequivocal threat of force.

The president's legal authority to interfere with trade in an emergency is invested in the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, or IEEPA. In essence, all U.S. trade with Iraq and Kuwait ceased, except as allowed by Treasury Department license. General licenses allow certain classes of transactions to take place, such as the donation of medicine. Specific licenses are used for individual transactions.

I was involved in two different aspects of the program. As a sanctions expert, I sat on the "inter-agency committee" chaired by the Economic Bureau. This body was established early on by Under Secretary Robert Kimmitt as the principal organ for developing and coordinating our sanctions policy. It still exists and is made up of representatives from Treasury, Defense, Commerce, Agriculture, and any other agency or State Department bureau that might have a relevant role. This forum decides what kind of license ought to be granted and how U.S. and international sanctions should be enforced. On a weekly basis, or more often as needed, all of the committee members discuss the problems they face and their suggestions for solutions. This enables those charged with implementing sanctions to coordinate with counterparts in other departments and agencies. This inter-agency committee of experts and policy-makers who could make quick decisions about sanctions was highly effective in managing fast-moving events, first with the war effort and now with the Kurdish rescue operation.

I was charged with coordinating determinations on possible sanctions violations where maritime interdiction took place, and in that capacity worked with experts from Maritime Affairs, the Office of the Legal Adviser, and Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs to halt all cargo other than medicine headed for Iraq, principally via the coalition naval forces. This involved coordinating decisions from long distance. A naval vessel can easily prevent civilian ships from going from point A to point B, but monitoring trade into Iraq via Jordan was more difficult. Press reports made it clear that some cargo entering Aqaba was making it to Iraq, but how to stop

contraband without hindering legitimate trade? Two problems quickly emerged.

One issue was documentation. Because shipping requirements vary from country to country, it wasn't immediately clear what we should require to discern what was legitimate cargo. Initial requirements asked for documentation not normally used by many civilian carriers, and so some ships were turned back that probably didn't really pose a threat to peace, in some cases carrying nothing more than chickens and sheep for domestic Jordanian consumption. The issue was eventually resolved through a tortuous dialogue among the Gulf forces, State, the Pentagon, and maritime experts outside the government. In essence, each party blended its policy and security objectives with what experts said was legal or possible. Differences were then ironed out in the "inter-agency committee." The committee was savvy enough not to interfere in naval operations beyond the narrow band of the mandate.

The other problem was "inaccessible cargo." Sheep and chickens are accessible enough, but not so container vessels and lash ships. For reasons of economics, safety, and weight distribution, containers are often placed so as to make it impossible to inspect a vessel at sea and be certain that contraband is not on board. Thus, some ships had to turn around until they could be inspected at a friendly port or their cargo could be shifted. This caused enormous shipping delays and demurrage costs to the carriers, and when coupled with delays caused by documentation problems and the fact that the Gulf was halfway around the world and numerous time zones away, the port of Aqaba was nearly closed down, and with it, the Jordanian economy. We are still working on ways to resolve this issue, basically seeking a balance between a carrier's need to conduct legitimate business and our need to keep the clamps on shipments of contraband to Iraq. No one model works here, so we often have to work the issue ship by ship.

Some of the ship problems resulted from a determination to "let the generals fight the war." Even after we cleared statements of policy with Defense Department staff for distribution to the Gulf and the world, the Department of Defense had to send its own cable "requesting" the Gulf to implement our cable. Part of the Defense cable would contain operational suggestions on implementation that might unintentionally diminish the original message. While this was innocent and disputes often reflected legitimate Gulf concerns, a better clearance and message dissemination process was needed. We would have benefited from a maritime committee set up in advance of hostilities and made up of representatives from the Gulf, Washington agencies, and industry. This would have handled discussion with field commanders without hindering operational effectiveness.

In any future conflict involving the interplay of

sanctions administration and military objectives, I would place a representative of the expeditionary force on the inter-agency sanctions committee and any specialized committees, such as a maritime committee, and then clear instruction cables with the committee. Once cleared, they become the rule, unless operational events dictate otherwise. There would be no second implementation cables, no second guessing. This would ensure clarity of



"Sooner or Later, you must learn how to fly."

instructions and input from all interested parties.

A committee process may frighten field commanders, who remember a time when they were restrained from hitting a hot target without permission from Washington. But a fast-track committee of experts and affected parties would ensure that operational needs, as seen by the commander and by Washington, are properly handled. And let it be clear, the committee isn't designed to tell the field whom to attack. Rather, it should be seen, at least in the naval context, as a committee of experts who are assisting the sanctions process and, in the larger context, as a committee of decision-makers who can quickly design policy goals and solutions. ■

*Larry Roeder Jr. is an international commodities economist in the State Office of East-West Trade.*

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DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND KUWAIT were closely connected in Soviet public perception from the very beginning of the Gulf crisis. The Soviet people associated the Gulf crisis with the conservative offensive in their country, particularly the bloody developments in the Baltic republics. Iraq's invasion of Kuwait triggered vivid memories of the Soviet invasion of the Baltic republics in 1940, while Muscovites also discussed parallels with the Soviet invasion of Hungary in October 1956, which occurred after the beginning of the war with

As had been the case during the Vietnam war in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Soviet liberals wished only the best for the Allied forces in the Gulf and only the worst for their enemies—in this case, the total defeat of Saddam Hussein. Liberals identified strongly with the United States and firmly believed that the success or failure of the Allies would radically influence their own fate. In fact, some liberals went so far as to equate an Allied victory with the defeat of the Soviet conservatives, and vice versa.

At the same time, the conservative camp, which often shares the anti-American views and emotions of many in the Third World, considered Saddam Hussein a symbol of their challenge to the United States, to Western liberalism, to the triumph of democratic values in recent years, and to Israel and all Jews.

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## Rise of the Russophiles

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# THE GULF WAR & THE SOVIET CONSERVATIVE TIDE



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By VLADIMIR SHLAPENTOKH

Egypt. According to the dominant theory in Moscow, Soviet domestic developments were possible only because the Kremlin assumed that the Allied countries, and especially the United States, were so involved in the Gulf crisis and so appreciative of Soviet support that they would not seriously protest any shift to the right in Soviet domestic affairs.

For the Soviet national republics fighting for independence, and especially for the Baltic republics, the invasion of Kuwait symbolized the brutal treatment of a small country by a ruthless dictator. Comparisons between Gorbachev and Saddam Hussein played a central role in meetings held in January and February directed against Gorbachev and in support of Yeltsin. Moreover, attitudes toward Saddam Hussein and the Gulf War joined attitudes toward events in Lithuania as a sort of litmus test for public sentiment on domestic Soviet political affairs.

### Assailing the 'new thinking'

Gorbachev's enemies remained almost totally silent a year ago, as the world watched changes of vital importance to the Soviet Union: the collapse of the Soviet outer empire in Eastern Europe and the unification of Germany. Conservative politicians and Russophile ideologues were extremely restrained in their statements on foreign affairs, and the Soviet people, who were absorbed with their deteriorating lives, almost totally ignored international events, including the disarmament talks. According to *The Bulletin of the Center of Public Opinion Studies* in 1990, 60 percent of the Soviet people welcomed German unification, whereas only 25 percent expressed any concern about it.

For their part, the Soviet mass media and the Soviet parliament endorsed almost unanimously the actions taken by the Kremlin in 1989 and 1990, including measures that radically changed the political map of Europe. Those changes destroyed the external part of the Soviet empire—its buffer zone against the West—that had been regarded for decades by the Soviet people as a major reward for their suffering during the war with Nazi Germany.

The shift came in the fall of 1990, when the conservative alliance—Russophiles, Stalinists in the party apparatus, and the military industrial complex—abandoned their reticence on foreign policy issues. Official Soviet policy in the Gulf turned out to be the first issue used by the conservatives in their assault against "the new thinking" in Soviet foreign policy.

### Go, Saddam

The conservative's campaign against official Soviet policy in the Gulf developed very slowly. The attack was started by two colonels—Viktor Alksnis and Nikolai Petrushenko—who were the main mouthpieces of the

conservative alliance in the Soviet parliament. They were then supported by a growing number of those in the alliance. By early 1991 the campaign was in full swing. With the beginning of war on January 16, criticism of Soviet diplomatic support for the military campaign against Saddam Hussein increased dramatically.

