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SEPTEMBER 1991

JOURNAL

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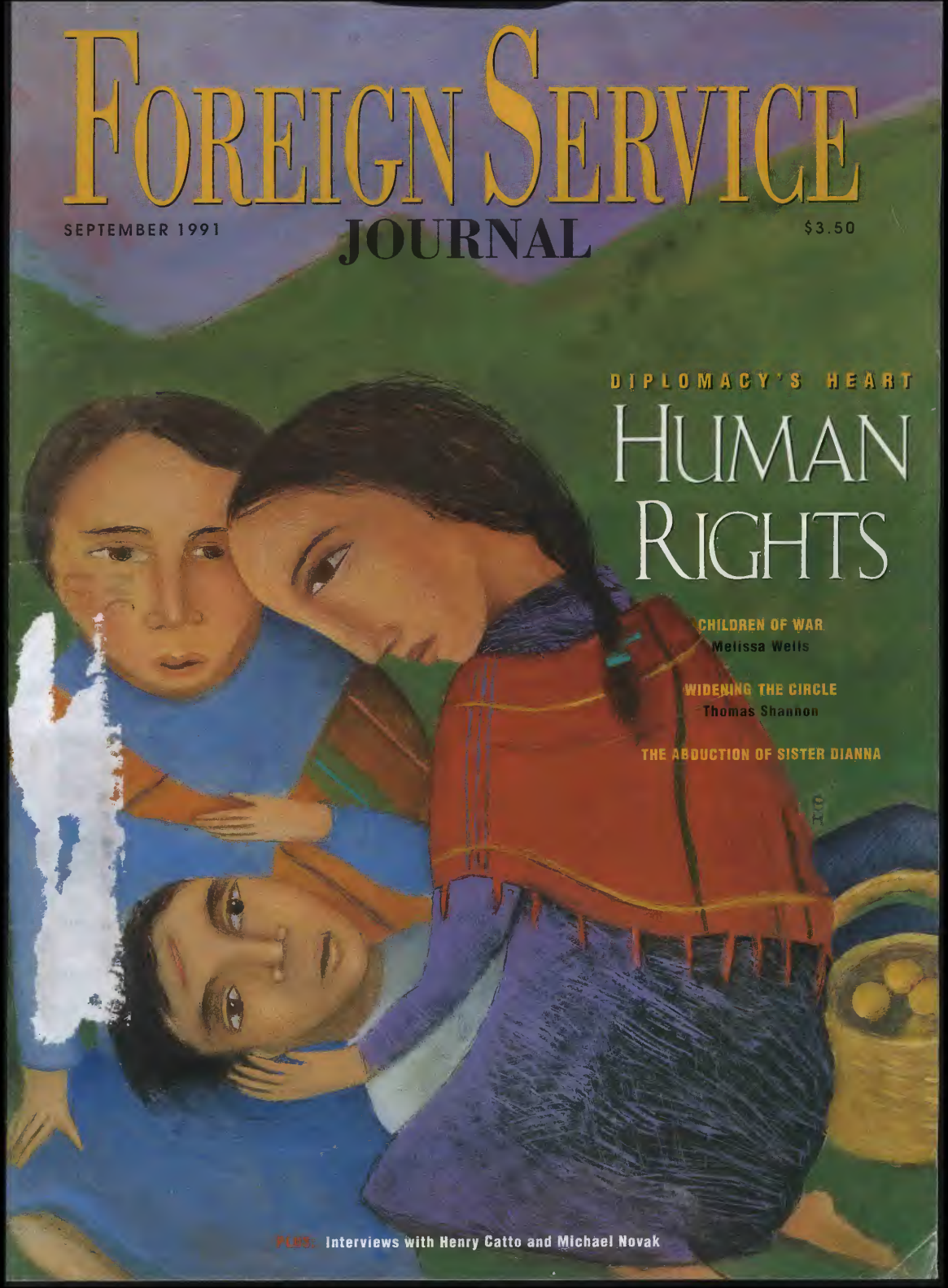
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CHILDREN OF WAR
Melissa Wells

WIDENING THE CIRCLE
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THE ABDUCTION OF SISTER DIANNA

PLUS: Interviews with Henry Catto and Michael Novak



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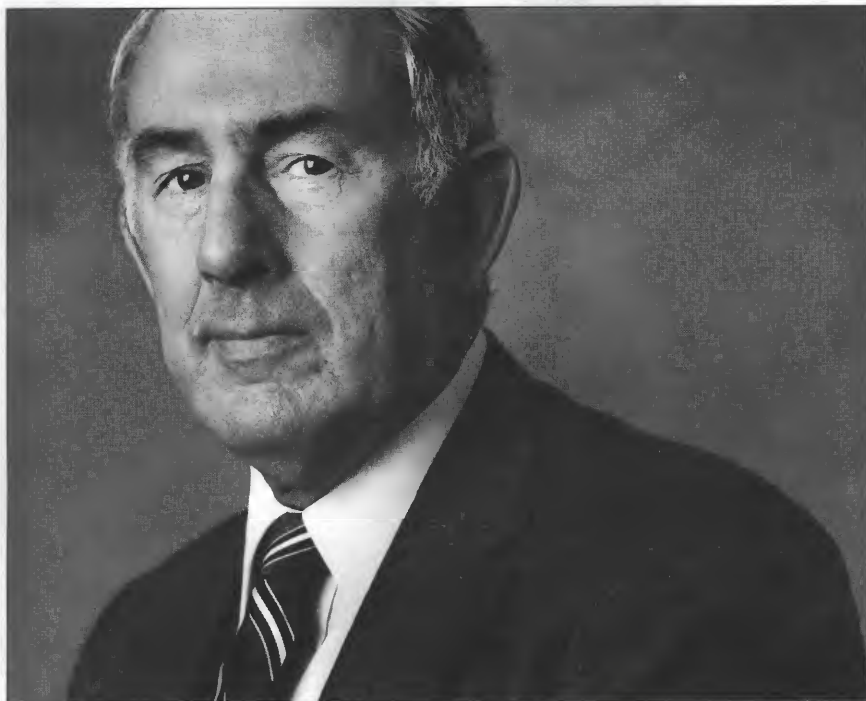
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A F S A VIEWS

A FINER-GRAINED DIPLOMACY

Your new board, the Continuity and Outreach Slate, took office on July 15. We thank you for your support. There is much that we will try to do, with your help, on behalf of our country and our service. You'll hear a lot from us, and we want to hear from you. We will answer our mail promptly. Even before taking office, I received a detailed, substantial set of comments and suggestions from our AFSA colleagues in Georgetown, Guyana. Let us hear more.

But our "inauguration" is also a convenient time to try to place ourselves and our profession in a broader context. By any historical reckoning, this is a unique, extraordinary time to be an American and to represent our country.

Consider this: the 20th century has been one of history's great "ice ages." Three times the world was threatened by the advance of authoritarian and totalitarian ideologies. Four generations of Americans were tested, and in each instance—in 1917, 1941, and the 50 years since—we provided the winning margin for liberty. Looking ahead, we must remain watchful and strong. The world will still be violent, risky, and uncertain—but even more than in the past, it will need our leadership.

A prominent encyclopedia of American ethnicity breaks down our American "genus" into several hundred "societies," beginning with "Amish" and ending with "Zoroastrians." The coming together of these elements, however, in an American context, has produced something unique in mankind's history: the first multi-ethnic, democratic state of continental proportions. The fractured societies of the post-Cold War world are aware of our achievement. Having tried all extremes of violence and ideology, they might, finally, be encouraged to emulate this model. What better hope is there for them?

Such a future will be exciting but challenging for American diplomacy. Ours will be a more textured, finer-grained diplomacy; the number of pieces in our political jigsaw puzzle will increase. Headquarters will have to pay more attention to details. It will be a good time for desk officers, and a wonderful time to be in the USIA. Ours will be a diplomacy with greater emphasis on international organizations, regions and sub-regions, as well as on major functional issues, such as international trade, economics, the role of women, human rights, refugees, and the environment. It will be more a diplomacy of tactics, involving the movement of smaller units—not the "army corps" issues of Cold War times.

Will the foreign affairs agencies that fall under the 1980 Foreign Service Act be up to the job? The recipe books of our profession, from Sir Harold Nicolson's *Diplomacy* to the Thomas and Bremer Commission reports, offer much helpful advice about what should be done. A Foreign Service goal, however, for which your board will press in its relations with management, is *greater representativeness*. We are the world's most "representative" nation and, in a future of multiplying nationalisms, we can tell America's story more credibly if we ourselves better represent the best of what America has to offer.

We will strongly support Director General Perkins's outreach campaign. "Outreach" is not a matter of cameo appearances, one-shot lectures, or exhortations from on high. It can't be turned over to job fairs, diplomats-in-residence, the Board of Examiners, or any particular individual or bureau. "Outreach" is a job for us all; it requires resources, imagination, and persistence, and must be well done for our country's sake.

— HUME HORAN



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LETTERS

TRADE FOCUS

TO THE EDITOR:

For several months I have been meaning to write to congratulate you and the Editorial Board for the quality of the *Journal*; the June issue pushed me into action. There has been a steady improvement in the substance of the articles chosen for publication, but June was particularly noteworthy because it focusses on what is likely to be the overriding issue of the post-Cold War era, international trade.

Doral Cooper's article on the Uruguay Round . . . presented a balanced defense of the international trading issue. It also outlined potential dangers in the emergence of a new system based on regional trading blocs. I and many others share her concerns about the aims and arguments of those who would move us in the latter direction, especially if they imply abandoning GATT. . . . The GATT system has served us well. . . . The highest priority should be given to its preservation and evolution.

Regarding Susan Purcell's arguments in favor of the U.S.-Mexico FTA, I remain skeptical. There is little doubt that the effects of the proposed FTA have been overstated and under-analyzed. . . . Moreover, arguments that the FTA would have a stabilizing political effect in Mexico sound like a triumph of hope over experience. . . . There has been little instructive analysis of the potential benefits and risks, because there are no analogies for FTAs between countries of such disparate levels of development.

None of this addresses the practical and difficult task of finding mutual interests amid the welter of conflicting interests and aims. . . . There would be some question as to the ability of the negotiators to build a mutually accept-

able accord. Would anyone care to address the political consequences of failure?

But regardless of how either the Uruguay Round or the FTA negotiations turn out, the *Journal* deserves our thanks for helping identify the issues and shape the discussion. Well done.

Jack R. Binns
Ambassador, retired

NO COMPARISON

TO THE EDITOR:

Frank McNeil's shockingly cavalier equation of the regimes of Fidel Castro and Francisco Franco in the June "Let-

Mr. McNeil obviously does not value Jeane Kirkpatrick's classic 1980 distinction between authoritarian dictatorships of the right and totalitarians of the left. And, he may be right, or wrong: . . . The jury is still out on the question whether the Soviet system can peacefully evolve into something more human.

ters" section . . . is unworthy of an otherwise so skilled writer. . . .

Mr. McNeil obviously does not value Jeane Kirkpatrick's classic 1980 distinction between authoritarian dictatorships of the right and totalitarians of the left. And, he may be right, or wrong: . . . The jury is still out on the question whether the Soviet system can peacefully evolve into something more human. The same must be said of the Cuba of Castro.

Mr. McNeil, however should reflect

a better understanding of the modern Spain and the Franco regime: Franco was a disciple of the monarchy . . . nevertheless [he] loyally supported the Spanish republic in the tumultuous 1930s, after the abduction of Alfonso XIII.

As dictator after a civil war, . . . Franco believed in no "ideologies." Franco's real goals were to preserve Spanish national unity, Spanish heritage, and restore some kind of stable government.

The Franco regime prepared the political evolution which emerged after his death: Franco personally supervised the education of Juan Carlos. . . . Political parties, while formally illegal, were easily tolerated. Franco was an avowed provisional authoritarian, not a totalitarian. After him, Spain quickly and peacefully moved to a formally democratic regime, and has enjoyed a remarkably democratic stability ever since.

To casually equate the historical role of such an honorable, if complex, man with that of a naked tyrant such as Fidel Castro is not merely monstrous; it is mindless cant.

Paul D. Molineaux
Foreign Service Officer, retired

JULY ISSUES

TO THE EDITOR:

There are always interesting articles in the *Foreign Service Journal*, and I look forward to your every issue. But in the July issue, every article, from Stephen Sestanovich on Yugoslavia to Janice Stein and the others deals with topical subjects with outstanding analytical clarity and excellent writing style. It was a real pleasure to read them. Keep up the good work.

Ernest G. Wiener
Foreign Service Officer, retired

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TO THE EDITOR:

"Focus: The Aftermath of War" ought to rank as required reading for anyone attempting to understand the continuing Iraq tragedy and American foreign policy at the end of the century. The *Journal* and its contributors are to be congratulated. I would ask them to address the following points:

- The desirability of having senior diplomatic officers [with] military experience, particularly in martial states, such as Iraq. This goes as well for officials in Washington.
- Would it not be fair to say that the administration's Iraq strategy is numbered among the most successful of its initiatives?
- How do American intervention policies square with the principles of American independence as defined in the Declaration of Independence? I wonder what Stephen Sestanovich, whose article was excellent, would think about Yugoslavia?

For me the *Journal* is a "must" read.

I'm looking forward to your further contributions.

Louis V. Riggio
Foreign Service Officer, retired

TO THE EDITOR:

The question about who is temporarily in charge of a diplomatic mission in the July *Journal's* "Foreign Service Quiz" evoked a fond memory for me. It happened in the early 1970s in Ankara.

A very junior officer was asked to draft a letter for the signature of the chargé d'affaires ad interim. He did a creditable job, except for the name and title at the close of the letter. He wrote "William Burdette, a.i." David Cuthell called the young man to his office and explained: "Mr. Burdette is *chargé d'affaires* ad interim, but he is Mr. Burdette *all* the time."