The conservative press (including *Sovietskaia Rossiia*, *Krasnaia Zvezda*, *Literaturnaia Rossiia*, and, to some degree, *Pravda*) began publishing materials directly or indirectly denouncing Moscow's policy toward the Middle East and enhancing the Iraqi dictator's image. Several meetings and demonstrations were organized by the conservative forces, not only in Moscow and Leningrad but also in other cities, such as Kiev.

The conservative Soviet press dramatized the war as much as possible, suggesting that, because Soviet borders were not far from Iraq, the war posed a danger to the southern Soviet Union. Soviet conservatives also expressed outrage about Iraqi civilian casualties and about the country's destruction. The oil spill in the Gulf, too, permitted the conservative press to describe the war as leading to worldwide ecological disaster. More often, however, conservatives emphasized that the war against Hussein could easily evolve into worldwide nuclear war. Finally, the conservatives tried to exploit the anti-war demonstrations in Western countries, presenting them as very popular and influential.

Typically, however, the Soviet people did not take the nuclear threat fomented by conservatives very seriously. Through the end of 1990, the Soviet people continued to consider the international situation in general as calm and unmenacing, much as they had since 1986. This nonchalant stance contrasted sharply with their attitudes toward domestic developments, which most believed to threaten civil war, bloody inter-ethnic conflicts, and a military coup.

In his now-famous December 20 resignation speech, Eduard Shevardnadze was the first to reveal the conservative offensive against official foreign policy and, particularly, against the Kremlin's position in the Gulf. His speech amazed not only the public but the Congress of People's Deputies as well, because there had seemed to be no significant opposition to this policy, and the Congress's overwhelming confirmation of the policy had implied its endorsement.

### Attacking *perestroika*

Purely by coincidence, the Gulf crisis erupted soon after the conservative alliance had begun its first serious, overt, and well-coordinated offensive against *perestroika* as a whole—a move that marked the end of a long tradition of underground efforts intended to undermine *perestroika*. The leaders of the conservative alliance dropped their facade of support for *perestroika* in late 1990 and openly declared war on it. They believed that the people's disappointment and frustra-

tion with their lives reached a peak in the fall of 1990, when a significant portion of the population—up to two-thirds—believed that the future would bring only further gloomy developments, including mass starvation, the collapse of the Soviet state, mass strikes, and violent ethnic conflicts. It was especially fortuitous for the conservatives that the prestige accorded democratic institutions and their leaders also began to deteriorate during this period. Moreover, the conservative cause was supported by the belief by almost 25 percent of the population that the army could save the country.

In mapping out its strategies, the conservative alliance saw its task as the discrediting of all four of *perestroika* goals—privatization and marketization of the economy, democratization and *glasnost*, the restructuring of the Soviet empire, and “the new thinking” in foreign policy (which included partially dismantling the military-industrial complex). This discrediting would be followed by the cessation of all movement toward these goals, and then a gradual return to pre-Gorbachev conditions in these areas.

The sudden rejection in October of the “500-day plan” dealt a serious blow to economic reform and provided the first sign of the conservatives' ascension. Subsequent targets included *glasnost* (the conservatives' seizure of Soviet TV) and the idea of renewing the Soviet Union by sheer force (the bloody events in January in the Baltic republics). The conservative alliance then turned its attention to Soviet foreign policy in an attack that was central for the conservatives—including the Russophiles, the Stalinists, and the heads of the military.

### Russophilia and anti-Semitism

The Russophiles were the first to speak out in defense of Saddam Hussein and to criticize the official policy in the Middle East. The Russophiles accepted practically every element of Hussein's explanation for the Gulf crisis, from its having been designed by Israel and the Zionists to Hussein's posture as the defender of the Palestinians. At Soviet demonstrations for Hussein, posters supporting the dictator were usually combined with those featuring anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli slogans. There is no doubt that these demonstrations reflected the mood of a significant number of Russians and Muslims.

Anti-Semitism was clearly not the only Russophile motive for condemning Kremlin support of the Allied forces, however. The Russophiles also agreed with the military that client states are vital to the security of the Russian state. Unlike their partners in the alliance, however, they coupled this geopolitical consideration with their specific vision of the West as a decaying civilization whose friendship is ultimately far less important than are good relations with the Third World.

Of course, the Russophiles, with their self-righteousness and their contempt for bourgeois morals,



"Wow! You Soviets sure know how to think BIG!"

were among the first to ascribe Allied actions in the Gulf to purely material interests (such as oil) and to reject any other argument for the necessity of stopping Iraq's aggression in the Middle East. Still, given the Russophiles' rather limited role in Soviet political life, their invectives against the Kremlin's foreign policy seemed rather thin before they were joined by members of the party apparatus and by other conservatives, such as the Stalinists.

The Stalinists' attack on the official foreign policy was just one part of a larger attack on *perestroika*. Gorbachev's foreign policy, which was brilliantly implemented by his first foreign minister, was still highly regarded in late 1990 by most of the people (two-thirds of the population actively supported Soviet foreign policy as an achievement of *perestroika*). Thus, a convincing attack on Gorbachev's foreign policy would eliminate perhaps the last vestige of his prestige in the country.

The international dimension of the conservatives' strategy was equally significant. Forcing Gorbachev to change his course and be less cooperative with, or perhaps even moderately aggressive toward, the West would have tarnished Gorbachev's reputation in the West, which, in turn, would have further weakened his position inside the USSR.

### The military agenda

The military-industrial complex viewed the Gulf crisis as a means of meeting several of its own needs, including avenging the humiliation of the army and the military industry during the last five years and reversing the course toward disarmament and cooperation with the West. There was likely no group as strongly opposed to *perestroika* as were the Soviet generals, who, as party *apparatchiks* and managers, could not find niches through privatization.

The army and the military industry—truly the most substantial achievements of the Soviet system—had been presented from 1985 to 1990 as parasites responsible for the hardships and sufferings of Soviet people, and as institutions which should be all but eliminated because of the lack of any serious threat to the Soviet Union. Army generals and the directors of the military industry were especially outraged by a suggestion that gained popularity in 1991, at the height of the economic crisis that the Soviet Union's market economy would have no future until the military-industrial complex was dismantled.

The military-industrial complex's opposition to the Kremlin's policy had other roots as well. The emergence of a network of client states across the world had always been regarded by the military as a major

accomplishment and as a pillar for Soviet military and political status in the world. The armies and security police of these states had been nurtured by the Soviets for decades, and the states acted as the major customers of the Soviet military industry.

The leaders of the military-industrial complex were frustrated by the ease with which Gorbachev's regime, in an attempt to please the West, abandoned Soviet allies such as Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Cuba, and several others, thereby squandering political and military capital accumulated through decades of Soviet support. In the eyes of the leaders, the betrayal of Iraq was yet another blow to the Soviet Union's long-term interests as a superpower and an insult to those who devotedly forged weapons for the motherland.

The Party and state apparatuses clearly shared these concerns regarding both Soviet allies in the Third World and increasing American supremacy and influence. The *apparatchiks*, with their total control in the Soviet parliament and partial control in the Russian parliament, easily passed resolutions that both denounced the war against Iraq and carried thinly veiled anti-American sentiment.

The military-industrial complex's sympathy for Iraq and its dictator is also related, although perhaps secondarily, to the Soviet economy and job market. Iraq, along with the other Soviet client states in the Third World, had long provided a coveted job market where Soviet professionals, both military and civilian, could earn hard currency, which is highly valued in terms of both wealth and prestige. The refusal of hundreds of Soviet specialists to leave Iraq despite the evident threat of a devastating war underscores the value placed on working in countries belonging to the Soviet zone of influence.

Finally, reactions to the Gulf War policy suggested a broad concern for geopolitical gains. For some people, the war in the Gulf was ultimately a war for oil: the Soviet collusion with America meant conceding to an American monopoly over a strategic resource. This concession was seen as particularly dangerous, since Soviet oil production is declining rapidly, and Soviet dependence on imported oil will soon be as great as that of America. From this perspective, the short-term benefits to be gained from cooperating with the West are far outweighed by any damage done to the Soviet position in the region.