S.I. Nadler
Foreign Service Officer, retired

THE VICTORY PARADE THAT WASN'T

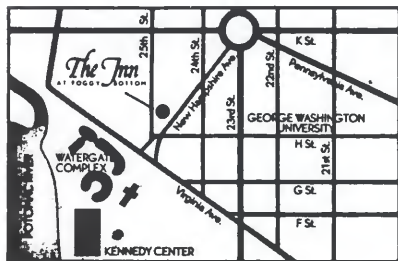


By Joe Johnson

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TASTES OF HOME

THE WASHINGTON POST, JUNE 22, 1991

By LAURA BLUMENFELD

Rich, sweet globs of ice cream repulse her. French fries are okay. But what Elsa Kombert craves is something more appealing. Something that reminds her of home: baked breast of bat and fried monkey bits. "We eat monkeys like you eat cheeseburgers," says Kombert, daughter of the ambassador from the Central African Republic. The monkey recipe is simple: Pan-fry with onions, okra, peanuts, red pepper. But getting bat or monkey meat to Washington is complicated. One of Kombert's 29 siblings buys the animals fresh, 6,400 miles away, in Bangui, C.A.R. She dries them in the sun, wraps them in plastic and packs them into a suitcase. A courier escorts the bats and monkeys on two seven-hour flights.

"When we eat the forest animals it makes us think of home," Kombert says. Home.

Just as U.S. diplomats overseas beg their stateside friends to mail them Pringles and Oreos, the 2,723 foreign diplomats in the Washington area go to great lengths for a taste of home.

Hebon Kim's wife, for example, has a passion for dried squid. When the Korean press attaché's mother-in-law visited last month, she brought a cache with her. "My wife eats them like cookies," Kim says. . . .

If Washington's 142 diplomats agree on nothing else, there is consensus on this: American food is terribly bland. . . . A popular solution among diplomats . . . is to ship their native hot pepper sauce to rescue D.C.'s lifeless cuisine.

There is also little hope for American beverages. The Israeli diplomat got right to the point: "Your coffee, it is nothing."



Kenyan and Yemeni diplomats [also] regularly request coffee aid from their home countries. . . .

"What it comes down to is we miss the whole country," said Jahanara Hasan at the Bangladesh Embassy. "And you can't put that in a suitcase."

INTERPRETING DEPARTMENT CABLES

THE WASHINGTON POST, JULY 16, 1991

By JOHN M. GOSHO

Faced with charges of misleading Congress, the State Department plans to argue there is no significant discrepancy between Ambassador April Glaspie's secret cables about her two-hour meeting with Iraq President Saddam Hussein last July and her

QUOTED IN
THE WASHINGTON POST,
JULY 22.

later testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

"The traditional way of writing a diplomatic cable about an ambassador's meeting with a foreign leader is to emphasize what the leader told the ambassador rather than the other way around," a senior department official said. "That was what Ambassador Glaspie did, and that is why her cables stress what she was told by Saddam. Later, when questions arose about what kind of message she gave Saddam on behalf of the United States, she filled in the gaps in her testimony."

Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell and other critics say the cables raise the question of whether Glaspie actually delivered a warning about the consequences of invading Kuwait. . . .

"I have great faith in Ambassador Glaspie and what she said," [Brent] Scowcroft said. "You have to remember she was with Saddam Hussein by herself. She came back and jotted down what she recalls of what he said. They're not like conversations where there is a rapporteur there. . . . One can't expect that it's a complete transcript of what happened."

EMBASSY SHIFTS

THE WASHINGTON POST, JULY 12

By LEE HOCKSTADER

The new embassy complex [in El Salvador], scheduled to open early next year at a cost of about \$70 million, is about the size of a junior college. One of the largest State Department projects, it features eight buildings spread over a 26-acre lot. . . .

The new embassy was approved by Congress in 1987, when Central America was at the top of Washington's foreign policy agenda. . . . Now, as 1,000 workers rush to get the new embassy ready for occupancy, Washington's gaze has turned elsewhere and U.S. aid to El Salvador has shrunk by a third.

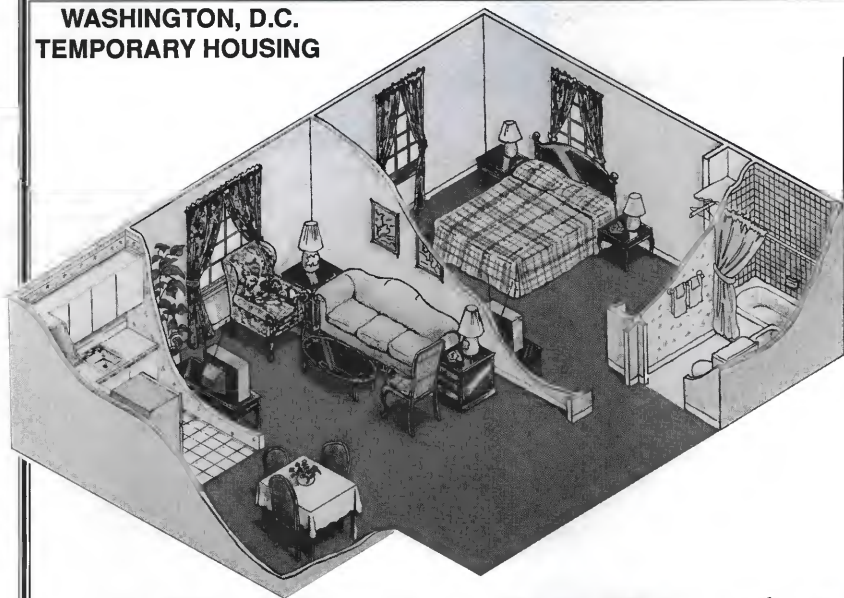
If peace is at hand in El Salvador, what will become of the U.S. presence? . . . Who will be around to occupy 210,000 square feet of office and living space at the new embassy compound?

Publicly, U.S. officials are reassuring. . . . Once the war ends, the idea is to convert U.S. military aid into economic aid without any drastic reduction in U.S. presence in the country.

But privately, U.S. officials offer a blunter assessment. "I figure they'll keep it up for one, two, maybe three years," said one official. "But you can't feed them a million dollars a day forever." Another official mused, "If push comes to shove, you could subdivide the property. Conceivably, the whole complex could be sold at a decent price."

The new complex includes the embassy, the ambassador's mansion, Marine barracks, offices of A.I.D., a commissary, a cafeteria, and service buildings. There is room for 500 workers. ■

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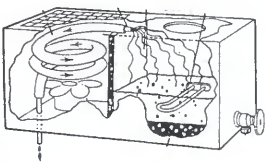
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50 YEARS AGO

West Point Voyage

By RAYMOND D. MUIR, *FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL*, SEPTEMBER 1941

On June 16, the Department informed the German Embassy that their consular and other officials must leave the United States. . . . The first question to arise was that of a ship to transport these people.

A survey of the passenger ships available on the East Coast indicated that there were none large enough. . . . As it happened the *America*, of 35,000 gross tons, largest passenger ship built in the United States, had been turned over to the Navy on June 15 and was being converted into a naval transport. She had been renamed the *West Point* and had accommodations to take care of 464 persons who were being sent back to Germany and Italy, and would also be able to accommodate the American personnel of our consular establishments who had been ordered out of Germany, Italy, and the other countries which had been occupied. . . . Many of the Italian and German personnel were not happy about leaving the United States, while others were antagonistic, but their leaders informed me that in spite of existing conditions, the trip had been a pleasant one.

We were notified that the American consular personnel [traveling by train from Germany and Italy] had not arrived in Portugal, and we were requested to delay our arrival until such time as the trains . . .

. . . crossed into Portuguese territory.

Accordingly we reduced speed [but after our arrival in Lisbon, we were informed that there had been a further delay and that none of the German or Italian personnel should be allowed to disembark. Finally, word was received that our people from Italy and Greece had crossed the Portuguese frontier and the Italians were allowed to disembark and the next day . . . the Germans were allowed to leave the ship.

The *West Point* was then made ready to receive the Americans. . . . A number of our people had not been in the United States for many years, but Francis Adams Lane, vice consul at Bremen, held the record, he having been abroad for 44 years, 13 years in our Foreign Service. I heard many interesting accounts of the experiences of [imprisonment] of our people. Several of the children who came back with their parents had been born abroad. . . . the things the children enjoyed most aboard the *West Point* were the fruit, ice cream, and movies. . . .

On Friday, August 1, it turned out to be a beautiful day for the arrival of many who were seeing the Statue of Liberty and their homeland after long and trying months faithfully serving the government in foreign lands. ■

FOREIGN SERVICE QUIZ

Answers on page 55.

1. Who is the current dean of the diplomatic corps in Washington?
2. Which city in the United States has the largest diplomatic and consular community?
3. Why is the State Office of Protocol required to be on call 24 hours a day?

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DESPATCH

Loading the dice

In late August *The Mediterranean Quarterly* published a thorough, scholarly, and troubling article on personnel practices in the Foreign Service that raises somewhat painful questions about what constitutes fairness in hiring and promotions. The author, John P. Owens, details, among other things, efforts by the Board of Examiners to skew the written and oral examinations in order to admit more minorities and women than would filter through the hiring process under normal circumstances. These efforts have included a rewriting of the examination to emphasize verbal skills and deemphasize knowledge of politics and economics. This was done to improve the scores of women, who generally perform better on the verbal section of the exam. To raise the number of successful minority candidates from 4 percent of the 2,500 who passed the written exam throughout the 1970s, according to Owens, knowledgeable sources informed him that in the 1980s, BEX lowered the "cut" score for minorities on the written exam to the low 40s, qualifying them as "near passers," who then proceeded to the oral assessment.

"It seems clear that the present administration, as well as State Department management, is determined to carry out a sweeping program to make the Foreign Service more proportionately representative of American society, irrespective of its potential impact on the service's effectiveness or morale," writes Owens.

A *New Republic* article on gender "norming" by James Workman that appeared July 1 called on some of the same statistics. After describing the preferential exam grading for women that had been instituted as a result of a 1976 sex discrimination suit, Work-

man concludes: "Nobody knows what effect, if any, all this will have on the quality of the Foreign Service. . . . but women FSOs may now have to face a new prejudice, an assumption that they are less qualified than their male colleagues."

Few members of the Foreign Service would deny that something must be done to correct for the systemic social discrimination against minorities and women in the United States, or that the service should reflect American diversity to the extent possible. But a perception exists among many white, male Foreign Service officers that standards applied to judging their performance may in some cases be more stringent than those applied to members of groups that have traditionally been subject to discrimination. This sentiment, voiced apologetically by liberals or with surreptitious resentment by those less sympathetic to equal opportunity issues, affects the department's morale.

Next month the *Journal* will examine some of the successes and problems of policies that promote better opportunities for women, minorities, and the handicapped. Authors will address race and gender "norming" on the examination and recruitment efforts at historically black universities, among other topics. We would like to hear your views on these topics, whether through articles or letters.

The science officer's role

Another intriguing study was recently completed by Foreign Service officer Terry Jones, who undertook a comprehensive examination of the role of the science attaché during a year on an Una Chapman Cox grant. Extensive

interviews with 20 science attachés posted to Washington by foreign countries and 10 American science attachés convinced Jones both that Foreign Service officers in general need better education in the sciences, and that, on the other hand, the service probably doesn't need highly trained scientists. "We are seeing the first inking of this need for 'interdisciplinary' diplomatic skills, as we face up to the need for better analysis and reporting on how S&T developments will affect a country's trade balance, economy, competitiveness, quality of life, political stability, etc.," she writes. ". . . [W]e cannot afford to maintain our national security or our economic competitiveness with a diplomatic cadre that is ignorant of the major S&T and environmental issues of today and the next decade."

Jones also acknowledges some of the bad blood produced by the practice of bringing in scientists laterally. "Like all compromises, it pleases neither regular Foreign Service officers who see their chances for advancement affected by people brought in at higher levels, nor the lateral entry officers who fear problems in getting tenure."

Among Jones's interesting statistics:

- The Chinese Embassy's Science Section is among Washington's largest, with 10 professionals. In contrast, the Japanese have only four.
- The State Department had 27 science attachés or counselors posted abroad as of February 1991, with two each in Paris, London, Mexico City, Tokyo, and Vienna (UN).
- The science counselor and attaché at the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Washington spend 30 percent of their time answering 300-500 technology-related questions per year

from industry.

- Finland is spending 2.1 percent of its GNP on research and development in 1991, 60 percent of this money coming from the private sector and 40 percent from the government. The Finnish counselor for science and technology takes assignments directly from Finnish companies, which pay a minimum of \$200 for assistance.
- China posts 100-130 science officers to embassies and consulates worldwide.

No cookie-pushers here

The Foreign Service Club on June 12 hosted an all-day seminar designed to prepare conservative youths for the Foreign Service exam. The seminar was sponsored by the Springfield, Virginia-based Youth Leadership School, founded by former Reagan aide Morton C. Blackwell as a vehicle for getting conservatives into positions of leadership in the federal government. The school has an advisory board of some 53 congressmen, including Senators Jesse Helms, Robert Dole, and Strom Thurmond and Representatives Newt Gingrich and, curiously, Larry McDonald, whose death is noted in the institute's brochure. The June seminar included, in addition to lectures on the exam, the Foreign Service's cones, and what to expect in the Foreign Service, a talk entitled "A Conservative View of the State Department and Its Policy Preferences" and a warning note on "How to Fail: Homosexuality and Drug Usage."

CLARIFICATION

The Overseas Briefing Center called to say that, last month's column to the contrary, kidnapping is not one of the most serious threats to Foreign Service personnel abroad. Although extremely hard on the victim, kidnapping is considered highly unlikely. Street crime and burglary are the most commonly reported crimes.

— ANNE STEVENSON-YANG



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UNDERSTANDING TIME, SHAME, AND NEGOTIATIONS IN THE ARAB WORLD

BY DAVID FREDRICK

W

hat differentiates Western, Judeo-

Christian cultures from those of the Arab, Muslim world? Major differences demarcate these cultural groups in language, theology, concept of family, the role of religion in governing, and in social and political structures. These differences shape attitudes, which generate behavioral patterns.

Herman Kahn described the Vietnam war as a friction point in the meeting of Asian and Western cultures. So, too, has the last half of this century been a period of strain between the great Muslim and Judaeo-Christian cultures, attenuated by mass education and mass communications. At stake are massive capital flows, energy supplies, regional and global stability, and even world peace. Cross-cultural human relationships, whether formal or informal, reduce the friction, but the success or failure of such interpersonal negotiations hinges on each culture's perceptions of its responsibilities. How do



Waiting in Zagora, Morocco

Arabs see us, and how do we see them?

The Arab Muslim accepts life as largely fated, with small margin for current human influence. The Western Judaeo-Christian, by contrast, sees the past as prelude to the present, with great scope for human action and change. How do the two societies define personal responsibility? To begin finding an answer, let's take a brief look at cross-cultural concepts of personal responsibility as revealed in differing attitudes toward time, shame, and negotiations.