Given all of these circumstances, to side with the Americans and the Allies in the Gulf war seemed to the Soviet generals and military contractors to be strongly unpatriotic, amoral, and masochistic. The Kremlin's position in the Gulf conflict was simply one more link in a chain of the events that suggested that military efforts in the past decades—to be equal with the Americans and to guarantee Russia a leading role in the world—were meaningless and in vain.

## Technological surprises

The leaders of the Soviet military-industrial complex

were astonished and enraged by the course of the war. The war confirmed what everyone in the Soviet Union had suspected—the United States has become the world's single military superpower, and the Soviet Union will have to be satisfied with a very moderate position in international politics.

In many ways, the Gulf War was an exhibition of American military technology and its clear superiority over Soviet technology. Of course, the Soviet military was loath to publicly recognize this, although it did so indirectly through the mass media. Soviet military authors took great pains to explain to the Soviet public that Iraqi weapons were ineffective either because they were made in other countries, or, if they were Soviet-made (e.g., the Scud), because they were used improperly or were obsolete.

To those interested in military reform, particularly the liberals, the war also demonstrated the superiority of a professional army over an army based on coercive recruitment—a system that Soviet generals have passionately defended. Soviet generals, despite their respect for American military technology, strongly believed that American soldiers who chose the army purely out of material considerations were weak and would not withstand seasoned soldiers like those of Iraq or the Soviet Union.

The Gulf War also gave the Americans an opportunity to test their new weapons, thereby widening the gap between the United States and the Soviet Union. This alone has angered those Soviet generals and military contractors who believe that a military confrontation with the United States is inevitable. Minister of Defense Dmitri Yazov wasted no time in exploiting America's success, demanding increases in expenditures for the creation of new weapons. Soviet generals see the Gulf War as a powerful argument for radical increases in funding for new research. By all accounts, they will achieve their goal, especially considering the atmosphere in the country in early 1991.

The Soviet military understood full well that they were watching weapons in the Gulf that had been designed to vanquish Russians, not Iraqis. They also understood that they may not have the resources to counter such weapons.

## What price, cooperation?

Soviet domestic reaction to the Gulf crisis revealed a conservative alliance deeply hostile to the foreign policy carried out by Gorbachev and Shevardnadze. In the opinion of the alliance, this policy accounts for two major failures—the disintegration of the Russian state and empire, and the loss of the USSR's status as a superpower.

The alliance is aware that in 1991, and probably for years to come, the Soviet Union will be unable to restore its previous role in the world or to confront the United States if it becomes necessary to protect vital

Soviet interests. As such, the conservatives have argued that Soviet foreign policy should, at the very least, avoid assisting the United States in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, and Asia, and should work to maintain good relations with current Soviet allies. For the conservatives, the Soviet position in the Gulf crisis was a textbook example of incorrect policy, and the American triumph was a bitter blow to the vital interests of the Soviet Union.

During the upcoming period of recuperating from the disasters of *perestroika*, the conservative alliance has argued that the Soviet Union should maintain as much distance as possible from the West and should move toward a temporary political, military, cultural, and even economic, isolationism. According to the conservatives, establishing such a distance is particularly important because the West's policies remain "class"-oriented. When working to restore order, the Soviet authorities should be able to make political decisions without the fear of losing economic assistance from the West hanging over them like a Damoclean sword. To substantiate their proposed rethinking of Western economic assistance, the conservatives elaborated a special ideology, the premise of which was captured by the headline of an article in *Pravda* on January 29: "There is No Free Lunch."

The argument against Western economic assistance's becoming a major factor in Soviet economic progress can be reduced to the following proposition, which seems to have been accepted by all members of the conservative alliance: Western economic assistance should never be so important that it can be used to justify even the slightest adjustment in internal political developments. The December 1990 statement by KGB Chairman Kriuchkov regarding the subversive intent of Western states in sending food to the Soviet people, and the February statement of Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov regarding a plot by Western banks against the Soviet economy, both reveal the conservatives' attitudes toward economic cooperation with the West.

Late in February, Gorbachev himself joined the xenophobic campaign when he suggested that the intentions of the democrats (his opponents) were simply a "cover for far-reaching intentions born in

foreign scientific centers and foreign heads."

## The struggle within

An analysis of the political struggle regarding Soviet policy in the Gulf suggests that domestic developments late in 1990 entered a phase in which foreign policy issues became inextricably entwined with the ongoing, intense, internal political struggle. As has happened previously in Russian history, competing factions looked to foreign affairs as a means by which to preserve or to

seize power, while ignoring other concerns of the country, including those of a geopolitical character.

The Gulf crisis has revealed that the Soviet Union is still far from being a reliable international relations partner for the West. As of March 1991, the heady days of "the new thinking" are over, and the West faces a country in which the ruling elite views the external world with increasing suspicion and hostility.

Those in the West who try to predict the foreign policies of a country in a position like that of the Soviet Union should look for clues not in the realm of geopolitical factors or in the ambitions of the ruling elite—which are reasonable if the country is relatively stable—but rather in the iron logic of the internal struggle for power, which leads the combatants to sacrifice any-

thing for success, including the vital interests of the country.

The Gulf War also revealed that the ambitions of a great country such as Russia, with her once active and aggressive role in world politics, can be suppressed only briefly, as they are now. Although temporarily defeated both morally and economically, Russia, with her strong military traditions, is anxiously awaiting the hour when she can restore her leading role in the world. Whether the attempt will be successful is another question. ■

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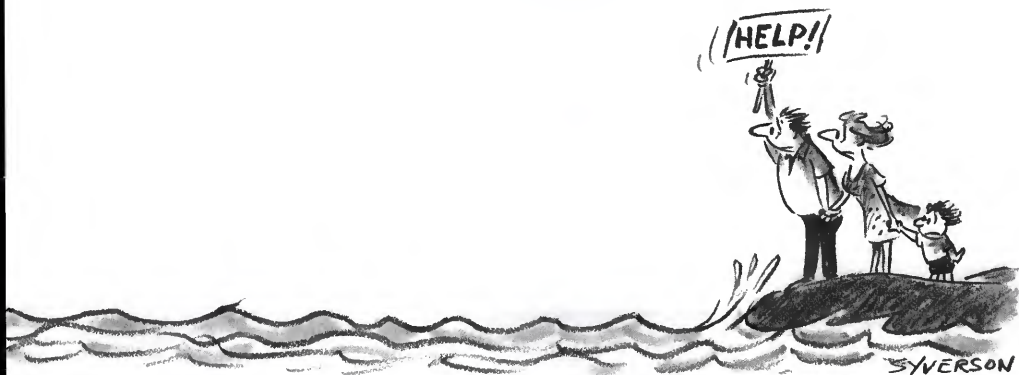
*Vladimir Shlapentokh, a professor of sociology at Michigan State University, conducted the Soviet Union's first public-opinion polls, during the Brezhnev era. His most recent book is Soviet Intellectuals and Political Power (Princeton University Press, 1990).*

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**The argument against Western economic assistance can be reduced to the following proposition, which seems to have been accepted by all members of the conservative alliance: Western economic assistance should never be so important that it can be used to justify even the slightest adjustment in internal political developments.**

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## Public Diplomacy in Reverse

**A**fghanistan 1968: The top of the world, the second most Magic Kingdom, Adventureland with real bullets. Dashing from the 12th to the 18th century without a stop in between, the country exemplified the clash of cultures that comes with change—at least in Kabul. Progress here included paved streets, movies made in India, and the removal of women's veils. Women's liberation began suddenly when the queen made a public appearance without the traditional head-to-toe *chadri*, producing a cultural bombshell equivalent, in American terms, to an appearance by the first lady in a bikini.

As a freshman diplomat newly arrived in Kabul, I soon tired of the capital's modern familiarity. Two colleagues and I were determined to be the first Americans in recent memory to visit the province of Pakhtia, the southeast corner of the mountain kingdom, remote, fierce, and isolated. Arrangements were made and we set off on a spring-time Monday to show the flag. Our gang of four consisted of myself and another junior officer, a senior colleague, and an Afghan student, Abdul, who spoke not only Dari, but Pushtu, the language of the province.