Cultural clockwork

At my first Arab country of assignment, I set about establishing contact with Arab Muslims. Regardless of whether meetings were set at my office or theirs, meetings never occurred on time. At first, I thought it was because I was junior and new, but as I stayed 10 years

consecutively in the Arab world, I learned that this was a way of life. I soon also learned to carry an unread newspaper or book in my briefcase, so that I could be a model of patience as I waited.

The dean of the Faculty of Arts and Letters was an important new contact who might help place professors. I presumed he would also provide insights about cultural contrasts, too, since he had done his PhD in English literature in the United States. He was delighted to hear from me. When I asked what time we should meet, he paused, and said, "You are an American, so it would be so nice to have an American meeting; let's meet at 8:30 a.m."

There is an old story that circulates in the United States Information Agency about arranging identically scheduled visits to the United States for representatives from Germany and from an Arab, Islamic country. The German looks at the schedule and says, "Why have you left so much free time?" The Arab looks and says, "You've over-programmed

me. There is no time for me to put my new information into perspective." For the Arab, time is a vessel that should never be completely filled. One must always leave time for serendipity, for the opportunities that are revealed, thanks be to God, outside the ordering of human agency.

Yifturis is the meal that breaks the fast during the month of Ramadan. The meal begins exactly at sundown. The definition of sunset is not left to chance: a local religious leader determines the exact time, and the civil authority sets off a cannon round, so that everyone knows it is time to eat. It can be very dangerous to be driving in the 10-15 minutes just before the cannon goes off.

The breaking of the fast is a feast, with special and sumptuous foods and drinks. The universal Muslim favorite is *berrera*, a soup of lentils. Other standard fare includes boiled eggs, buttermilk, figs, dates, honied cookies, and candies. One year, we hosted a *yiftur* to which we invited a minister, an under secretary, three staff members, three American colleagues, and spouses. All had said they were coming, but in the Foreign Service, you're never quite sure.

By 7:15, everyone but the minister and his wife had shown up, and they were walking around rubbing their hands in anticipation of breaking fast. I went out of the compound to the street to wait for the minister, knowing that he might have trouble finding our place. It was almost time, and I knew the cannon would soon go off, and what should we do—eat or wait for the minister? I saw a black car turn down the street, and sure enough it was he and his wife—thank God! He got out of the car just as the cannon went off. I greeted him and his wife, saying how honored we were that he had come to our poor home. He said, laughing, "I have never had a *yiftur* in a Westerner's home, and I would not miss this for anything. Why would a Westerner do such a thing?" I responded, smiling, "Why, it is the only way that I can be sure that a Moroccan will arrive for a meal on time!" Laughing uproariously, he said, "That's true and that is a very good reason."

Doing the right thing

Arabs pride themselves on having a keen sense of doing the right thing at the

right time. If I had a meeting with an Arab for a set time and something else more important came up, the Arab would be late or not show; I was expected not to take this as an insult or slight. Something came up that had to be done; this was a determination of God and fate. At first, I pressed people for explanations of why they had offended me in this way. Slowly, I learned that it was normal. Once, when the king of Morocco went to visit the queen of England, he was one hour late for his meeting with her. The British still have not gotten over this.

Time for Western and strongly Westernized societies is the framework upon which we arrange our personal and professional lives and through which we order our goals and priorities. For some Arab, Islamic societies, time is rather more the fluid medium in which fates play out, as the will of God becomes apparent. Calculated delay is one of the Muslim Arab's most frequently employed interpersonal skills. (I have learned to do it a bit myself but must employ the practice very cautiously, since, no matter how much exposure Arabs have to Westerners and Westerners to Arabs, attitudes toward time are deeply ingrained.)

The past is prerogative

People who are in a hurry often leapfrog past negotiation opportunities in Muslim, Arab cultures. For the Western, Judaeo-Christian participant, action is often taken to promote an envisioned future; we impatiently anticipate destiny. For the Arab participant, however, action is to be taken in the context of the half-observed designs of fate, so pro-rogation generates security. Hold on, move slowly, so that more information becomes manifest. So, when we go to lunch, negotiate a lease, elaborate a five-year plan, or make peace in the Arab world, let's take a book along and try to remember everybody is just trying to do the right thing at the right time.

Guilt is a key motivation in the Judaeo-Christian world. Impoverished nations often play upon this tendency, telling Westerners that they must help poor people by subsidizing food prices in the poor country, leaving it unsaid that if we don't, we will be responsible for destitution and deaths. A cross-

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culturally knowledgeable Arab Muslim can project such guilt upon us, but we cannot project guilt into Arab, Islamic society. An Arab Muslim believes all that passes in this earthly life is the will of God; how could he blame himself, a mere human, for even the smallest state of human affairs? The cultural difference is between personal responsibility and personal obligation. Yet, the Occidental tone of



Moroccans

guilt finds a responding chord in the Arab, Islamic society as shame.

Hishumain Arabic connotes a sense of shame. It would be shameful not to do what is expected and correct, even if it is not what one wants to do. *Hishuma* results from failing to meet one's fate-determined obligations, such as caring for the extended family. To

abandon an aging parent would be shameful, to permit a daughter to marry a non-believer would be shameful, to ignore an unemployed or homeless brother would be shameful, and so forth.

Two years before I arrived at a post, an agreement had been struck with a major ministry whereby a department would pay the transportation costs of our 15-person technical assistance team. For two years, not one centime had been paid. Follow-up letters had been written by my predecessors and by the ambassador. Meetings had been held in which all parties assured one another that this was the end of the problem and the costs would be reimbursed. Nothing had transpired. I was

tasked with clearing up this misunderstanding. I tried writing letters, again to no avail. In our first face-to-face meeting, I asked the director to please honor the commitment. He said there was no money for this, and that his department and the ministry valued the technical assistance very much but were just too poor to pay the costs. He asked me to please try to understand this.

Some time later, two technicians and I met with the director to report on field activities. Since the unpaid transportation costs had clouded our relationship for nearly five years, I decided that I would eliminate this irritant. Near the end of our meeting, I said, "My friend, I have been thinking about an important topic: this question of the money for transportation of our technical team. This issue has stood between our agencies for many years. Today, it stands between our friendship. So I have decided to eliminate that problem, and we will pay for the transportation from before and on into the future."

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The director squared his jaw and said, "No, you will not. That is our responsibility. Can you accept a cash payment into your agency?" Dumbfounded, I said, "Yes, we can." He told me, "We will pay all the arrears by the end of next week, and then will pay in cash twice per year. Please have each of your technicians sign for the payments." And that was the end of the negotiation and the end of the problem.

He realized that I was prepared to publicly carry out an obligation that was clearly and explicitly his, not an unreasonable obligation, but just one he wanted to avoid if possible. Inadvertently, the problem was solved by uncovering this stimulus for *bisbuma*.

Returning favors

We Westerners cannot start negotiating with Arabs by appealing to guilt. Guilt implies personal responsibility; for the Muslim Arab, the future is the unknowable will of God, and that is that. We need to be alert to how our goals may converge with the fated responsibilities perceived by our Arab, Muslim interlocutors.

Friends and acquaintances may be

used as tools to advance personal agendas in the Muslim, Arab world. Nobody feels bad about this; the person being used is expected to understand the greater good. My good friend Buchaib (may he be walking with the Prophet and all the saints) had always been honest with me. He hosted a magnificent feast under tents at his farm for my parents and other friends. He came to our home for our Thanksgiving feast, along with his wife, who had never sat at a Christian's table before.