### Setting Out

Our four-wheel-drive pickup was loaded with supplies: water, gasoline, tires, and tools for the inevitable repairs. Almost as an afterthought, we decided to add a cultural element to our diplomacy in the wild and brought along a projector and the only two films with Pushtu soundtracks ever made by the

United States Information Agency. Both of these screen gems were vintage USIA, one a U.S. travelogue entitled, "From Sea to Shining Sea," and the second a locally produced ditty about raising sheep. Not Academy Award material, we thought, but perhaps welcome to the culturally starved nomads of Pakhtia.

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*As a freshman diplomat newly arrived in Kabul, I soon tired of the capital's modern familiarity. Two colleagues and I were determined to be the first Americans in recent memory to visit the province of Pakhtia, the southeast corner of the mountain kingdom, remote, fierce, and isolated.*

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Our first day brought us to the province's capital city of Gardez, traveling over what almost passed for roads. The governor and his entourage awaited us as we entered over the dusty, tree-lined streets, and we were immediately led to the reception hall for tea. Following the usual pleasantries, we were packed off on a tour of the province's facilities. As we left, we mentioned our films. Eyes lit up. Commands were uttered in Pushtu, and the governor's aide was quickly instructed to convey us to the town's cinema.

What long-forgotten aid program had

built this edifice? Able to accommodate more than 300 film patrons, this cinema deluxe featured two balconies and a colossal screen. We were led at once to the projection booth. Judging from the thickness of the dust, the last showing was probably "Birth of a Nation." Within a half hour, the entire building was full, standing room only. By what method of publicity the authorities had filled the theater, we never discovered, but a more enthusiastic crowd one could not have imagined. The showing went off without a hitch and we left with the certain feeling that the city of Gardez had strengthened its understanding of both American virtues and Afghan sheep. Cultural diplomacy was a success.

### Off the Wall

Our next destination was the province's second city, Khost, a quiet agricultural center. Located in a broad valley covered with lime-green young wheat punctuated by an occasional field of purple opium poppies, Khost was a mud village of a few thousand souls. Our greeting by the town's officialdom, led by the sub-governor, once again followed local protocol—tea drinking and small talk about provincial development, aid programs, and the like. Once again we were sent off to visit the valley's facilities and tourist attractions. Once again we offered the governor and the citizenry a night at the movies.

Our offer was immediately accepted, even though, the governor noted, the town had no theater. Since we needed only darkness, electricity, and a large

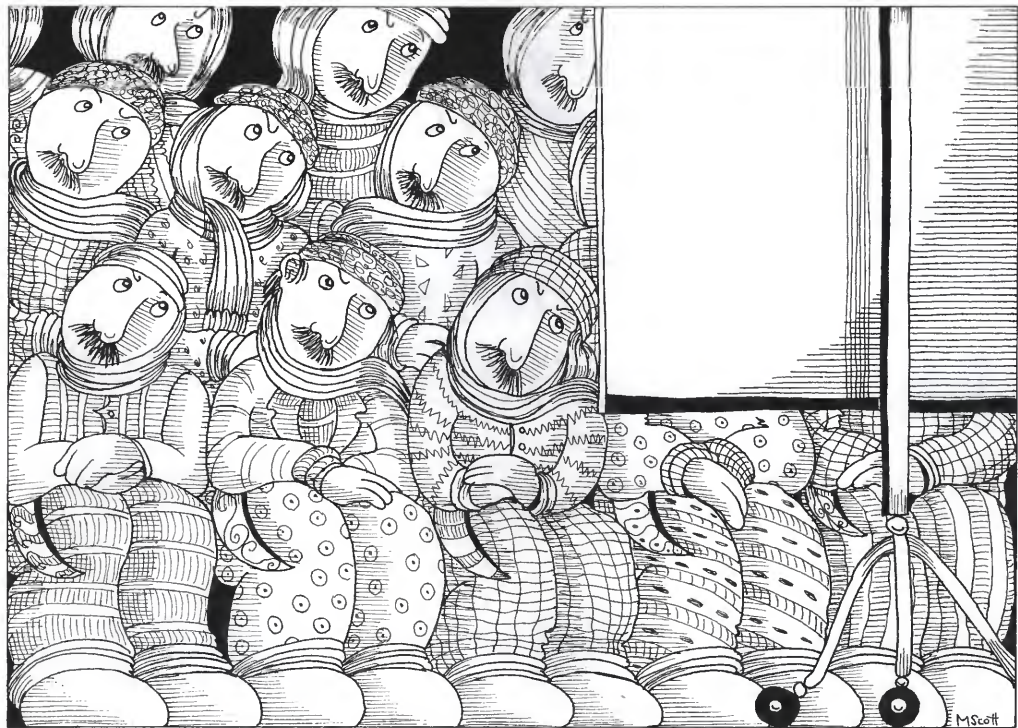


ILLUSTRATION BY M. SCOTT

white wall, we were quickly booked for a one-night stand at Khost's livestock market. Arrangements made, we set out on a tour of the valley's agricultural sites.

"Boom-bitty-boom. Boom-bitty-boom." The sound dogged us all afternoon as we trooped from field to field looking at wheelbarrows and wheat. It emanated from a young Afghan with a goatskin drum and a scrap of paper from which he read aloud to a gathering of farmers in each neighborhood he passed. An inquiry into his business revealed that he was a walking advertisement for the American Embassy Pushto Film Festival. At least we'd have a crowd.

### "Phoop"

Arriving at the market to set up our makeshift cinema, we saw the crowd—thousands, literally thousands of robed, plastic-sandaled, wool-hatted Pathans. We had drawn every farmer in the valley and all their nomad cousins. They were all men, all fierce, and all armed, a long knife in each belt. It looked like

a tough crowd to please. The governor and his entourage arrived. We set up our equipment. So far, so good. We switched on our projector: "Phoop," it sputtered, a peculiar, muted noise that could not be a good sign. Unnerved, but undaunted, we tried to start the film rolling. No go.

Sensing disaster ahead, we took turns with the stalled projector, each trying to recall everything we had learned as assistant class projectionist in the sixth grade. Still no go. We took stock of our situation: We were surrounded by thousands of knife-wielding farmer-warriors who, having been invited to the cultural event of a generation, did not look like they would leave unsatisfied. If they couldn't see the show they came for, they would probably settle for knifing the impudent *arangi*.

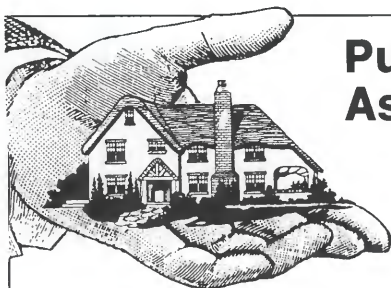
We sought assistance from authority—the sub-governor. He would surely explain this technical failure and send his knife-wielding people home. Our senior colleague and Abdul had a long and animated conversation with His

Excellency. They returned. "The governor says it's our problem."

Back to fixing the projector. The thought of all those knives was strongly motivating. Each of us took a turn. Abdul, who hadn't even seen a projector until the previous day, began to fiddle with everything on the control panel and suddenly, miraculously, the projector sprang to life. Unfortunately, it sprang backward. Abdul had hit the reverse switch.

### Back to the Silents

Well, maybe backward was better than death. More investigation revealed that while the top takeup reel would have to be wound by hand, the projector would run in reverse. Could we pull off a showing in reverse? What would the United States look like in reverse? What about the Pushto soundtrack? It sounded the same in both directions to us, but Abdul assured us that reverse Pushto would not do. A flip of the sound switch and we were back in the silent era.



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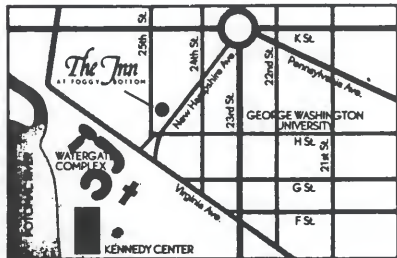
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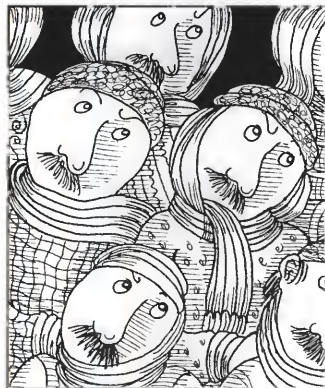
## JOURNAL

The reels were rewound by hand to set them up for a reverse showing, while we sent Abdul to the front of the crowd to explain why we would have to show the film in reverse. "Tell them the electricity here runs in reverse from the way it does in Kabul, and, because of that, we have to show the films backward." Maybe that would explain why the films

take revenge for cinematographic infidelity? "Slain for Going Backward." I could see my name on the State Department plaque, in the company of other fallen colleagues, whose missions ended in more noble, but no less tragic circumstances.