Buchaib had decided to take a vacation in America. I recommended him to the consular officer, knowing that Buchaib would definitely come back. The consular officer was equally assured and gave him a rarely granted one-year multiple entry visa. He went, loved America, and came back. Six months later, he came to me with his friend, the colonel. He asked me to help get a visa for the colonel's daughter. Both he and the colonel swore up and down that she would be back in two weeks and that there were no complicating circumstances. I spoke with the consular officer, who told me that the woman had been turned down five

times for a visa because she wanted to permanently enter the United States. Buchaib was very surprised that I would be offended or might have lost face. He made me understand that he had not betrayed me, but rather just had hoped that I would be able to work the same magic for his friend's daughter.

America has a large store of personal knowledge of Islamic Arabs, gained through business relationships and attendance by Arab students at American universities, as well as through diplomacy, foreign aid, and the Peace Corps. Yet have we given enough attention to a civilization and culture five times as old as our American culture? At the end of the 20th century, with the great clashes between socialism and capitalism approaching resolution, with the great religious wars in Europe part of distant history, can we delay gaining a better understanding of the Muslim, Arab world? ■

David Fredrick is a Foreign Service officer currently serving as Bangladesh desk officer in the Bureau for Asia and Private Enterprise, Agency for International Development.



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Under One Roof: USIA in the 1990s

An Interview with Henry Catto

BY JOE B. JOHNSON

Does foreign public opinion matter in conducting U.S. foreign policy? If it does, what kind of role belongs to the U.S. Information Agency, set up to monitor foreign opinion and advocate U.S. policy abroad? Is policy advocacy consistent with cultural and educational exchange, and with the objective news reporting that is espoused by USIA's main radio service, the Voice of America? Now a new, expansive USIA director is finding that his agency has to justify itself all over again.

Created in 1953 and expanded in 1978 by the transfer of cultural and educational exchange programs from the State Department, USIA has lately come under a spell of questioning.

Public squabbles between former USIA Director Bruce Gelb and former VOA Director Richard Carlson gave impetus to those advocating a separate international broadcasting agency. The organization of the U.S. government's foreign broadcasting is now under study by a presidential commission. The Fulbright exchanges are also questioned, with Senator Claiborne Pell expressing a desire to move the exchanges out of USIA, where, it is felt, policy concerns may drive educational endeavors. Inside the agency, morale has slumped after a five-year decline in operating resources and a two-year period under Gelb, who failed to

maintain the influence and visibility the agency had enjoyed under the flamboyant Charles Wick.

USIA's new director, former Ambassador to London Henry Catto, has spent the first months of his tenure in Washington knitting relationships at

the Department of State (where he begins most mornings) and other agencies. Catto established his authority quickly. He staged his swearing-in at the VOA auditorium, with President Bush at his side, and had the ceremony tele-



vised worldwide over USIA's satellite system.

Ambassador Catto has held four other diplomatic assignments: chief

of protocol, ambassador to El Salvador, U.S. representative in Geneva, and deputy U.S. representative to the Organization of American States. He has also served as assistant secretary of public affairs at the Department of Defense and has held a wide variety of positions in publishing and broadcasting.

If others have doubts about a role for USIA after the Cold War, Catto does not, as Foreign Service officer with the USIA Joe B. Johnson discovered recently in an interview for the *Foreign Service Journal*.

Joe B. Johnson: People mean different things when they use the word "public diplomacy." Just how do you define it and where do you think USIA fits within the concept?

Henry Catto: I define it as taking into account, in a time of spreading democracy, the opinions of people of foreign countries—not only by listening to what they have to say and what their opinions are, but by trying to influence foreign opinion, so that they can understand what we're all about.

Johnson: Do you think USIA has the lead role, the most important role?

Catto: Sure. We've got the equipment. We've got a huge trained cadre of Foreign Service officers and Foreign Service nationals. We have a worldwide television network, which is unique. We have an even bigger worldwide radio network, broadcasting in 45 languages all across the world. We have magazines; we have the fabulous exchange programs, which probably do more than anything else to make people understand what the U.S. is all about—the Fulbrights, the International Visitors Program—which are just terrific tools for international understanding. USIA is everywhere in the world with libraries, the cultural centers. It is there in the business to influence, and to measure, and to help people understand.

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Johnson: You mentioned broadcasting first. I know that our foreign broadcasting is under review by a presidential commission, and you testified before the commission. I presume that you would have argued in favor of USIA's continued stewardship of broadcasting. What do you feel are the strongest arguments?

Catto: Our strongest argument is that we have the know-how. The idea of cutting broadcasting off from the Foreign Service, which, in so many cases, places the programs and provides the audiences for the broadcasts, doesn't make any sense to me.

Johnson: Your opponents, those who would make VOA independent in some way, say that VOA's mandate is to report the news objectively, and USIA is engaged in persuasive communication.

Catto: That's half of USIA's mandate, to report the news objectively. The other half is to explain U.S. foreign policy, which we do via VOA editorials and the other editorial services.

Johnson: How do you answer those who say that we threaten the editorial independence of VOA?

Catto: Simply not true. We keep the newscast part independent, and we keep the opinion part and the program part as the principal megaphone for U.S. policy.

Johnson: Our television service is now part of the unified USIA Broadcasting Service, along with VOA. What do you think about the programs that USIA is putting out over television? Are there any changes that you can foresee in the kind of programs that we do?

Catto: No, I just wish we had more money to do more programming. It's expensive but so tremendously effective. I think it's a shame that we have to be constrained as much as we are in this, the most powerful of all media.

Johnson: You haven't mentioned the so-called surrogate broadcasting, such as Radio Martí, Television Martí, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are also under study. They are a slightly different concept from that of VOA. Do

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you feel that they have a purpose or a place as agency programs?

Catto: Absolutely. It would be a great shame, I think, to deprive the Cuban people, living under that anachronistic dictatorship, of the advantage of a home service broadcasting and telecasting operation.

Johnson: *Do you have anything to say about the proposal for a Radio Free China?*

Catto: The Radio Free China proposal, as I understand it, is going to be looked at. I'd be surprised to see it come to pass, because a complete new surrogate broadcasting operation would be hugely expensive, at least \$100 million, and we can do more targeted broadcasting on the Voice of America—reporting a lot of local news as opposed to just world news. If the decision were made, that would be fine, but all of this is on hold until the task force decides whether it wants to also look at an Asian radio as a feasible program.

Johnson: *Let's go to other USIA programs. Have you looked at the speakers program? . . . Sometimes speakers have gone out who actually were critical of U.S. policy—they were sponsored by the embassy and speaking against U.S. policy. What is your reaction?*

Catto: Hard as it is to believe, sometimes not everybody is in favor of what we do. I certainly don't intend to try to censor what the speakers say.

Johnson: *One of the largest chunks of our budget is earmarked for cultural programs. There are those who think that cultural programs ought to be in a separate agency. What do you say?*

Catto: I say that is motion without progress. Given the fact that what we have now is doing a fine job, why change it? Who made the famous statement, "If it ain't broke, don't fix it"?

Johnson: *As ambassador in London, you had experience as a consumer of agency services and products. Were there any USIA programs or facilities that you wished for in London?*

Catto: I could have done with a whole lot more Fulbrights and a whole lot more international visitors, but I had no complaints at all about the USIA-USIS operation in London.