Let it roll. Sunrise through the Golden Gate. No problem here. How many Afghans could tell the Golden Gate from Verrazano Narrows? We were safe a while longer. Our audience sat in silence through some innocuously ridiculous scenes of cars backing along the Los Angeles freeway (not a bad idea, we thought) and aircraft performing aeronautical impossibilities.

A Boy Scout pool party drew some chuckles in Pushto as young boys swam around the bottom of a pool, then, rapidly building up speed, sprang feet-first from the water, writhed in the air, and landed, as if by magic, on a narrow board perched above the pool. Explanation enough for America's sweeping victories at the Olympics.



### Magic Wheat

Proceeding backwardly eastward, the film reached America's heartland. Here our audience saw something we thought they might understand. The camera panned across a near desert, a dusty stalk-strewn field that stretched to the horizon. Slowly, deliberately, from the sunset came an assembly of huge machines, each paired with a truck, side by side from screen left to screen right. They passed across this wasteland, leaving in their wake tall stands of fully ripened wheat. The audience was abuzz. Every Afghan farmer knows what wheat is. Our backward game was surely up. Each of our viewers was undoubtedly bargaining with his neighbor for the pleasure of being the first to draw blood. "What are they saying, Abdul?"

"Now they know about America's agricultural bounty. They are impressed," reported Abdul. Amazing. The governor was taking notes. I could see his request to the USAID mission for wheat-making machines. This was intensive

*Arriving at the market to set up our makeshift cinema, we saw the crowd—thousands, literally thousands of robed, plastic-sandaed, wool-hatted Pathans.*

lacked coherent story lines. It might even play to their cultural differentiation with the capital. Abdul delivered his announcement about the backward cinema to a silent crowd, and we were ready to roll.

I tried to recall as much of the travelogue as I could from the previous day, trying to imagine how each scene would play in reverse. Would these Afghans notice? After all, if you had never ridden the *Super Chief*, how do you know where the observation car belongs? If they did notice, would they



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agriculture in spades.

The final stop was in Pennsylvania at an industrial can-opening facility. Its ingenious process began with cans of food trucked from supermarket shelves to factory. When the can-bearing trucks arrived at the can-opener plant (the truck drivers copying the reverse driving style of their LA cousins), eager workmen caught the cartons and laid them gently on conveyer belts where the cans were placed by a robot-like machine onto another conveyer. Then, a sinister apparatus peeled off the top and sucked out the contents, which were returned through a lengthy process to the very fields from whence they sprouted.

The final minutes of the film took us to the Atlantic and sunset over Cape Cod. A blissful ending to a nerve-wracking half hour. Polite applause rippled across the crowd. Good so far, but the crowd knew we had two films. There was no getting out of showing the second. We readied the Afghan sheep-raising classic, switched the projector to reverse, and let it roll.

From a sunset somewhere in the mountains of central Afghanistan, a herd of fat-tailed sheep came waddling. They struggled backward down a barren valley accompanied by a handful of robed shepherds in reverse. A loud buzz erupted from the crowd. Neighbor talked to neighbor. Laughter broke out all over as our film patrons saw, for the first time that evening, a film scene they really could recognize. All around us nomads were engaged in the Central Asian version of down-home knee-slapping. Knives remained safely in their scabbards. We breathed easier. "What are they saying, Abdul?"

He listened to a nearby group, then broke into a wide, partially toothy grin. They're saying, "Oh, *that's* what backward means." ■

*Robert Carr is currently on an exchange assignment at Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico.*

## DIPLOMATS IN HISTORY: PRESIDENTIAL KIN

*Editor's note: In response to our query in the March 1991 FSJ, Henry L. Bisharat, a Foreign Service officer serving in Tunis, submitted these notes on presidents—and presidential family members—who have served overseas. The source for this information is Burke's Presidential Families of the United States, second edition (1981).*



BY HENRY L. BISHARAT

The FSJ's Quiz and Letters column have recently mentioned several presidents who served overseas in diplomatic postings: John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, James Buchanan, Herbert Hoover, George Bush, and William Henry Harrison (see the FSJ, December 1990 "Quiz" and March 1991 "Letters").

In addition to these seven, two other presidents also held senior diplomatic postings: James Monroe, minister to France (1794-96) and to Great Britain (1803-07), and Martin Van Buren, minister to Great Britain (1831-32). Furthermore, President William Howard Taft served overseas, though not in a diplomatic capacity, as the first civilian governor-general of the Philippines (1901-1903) and as provisional governor of occupied Cuba in 1906.

Many presidential relatives have also

played an important role in U.S. diplomatic missions overseas. Not only have five U.S. presidents held the position of minister to Great Britain (the Adamses, Monroe, Van Buren, and Buchanan), but so too did two well-known presidential sons, Charles Francis Adams (1861-68) and Robert Todd Lincoln (1889-93). And one well-known presidential father, Joseph Kennedy, served as ambassador in London (1938-40).

In addition, Joshua Johnson, the first U.S. consul general in London (1785-1787), was the father-in-law of John Quincy Adams. The marriage of then-Minister to Prussia Adams and Louisa Catherine Johnson in 1797 was probably the first to unite two American diplomatic families.

Elsewhere in Europe, Vienna has been a popular posting for presidential relatives. President Grant's son, Frederick Dent Grant, served as minister to Austria-Hungary (1889-93) while Robert Todd Lincoln was minister in London. Both were appointed by President Benjamin Harrison, himself the grandson of a president, who obviously appreciated the diplomatic skills of presidential kin. These appointments catered to the sensibilities of the 19th-century European monarchies and their emphasis on royal and aristocratic origins, presidential kinship being considered a close approxi-



*Benjamin Harrison*

mation. In addition, Benjamin Harrison selected Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, Jefferson's great-grandson, to be minister to republican France (1892-93).

Also serving in Vienna was Alphonso Taft, father of President Taft. Alphonso was minister to Austria-Hungary (1882-84) and subsequently to Russia (1884-85). Four generations later the Taft family continues to distinguish itself overseas in diplomatic missions. Presidential grandson William Howard Taft III was ambassador to Ireland (1953-57), and presidential great-grandson William Howard Taft IV, is currently serving in Brussels as U.S. ambassador to NATO.

The last presidential son to serve overseas as chief of mission was John Eisenhower, ambassador to Belgium (1969-71). He was appointed by Richard



*William McKinley*

## DIPLOMATS IN HISTORY:

Nixon, whose daughter had married Eisenhower's son in 1968.

Moving from European postings to the Pacific, we find the only brother of a president—William McKinley—who served in a U.S. diplomatic mission

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*Many presidential relatives have also played an important role in U.S. diplomatic missions overseas. Not only have five U.S. presidents held the position of minister to Great Britain (the Adamses, Monroe, Van Buren, and Buchanan), but so too did two well-known presidential sons, Charles Francis Adams (1861-68) and Robert Todd Lincoln (1889-93).*

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overseas. David Allison McKinley, once posted as U.S. consul to Hawaii, gained the respect of the Hawaiians, who asked him to become the Hawaiian consul general in San Francisco. He accepted and represented Hawaii as consul general there from 1885 until his death in 1892. In 1898, when President McKinley agreed to annex the Republic of Hawaii, the knowledge he had gained from his brother must have been a factor in his decision.

Finally, in China, where George Bush headed a diplomatic mission, James Monroe's grandson, Samuel L. Gouverneur Jr., served briefly as U.S. consul at the exotic posting of Foo Chow (1859-61), now known as Fuzhou.

Only one of the five presidential sons who headed overseas diplomatic missions did so during his father's presidency: the very able future president John Quincy Adams, who was appointed U.S. minister to Berlin (1797-1801) by his father. ■

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# BOOKS

## The Gandhi Era

### INDIRA GANDHI: A PERSONAL AND POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY

By Inder Malhotra, *Northeastern University Press, 1990, \$29.95 hardcover*

#### Reviewed by Lawrence J. Kennon

Why another biography of Indira Gandhi, when the stack of them already towers over those on her illustrious father, Jawaharlal Nehru? The author, a respected and well-connected Indian political journalist, explains that the others were incomplete pot-boilers written by adulators or revilers.