Dealing with the press is perhaps not as much stressed as it might be—figuring out how to avoid walking into booby traps. I felt very strongly when I was at the Pentagon as spokesman, that military [personnel] were not close to being as well prepared for that kind of thing as they might be. To a certain extent, I think the same thing is true in the Foreign Service.

Johnson: *Of course, you had much more experience than the average ambassador would have in dealing with the media and cultural events. Do you have a sense of how well American ambassadors are prepared in this respect before they go out?*

Catto: My guess is, probably not as much as they should be. For career people, we have a whole lot of very valuable operations at the Foreign Service Institute in language and other areas of training. Dealing with the press is perhaps not as much stressed as it might be—figuring out how to avoid walking into booby traps. I felt very strongly when I was at the Pentagon as spokesman, that military [personnel] were not close to being as well prepared for that kind of thing as they might be. To a certain extent, I think the same thing is true in the Foreign Service.

Johnson: *Don't you think that nowadays an ambassador needs to project his or her views more to the*

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media than before?

Catto: I agree with that. In a time of spreading democracy, here is an area where an ambassador can become highly useful. It's said that ambassadors these days are little more than messenger boys, if that, because of instant communications and personalized summitry. But an ambassador trained in, and interested in, the ideas of public diplomacy really can have a role. I tried hard to speak a lot in Britain and to get the idea across of what the United States of the late 20th century is all about. That, I think, is a new challenge for U.S. ambassadors anywhere. A superpower in the world can command audiences. It would be a shame not to take advantage of this.

Johnson: You mentioned that you would like to push public diplomacy onto the policy formulation level. What kind of process would you like to see? How would you like to see us engaged?

Catto: I'd like to see, certainly, a full-time presence at the NSC [National Security Council]. I'd like to be like water torture, to just constantly impress on people like the secretary of state, the secretary of defense, the chairman of the National Security Council, and the president—everybody involved in foreign policy—the importance of taking foreign public opinion into account. I've called on [Brent] Scowcroft, [James] Baker, [Lawrence] Eagleburger, [Robert] Gates, [Richard] Cheney, to sing this song that initiated the water torture, and have found a very receptive audience.

Johnson: You've had a wide array of experience in this group. Could you tell a little more about USIA's image and tell if there are any misunderstandings about what USIA is?

Catto: The main problem lies within the American public. Nobody has a clue what the USIA does. Everybody knows about Fulbright and the Voice of America. But when you begin to sketch the other things that this agency does, you'll find surprise. Most people have no idea we have television and that we run libraries and cultural centers and the full panoply of public affairs tools. Abroad there is, ironically, more public grasp of what we do.

Johnson: But your counterparts in the U.S. government are more aware of USIA, aren't they?

Catto: Some are. Some are not. Unless they've served in an embassy or have seen us at work, no, I don't think that they're immune to the national disease of ignorance of this agency. There are certainly some constituencies—among grantees, for example, among alumni. But even granting that we have lots of alumni and lots of operations, there still is no real constituency by law. [USIA's charter forbids dissemination of its products within the United States.]

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I think that when the laws were written right after the war, we were all so aware of the dangers of a propaganda agency à la Goebbels and his counterparts elsewhere, we reacted in a way that has been overcome by time. Really it's a pity that the people don't have any idea of the kinds of things we

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do. Motion pictures, for example, where the wonderful "Years of Lightning, Day of Drums" has only now come into the public domain so it can be shown in the schools. There are lots of films that this agency has done that we are very proud of, that the people ought to know about. But our hands are tied by what I think is an anachronistic law.

Johnson: *I think the agency's presence abroad has declined in recent years, and some of that is because of the decline in the dollar's value. We seem to have difficulty compensating because a significant portion of USIA's budget is earmarked for one thing or another—cultural programs or broadcasting. Do you see earmarking as a problem in the agency?*

Catto: Yes. If management of an agency is to have any function whatsoever, it has to be able to make the decision as to where the priorities lie based on something other than totally parochial interests. Somebody has to try to look at the big picture rather than at things that seem appealing to a given congressman or senator.

Johnson: *I have one last question, which is whether you have any geographic biases. What regions of the world offer the greatest opportunities for USIA programs? Are there areas where we need fewer press and cultural programs than we used to?*

Catto: It's hard for me to believe that we need fewer press and cultural programs anywhere. If you're talking about Europe, which has its sophisticated means of communication and has a very sophisticated understanding of this country, I'd answer that, absolutely we should not cut back—not in Western Europe, which is becoming more and more powerful and rich and more important; not in Eastern Europe, just coming out from under the nightmare of having been forcibly annexed by an evil empire; but also not in Africa or Latin America, where you have emerging democracies on all sides; and not in Asia: Japan, Korea, Taiwan, which are becoming industrial giants. All of those places are important to us and we need to influence them. ■

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Different Strokes: To the Estonian Station in a Kayak

By Tom Armbruster

Most Finns spend their Midsummer holiday lighting bonfires, singing songs, and drinking festive quantities of alcohol, but a handful spend Midsummer on the Baltic's open seas. Accompanied by an intrepid Finnish friend from the American Embassy, I joined this group last year, traveling the 105 miles from Helsinki to Tallinn, Estonia in a kayak.

This is the type of expedition that shows off the Finnish quality of *sisu*, which translates as tenacity, spirit, guts, even, perhaps, pig-headedness. It's the quality that took the Finns so far against the Soviets during the Winter War. I had often noted that when something is planned in Finland, it is done thoroughly. I knew I was in good hands with this group of seafarers.

My paddling partner was Foreign Service National Jukka Savo. Jukka was an inexperienced paddler but an expert sailor. Before the crossing, we trained for several months in the waterways around Helsinki. With the midnight sun, it was easy to stay out until well in the evening—dusk was at 11 p.m.

Start from the Finnish

We finally left Helsinki for Tallinn on a pleasant afternoon in June 1990, paddling south along the coast. Soon we confronted waves from a Hawaii Five-0 rerun, some as high as 7 feet. I had some trouble tracking straight, but that was corrected when our expedition leader flipped my rudder right side up—I'd had some trouble with the German instructions.

After four or five hours of hard paddling, we arrived on Skorvo, a Finnish island. Campfires were lit, sausages roasted, and a sauna was ready for our arrival. The wind was already blowing hard when we awoke the next morning. A strategy meeting was held at 1 p.m. on the beach. There was considerable discussion about whether to cross. I was all for going but knew I was not a voting member, since I was a relative novice. Having my rudder positioned upside

the one last Finnish island, before heading out to sea.

The trip south was pleasant. Our colorful line of 15 kayaks, mostly singles, but another double like mine, attracted the attention of the boaters and the vacationers in their summer cottages on shore.

At Ronneskar, we ate one last hot meal, made one last rest stop, and got comfortable in our boats. We were off at 9 p.m. The late start would mean pad-



Above: Starting off from Helsinki. Below: The author in Tallinn.

down did not improve my standing. Finally, blastoff was set for 5 p.m. Again we would travel south along the coast to

dling all night, but our leaders thought the wind would be calmer through the night. We soon reached some swells that ensured the night would be interesting.