Inder Malhotra thinks a presentation of "her life story in its entirety . . . as objectively as humanly possible" is needed, given the way Indira dominated Indian politics for two decades, whether in or out of power. In aiming for objectivity, Malhotra gave himself a daunting assignment, since he knew Indira and her husband, Feroze, intimately. But while he has fulsome praise for her foreign policy successes and for her Mahatma-like concern for the poor and for secularism, his prose is measured. He lets the chips fall where they may and leaves many a chip to be shaken off Indira's sari.

What emerges is a driven woman who never quite overcame her childhood Joan of Arc complex. Malhotra frequently describes Indira as paranoid, often using the word in its clinical sense. He suggests that her mistrust of people (her sons apart) may have come from an identification with her unlettered mother, who was scandalously abused by the Nehru family. At the same time, Indira incorporated from her father an identification with India. When she ruled, India's fate and hers seemed inextricably intertwined, justifying an ambition that often outweighed principle.

Malhotra's highest praise is for her diplomacy surrounding the 1971 war

with Pakistan, which produced Bangladesh. This left her in stratospheric heights of popularity and self-confidence, and with one more score to settle with the United States, which she and Malhotra believe had tilted shamelessly toward Pakistan.

Having praised her, he proceeds to chide her mercilessly for abusing this popularity by drawing ever more power to herself. Her behavior, which was as high-handed as it was short-sighted, combined with uncooperative monsoons in the early 1970s to make her increasingly unpopular. Isolated, she saved herself in 1975 by declaring the Emergency and making herself a virtual dictator. Malhotra finds the Emergency and what he describes as the increasingly abusive use she made of her vast powers only partly redeemed by her decision to allow national elections in 1977. These elections threw her out to the Janata coalition.

The incompetence and bickering of the Janata government alienated vast segments of the population, especially the poor. After only three years in the wilderness, Indira had reclaimed Mahatma Gandhi's mantle and was back in office. Malhotra has little good to say about her second stint in office, which was not only undistinguished and unimaginative, but a seedbed for the always abundant corruption in India. In one egregious example, she tossed to her younger son, Sanjay, a venture to produce the Indian people's car. She fawned on him in other ways as well, despite his arrogance and his association with thugs, and she actively groomed him as her successor. The ascendancy of this controversial favorite son ended only when he was killed in a daredevil airplane accident. Indira never recovered from this.

Malhotra finds Indira guilty of unnecessarily alienating those she needed and creating problems for herself her second time in power. In particular, she enraged the shifting cast of politicians already more interested in deposing her and advancing their own careers than in

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working with her. He suggests that rather than skillfully manipulating them, she became reclusive.

Her attempts to manipulate were clumsy and mean-spirited and backfired on her. This was doubly unfortunate, because even with good management, she would have faced intractable problems, especially with the Sikhs (two of whom did her in), but also in Kashmir, in Andhra Pradesh, and in Assam, and in many parts of India stricken with hunger, despite the Green Revolution. Any hope of solving these problems needed an open, cooperative, and flexible Indira. In fact, in the end she brooked little dissent, even from her own staff.

Ever the Indian patriot, Malhotra makes India out to be the victim in many political conflicts. The 1974 explosion of a nuclear device was "peaceful," and India was right to fear a Pakistani bomb and not to sign the Nuclear Non-Prolif-

eration Treaty. He finds the Non-Aligned Movement, of which India and Cuba were leaders, to be just that, and sees nothing incongruous in Indira's appealing to the Soviets to whip the Communist Party of India back into supporting her. He repeats without critical comment numerous occasions on which Indira accused foreign elements, especially the CIA, of being out to get her. In fairness, he quotes Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who was ambassador to India from 1972 to 1974, as saying that the CIA had intervened twice in Indian affairs, both times in her support. But he leaves the reader to decide who is right.

He describes Indira as a devoted family woman who often prepared the family's food and regretted that she could not spend more time with her children and grandchildren. He recites quite unsalaciously rumors about her sex life, only to knock them down, then to dismiss them, saying that if she had been a widow, nobody would have cared.

Malhotra gives fascinating descriptions of Indian politics, with its complex idiosyncrasies and massive corruption,

and which is conducted by an educational and economic elite with its own interests very much at heart.

The final five pages are a tacked-on summing up, which balances strengths as well as weaknesses. But the damage is done. The book naturally ends with Indira's death, but the performance of Rajiv as her reluctant alter ego after Sanjay's death had already started to renew the Nehru family lustre. Ineluctably, he became her successor, and although he could not escape involvement in the pervasive corruption and could not, at least immediately, solve intractable problems of regionalism and communalism, he still managed to move India away from the outmoded socialism and autarchy that had been Nehru family legacies. Perhaps reelected prime minister on his own, he might have led India to the full benefits of participation in the community of nations. With his tragic assassination, we will never know.

*Lawrence J. Kennon, a retired Foreign Service officer, served in India and Pakistan.*



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## Just Execution

### OPERATION JUST CAUSE: THE U.S. INTERVENTION IN PANAMA

Edited by Bruce W. Watson and Peter G. Tsouras, Westview Press, 1991, \$29.95 softcover

#### Reviewed by George F. Jones

Bruce Watson is a retired naval intelligence officer and professor emeritus at the Defense Intelligence College. Tsouras is an analyst at the U.S. Army Intelligence and Threat Analysis Center. Unsurprisingly, therefore, they have put together what is clearly intended to serve as a textbook for U.S. defense colleges. The reader interested in knowing precisely how many AH-64s and AC-130s were used in Just Cause, which military units were involved, and—that critical issue for any military officer—the exact layout of the chain of command, will find this a handy reference. Even the civilian reader who seeks the date of a particular event, not only in Just Cause itself, but in the years of Panamanian history preceding it, will more than likely find it here. In fact, one defect of the editors' work is that Panamanian history is recited,

with different foci, in each of the first three chapters and then again in a concluding chronology.

The book is scrupulously footnoted, but not always discriminating in its use of sources. For example, Lorenzo Crowell's chapter on the adequacy of intelligence in Just Cause lists what he terms flatly "compromises" of the security of the operation. "The National Security Agency intercepted a telephone call to Noriega. The unknown caller told him that a source in the U.S. State Department had said U.S. military intervention was imminent. Someone in the State Department reportedly placed a call to a member of the Canal Commission, warning him to keep his children home that night. . . ." Anyone who troubles to look up the footnote will discover that the source of these allegations was a story in the *Washington Times*. The reader will also discover—in the footnote, not in the main text—that the assistant secretary of Defense for public affairs denied the allegations.

Of greater regret is the book's failure to devote virtually any attention to a unique aspect of this U.S. military action—that it occurred in a country with a functioning U.S. embassy. The embassy is mentioned

only twice, once to note that some of its staff "complained bitterly about their exposure to danger" (sourced, again, to the press) and again to claim that the embassy's first briefing of the U.S. press provided little information. There is no mention of the U.S. charge's key role in persuading the legitimate victors in the May 1989 elections to assume power in Panama, or the embassy's delicate task of assisting the new government in converting that assumption into reality, or the likelihood that the use of U.S. military force might well have been in vain had the Foreign Service failed in those tasks. In fact, the book largely ignores the political impact of U.S. intervention, other than to speculate on whether over the long run it will produce an anti-American backlash. One hopes that U.S. officers who do study Just Cause as a military operation will be exposed more fully to its political and diplomatic dimensions and to the need for better coordination of those three aspects, and not simply to Panamanian history and the numbers of helicopters deployed. ■

*George F. Jones is a Foreign Service officer, assigned to the Bureau of Inter American Affairs.*



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## AFSA-A.I.D. framework agreement negotiations

AFSA and A.I.D. are currently in mediation before the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service (FMCS) to resolve an impasse on issues in a proposed framework agreement. Negotiations have been ongoing since August 1990, and, while there has been some progress, AFSA is at an impasse over the issues of a full-time representative, additional office space, time limits for AFSA to respond to management-initiated proposals, and mid-term bargaining.

The main issue of disagreement is that of a full-time representative to represent A.I.D. bargaining unit members. AFSA's proposal is similar to the longstanding agreement between State and AFSA that provides for two full-time employee representatives to conduct labor-management relations on behalf of State Department employees.

A.I.D. has been intransigent on this issue. Its counterproposal would provide for up to 10 representatives who would continue to be responsible for work assigned by the agency while they perform AFSA labor-management relations responsibilities.

AFSA has opposed this counterproposal, concerned that a part-time employee whose EER appears "light" on work accomplishments would be adversely affected when considered for promotion and selection out. The agency's assurances that supervisors would be responsible for ensuring that the

employee's EER does not appear less substantive than it would be without time-consuming labor-management responsibilities are not persuasive.

AFSA maintains the most appropriate arrangement for an AFSA-A.I.D. employee representative would parallel that of AFSA-State employee representatives, who may list their service with AFSA on their Personal Audit Report (PAR) card and also elect time-in-class waivers or review by selection boards.

If we are unable to resolve the remaining issues in mediation by the FMCS, the next step will be to request assistance from the Foreign Service Impasse Disputes Panel. The Panel may make recommendations to the parties and, if this is unsuccessful, issue a decision on the remaining issues.

## State Department issues

AFSA's interest in analyzing the impact of the 1990 career management modifications remains stymied by State's failure to produce promotion statistics and other data required by the Foreign Service Act of 1980. In the past, the report has been submitted to AFSA and the congressional oversight committees early in each calendar year and AFSA has been granted the opportunity to comment. AFSA's analyses of compliance with the act and with negotiated labor-management agreements is dependent upon having such data, and we are pressing Personnel—which pleads computer difficulties and funding shortfalls—to produce the needed data as soon as possible.

## Senior FS recertification

State has finally completed and submitted for AFSA's consideration an SFS recertification plan, as required by the Ethics Reform Act of 1989. Every third year, beginning with the three-year period that ended April 30, 1991, any member who has completed 156 weeks in the Senior Foreign Service must be recertified. The requirement is not affected by workforce requirements, nor by time-in-class considerations. The proposed regulations detailed four standards to be met by all seniors and four additional standards for some. AFSA will discuss the standards with management shortly, aiming for clarity, consistency, and attainability. Wisely, because so few employees have the same supervisor for three consecutive years, the department will hold promotion selection boards responsible for recertifications. AFSA will also review precepts for the boards, amended to reflect the new duty. Perhaps the most important aspect of the recertification process is that there may be no "target" number of non-recertifications.

## Affirmative action

The department's long-delayed Multi-Year Affirmative Action Plan for FY1990-92 has finally been approved by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The plan was drafted in the spring of 1990, but was twice returned to State for improvements. The more than 80-page document reiterates the department's policy statements on affirmative action for Foreign Service junior officers (in place since 1967) and mid-level officers (since 1975), and describes how State pro-

poses to diversify the workforce within three years. Noteworthy in the plan are slated improvements in handling EEO complaints and in the lengthy hiring process for those selected for employment. Interested members should request copies of the plan.

### Specialists

Ambassador Pat Byrne completed her study of specialists' careers in April. AFSA has requested a copy, but we have been informed that it is still under review within management and that action recommendations have not yet been decided upon. We understand that issues involving Diplomatic Security personnel are being treated separately from those involving other specialists and that particular attention is being given to the disparity between the Foreign Service overseas service requirement and the inadequate number of overseas openings for DS agents.

### Diplomatic Security

AFSA has been seeking congressional action to induce State to implement for Diplomatic Security agents the provisions of Title IV of the Pay Reform Act of 1990, which establishes special pay provisions for "law enforcement" officers. Although the department has maintained that Foreign Service personnel are not covered by Title IV, the Office of Personnel Management has informed the department that it has no evidence to suggest that the legislation intended to exclude special agents of the Diplomatic Security Service from entitlement to the overtime provisions in Title IV, and that it intended to clarify this matter in a technical and conforming amendment in the near future. Although the OPM ruling hedges on other aspects of Title IV, AFSA plans to continue to press for DS entitlement to *all* the provisions of Title IV, including pay and allowance improvements that will go into effect

for law enforcement officers in 1992.

## Secretarial reform update

Replying to a letter of inquiry in February about the status of career management reforms for secretaries, Director General Perkins provided AFSA with general information in a question-and-answer form. While several of the answers are useful, none goes very far toward meeting the concerns expressed by secretaries to date. In an April 30 meeting with Under Secretary Selin and the director general, AFSA President Wilkinson expressed particular dismay that there were still no commitments to prompt implementation of the banding concept, although nine months had passed since the department announced an intention to proceed with it. Ambassador Perkins promised us a follow-up letter with a schedule for the phased implementation of banding between now and mid-1993, but as of the end of May we had yet to receive the letter.

Following are extracts from the text of the director general's April 17 "status report on secretarial reform."

**Q:** What is the status of differential pay for backup communications?

**A:** We have drafted a proposal to allow an incentive differential for those secretaries who receive training as backup communicators and are serving in a position designated as backup communicator. This proposal is being circulated throughout the department for comments/clearances.

**Q:** Will there be skill code changes?

**A:** We have decided against secondary skill codes for secretaries. We feel that we can achieve our objective of enhancing professionalism by identifying on PARs not only the post to which a secretary

is assigned, but also the section in which he/she is employed.

**Q:** Can PARs be upgraded to show detailed job experience?

**A:** State cable 182278 (6/6/90) and a department notice (5/17/90) gave detailed information on how to have assignment history shown on the PAR. The cable and notice explained how to submit documentation to CDOs to update work histories.

**Q:** Will the American Family Member Associates Program impact negatively on career mobility possibilities for secretaries?

**A:** We do not anticipate any negative impact on secretarial career mobility. . . . The program as currently advertised deals only with existing positions that have traditionally been occupied by family members.

## Fundraising campaign

### Michael Dailey Scholarships Intern

AFSA's recent fund drive has generated a strong response so far of almost \$12,500 for the AFSA Scholarship Fund and more than \$6,500 for the AFSA Fund.

### Answers to the Foreign Service Quiz

(Questions appear on page 10.)

1. Chargé d'affaires ad interim
2. Franklin Delano Roosevelt
3. John Adams
4. William Palfrey in 1780. He never reached France because the ship was lost at sea.
5. The Foreign Service Auxiliary

## Scholarship Fund

The Scholarship Fund drive will allow AFSA to offer an additional \$1,000 financial award for the upcoming academic year and will permanently increase AFSA's scholarship endowment fund of \$1.5 million by 1 percent.

One perpetual and three annual scholarships have been established for the 1991-92 academic year. A gift of \$1,000 or more will name a scholarship in the year it is given. Also, any gift in the amount of \$10,000 or more will qualify the donor to name a scholarship in perpetuity.

This year's newest perpetual scholarship was named in memory of the late Susan Lowe Modi. Special thanks to Sorab K. Modi, her husband, James Lowe, her brother, and Mrs. Arthur K. Beedle, her mother, who, with friends and family, perpetuated an annual scholarship. AFSA is also grateful to Mrs. John Campbell White, and her daughter, Mrs. Tapley Bennett Jr., for generously renewing their commitment to the John Campbell White Scholarship Fund. This fund, created in 1967, has been assisting children of deceased or retired Foreign Service Officers for almost 25 years.

## Perpetual Scholarships

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William Benton  
Robert Woods Bliss  
David K. E. Bruce  
Betty Carp  
Wilbur J. Carr Memorial  
Seldon Chapin Memorial  
DACOR  
Adolph Dubs Memorial  
John Foster Dulles  
Arthur B. Emmons Memorial  
Howard Fyfe Memorial  
Oliver Bishop Harriman Memorial  
Landreth M. Harrison Memorial  
Harry A. Havens Memorial  
Julius C. Holmes Memorial  
Charles B. Hosmer Memorial  
Francesca Bufano Lapinski Memorial  
Robert E. & Florence L. Macaulay Memorial  
Susan Lowe Modi Memorial  
Marcia Martin Moore Memorial  
Paris Scholarship Fund  
Jefferson Patterson  
C. Montagu & Frances M. Pigott Memorial  
Lowell C. Pinkerton Memorial  
George and Helena Shultz  
Ernest V. Siracusa  
Jacq Bachman Siracusa  
Clarke W. Slade Memorial  
Charles C. & Jane K. Stelle Memorial  
Gertrude Stewart Memorial  
Clare Timberlake  
Vietnam Memorial  
Edward T. Wailes  
John Whitehead  
John Campbell White Memorial

Sheldon Whitehouse Memorial  
Theodore A. Xanthaky Memorial

## New Annual Scholarships

Madeline Ferrari Memorial (established by friends and family)

Isaac and Isaac Duke Parker Memorial (established by great-grand and grand-daughter, Mary Parker England)

William and Melinda Itoh Memorial (established by Mr. and Mrs. William Itoh)

Annual scholarship renewals for 1991-1992 include:

Jane Fairweather Memorial  
James L. Holmes Memorial  
Friends of Arjun J. Chakrawarti are also attempting to establish a scholarship for the current year.

We would like to thank again the DACOR Bacon House Foundation for establishing the new Heyward G. Hill Scholarship Program. In its first year, this scholarship will be awarded to dependent children of Foreign Service personnel in their junior or senior college year who plan Foreign Service or international relations careers.

Finally, thanks to former Ambassador to Chile Nathaniel Davis, who has made a generous contribution to the AFSA Scholarship Fund from the remainder of a legal defense fund established for litigation in the case against the makers of the film "Missing."

## Legislative Issues

### Rick Weiss

As Congress returned from its recess, the House and Senate focused on the passage of authorization and appropriation bills.

The full house passed a State Authorization bill on May 15. Among the amendments:

- Embassy Moscow (Berman, Snowe, Upton amendments): Authorizes \$130 million for construction/reconstruction, but requires the secretary of state and director of the CIA to submit a joint written report on the approach the administration

plans to follow (i.e., on whether to add four floors at the top or to raze and rebuild). Furthermore, it requires the secretary of State to seek reimbursement from the Soviets for reconstruction costs.

- Minority Recruiting (Dymally Amendment): Authorizes \$1.5 million for State to contract with the International Career Program (a private organization) for students from historically black colleges to be trained as summer interns or in other ways for careers in the Foreign Service.

- Berman Amendments: Makes future authorizations for TV and Radio Marti automatic unless programs are terminated; requires the State Department once again to study the continuing problem of housing at the USUN; and requires State to report on whether certain human rights principles are being implemented by U.S. businesses operating in China.

In the Senate, the Kerry Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee marked-up its version of the State Department/

USIA/Board of International Broadcasting authorization for 1992 and 1993. The subcommittee proposed a commission to study personnel questions at the Department of State. It requires the department to submit a report on compliance with recommendations of the Thomas Commission within 90 days of enactment and the commission to report within one year on the following: salaries for chiefs of mission, Foreign Service separation for cause, Foreign Service Grievance Board procedures, and reassignment or retirement of former presidential appointees. It mandates a "complete study of standing attitudes and complaints of Civil Service and Foreign Service employees on recruitment, retention, and promotions of women

and minorities; sexual harassment; availability of promotions, awards, and career counseling to both Foreign Service and Civil Service employees; availability of assignments, domestic and foreign, to both FS and GS; availability of subsidized parking in Washington, D.C.; availability of appointment to Senior Seminars, DOD schools, scholar-in-residence programs, FSI programs, etc.; a study of Foreign Service allowances; a study of management and practices at the USUN; and any other questions of issue relevant to efficiency, cost effectiveness and morale of State Department employees." The full Foreign Relations Committee is expected to act on the subcommittee bill in June.

The State Department opposes the amendment as too all-encompassing. AFSA also believes that some aspects are too broad and need to be refined, particularly where "studies" might be used as a way to delay career management improvements that are needed now (e.g. for FS specialists).

In June, House and Senate Appropriations Committees are expected to complete mark-up of the FY 92 appropriation bills. Also in June, the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will report out an EEO bill that will provide an option for Foreign Service women and minorities at State, USIA, and A.I.D. to take their complaints either to EEO or the FS Grievance Board.

## Radical Selin

by **Richard S. Thompson**  
Professional Issues Coordinator

Under Secretary of State for Management Ivan Selin advocated a unified Foreign Service and greater authority for the secretary of State in a May 16 talk at the Foreign Service Club. Selin, who was slated to become chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission July 1, also urged several other major reforms of the State Department and in the foreign affairs community in general.

He called two of his own proposals "far out." First, he proposed creating a single Foreign Service for all five agencies. Furthermore, representatives of other agencies when assigned overseas would be seconded to the Foreign Service and truly come under the authority of the ambassador, no longer belonging to the parent agency. Second, the secretary of State should have "chief of mission" authority, comparable to that of the secretary of Defense under the Defense Act of 1958, with a secretary, two deputies, and then under secretaries for public affairs (PA and USIA), economics, assistance (A.I.D.), interna-

tional security affairs, management, and field operations. Such a reform would require a push from the president himself, as Eisenhower provided in 1958, or from a congressional commission.

Selin targeted four major reforms for the future. First, he proposed a Department of State reorganization to reduce the number of bureaus and remold those dealing with the economic functions (OES, EB, and CIP). Second, he advocated the abolition of cones for generalists, to be replaced by two broad specialties along the line of the Bremer report recommendations. Third, he argued for government-wide planning for the entire Function 150 (foreign affairs) account, by function and by country, or at least planning that would cover the five Foreign Service agencies. Finally, he suggested a single overseas diplomatic communication system of record traffic.

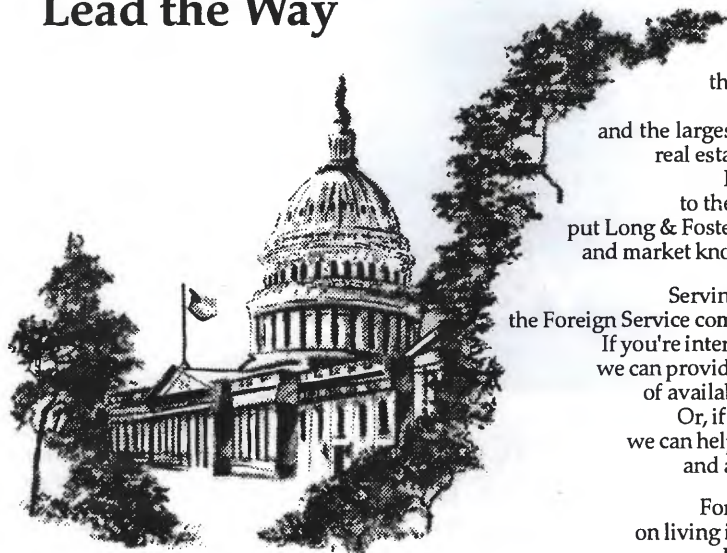
Selin also described a series of reforms he has set in train in the areas of financial management, systematic planning, better control of overseas staffing and shared costs, personnel, foreign buildings and se-

curity, information management, an integrated system of diplomatic communication based on "end-to-end encryption," and simplification of consular operations.

In the discussion period, Selin said he thought Congress would be favorable to broad reform if it could be brought to focus on it. The U.S. Foreign Commercial Service should not be touched except as part of a major overhaul. He suggested that our performance system is too individualistic, and a unit or team approach could improve morale. Several questions and answers focused on the planning process, in which Selin clearly felt progress has been made. Western Europe should see staff reductions, as should South America and probably Africa, where efforts will be made to reduce the infrastructure at many of the smaller embassies. Considerable interest was also shown in how environmental issues are handled in Washington and abroad, including relations with the Environmental Protection Agency. *A transcript of the talk is available on request. Contact Dick Thompson at 338-4045.*

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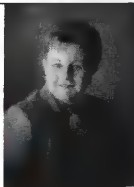
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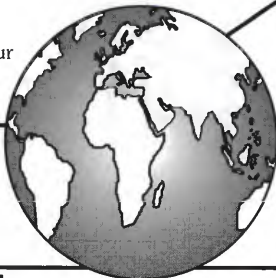
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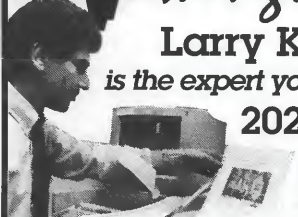
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