Jukka and I kept up well, surfing a bit on the waves. Fog descended about midnight. Some time during the night we fell into a rhythm: Jukka manned the bow, I paddled from the second position, controlling the rudder with my feet. We paddled at a good clip, keeping our thoughts to ourselves. Every hour or so we would rest, pulling our kayaks together with the navigators' to compare notes and ideas.

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Buoyed up

Finally, we saw a light that the navigators wanted to head for, and Jukka and I raced the Latvians for it. We gained on them by half a boat length, but they continued on at racing pace, leaving us far behind. From that lonely light buoy, we moved on to our first Soviet landfall—a small rock of an island covered with birds and bird droppings. The surrounding water had an oily hue and unpleasant smell. We managed to climb out of our boats, stretch our legs and take a much needed rest stop, after nine hours or so of paddling.

The stop was brief. We could now follow the Estonian coast to Tallinn. From shore I could hear music. Later I heard a distinctly Russian voice singing. But for the most part the coast was thinly populated, low-lying farm country.

This stretch was the hardest. We had paddled as a group all night, but now we were strung out along the coast, as the only navigational imperative was that we keep land on our left. Even so, one paddler took a premature turn and arrived hours later than the rest of us.

Estonian's throw

The fog burned off, the bay was calm, and Tallinn came into view on the horizon, like Oz. From a distance it is a handsome city, although thick black smoke belled from its smoke stacks.

The city has a marvelous beacon, like an airport's, but it seemed no closer after 20 minutes. We were exhausted. Finally we passed the breakwater. After a total of 19 hours of paddling and 105 miles of water, we'd made it.

Our Estonian hosts had a sauna and a shot of cognac waiting. My passport was presented, dry still, to the customs official. He didn't check it long. I took a sip of the cognac, helped carry the boat to the rack and walked to the hotel. In the sauna anteroom there were toasts, smiles, and stories, but I missed them. I fell asleep. ■

Tom Armbruster is a Foreign Service officer.



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CHILDREN OF WAR

*How Ambassador Melissa Wells
helped reunite families in
Mozambique*

AN INTERVIEW BY ANN MILLER MORIN

For a decade, forces representing the central government in Mozambique, FRELIMO (National Front for the Liberation of Mozambique), have been locked in a bloody civil war with RENAMO (Mozambique National Resistance). In this first-person account, former U.S. Ambassador to Mozambique Melissa Wells discusses the devastation wrought by war on the nation's people, especially the children. Posted in Mozambique from 1987 to 1990, Wells stepped beyond the usual responsibilities of an ambassador to report, negotiate, and represent the United States to promote the nation's healing, thus adding a new dimension to representation. She is currently serving as ambassador to Zaire.

The account is adapted by Ann Miller Morin from her oral history with Wells taped in 1991, a day following the PBS documentary, "Profiles in Diplomacy." The interview is part of the Women Ambassadors Project, and extracts will appear in a forthcoming book from Twayne Publishers of New York.

Melissa Wells with children in Mozambique



When Frenisi came to us at the Lhanguene center [a hostel established to help children traumatized by war], he wouldn't speak to anybody, wouldn't speak to the other children, wouldn't participate in any of the activities. He'd stay off in a corner by himself, and from time to time tears would pour from his eyes. I remember putting him on my lap, and he was like a little sack. I tried to cuddle him, but there was just no reaction whatsoever, except sometimes he cried. He was there for months on end, and nobody knew his story. We knew something must have happened that was horrible, but we didn't understand why he didn't talk to anybody. Before I tell you his story, let me give a bit of background on events in Mozambique.

There was a strong internal component to the war that was basically rooted in the mistakes that the FRELIMO made when they came to power at the time of independence. Why these had to be counteracted in such violent fashion and with the use of terror against



ART: SHUTTERSTOCK/ANTONIO CALO DE ASSUNÇÃO/REUTERS/OUTLINE

civilians is another question.

Thousands of people have been killed there during the last 10 years—100,000 is a modest estimate. I'm talking about RENAMO, which abducted and trained children to kill. What did they want these little children for? Well, many of the littler ones collected firewood, collected water, did chores around the camp. But there were others, stronger ones, the bigger ones, who became part of that whole guerilla concept and were found firing weapons at the army. That was a problem in itself, to get the army to hand over the children, because they didn't see them as children; they saw them as young boys carrying weapons. And we're talking about 10 and 11-year-olds!

To help children traumatized by exposure to an enormous amount of violence, we started a hostel for out-of-town children, Lhanguene. I'm very proud of that. I had a little bit of trouble getting it started, but I got the U.S. government to fund this project. We had to

have a place for the children, and the Mozambique government made that available. First, we had to get it fit to live in and Al, my husband, donated his services, supervising the plumbing and making sure the toilets worked, and so forth. When it was livable, I used to go at least once a week to be with the children. You couldn't handle it in a bureaucratic way. It wouldn't work. It had to be a hands-on project.

The key was bringing in specialized talent from the States. We didn't know what to do—what do you do with children who have been taught to bayonet and to kill? Do you just treat them like any other 12-year-olds, or do you put them in prison, or do you warehouse them because they're unsafe for society? These were issues that had to be discussed, because these are people who will be the adults of tomorrow. They're carrying this stuff around in their heads, and we have to cope with it. We in the United States are used to emergency programs, where we send food, medical



Wells visits victims of the civil war in Mozambique.

supplies, tents, blankets, you name it, but “shrinks”! That’s something else.

Dr. Neil Boothby from Duke University came. He’s a very well-known child psychologist who has worked with the problem of children and violence in Southeast Asia and in Central America. The idea was to develop a training model, because at that stage there was not one trained psychologist in all of Mózambique. Boothby developed a model to use to train local people: how to size up the children, how to spot which child might have post traumatic stress disorder, then how to assess it, how to draw out the child, how to deal with the problems in psychodrama. Dr. Boothby learned the children’s stories by having them draw pictures. That’s how we unlocked the mystery of Frenisi’s silence.

It was uphill work getting him to participate, but eventually he did, because he was attracted by the bright colors of the crayons and papers. He was asked to draw his home. Dr. Boothby has that drawing, the first drawing. He said, “Any person with minimal training in psychology can see that this child has a deep problem.” Gradually, through Frenisi’s pictures, the whole story came out. He had gone down to fetch water by the stream, as he did every day of his life. He came back to his family’s hut, and there were men with guns surrounding it. They told him to set fire to the hut. They gave him a torch. The hut is called a *palbota*, with a thatched roof, and the thing went up in flames. Immediately the parents came running out, and they were killed and then their heads were cut off.

The reason he wasn’t speaking was because he felt guilty—in his little 6-year-old mind, *he* was the one who killed his parents because he set fire to the *palbota*.

I was there when they reenacted the psychodrama. The other children, who had all had brutal experiences as well, played different parts, and little Frenisi was sitting, watching. The children reenacted the story according to Frenisi’s drawings, with the killings. Frenisi saw that there was nothing he could have done. You and I, hearing the story, arrive at the immediate conclusion he was forced to do it. But Frenisi had never clicked on that. He was just beset with rage and guilt that he was responsible for the death of his parents.

Once we’d broken through the barrier, Frenisi spoke. One time another child was having a birthday party, a little boy who had lost both his arms. I came with a birthday cake, and we had a little celebration. There was a new child who didn’t speak much; Frenisi kept bouncing back and forth from one end of the table to the other, going first to this little boy, and then to me, saying, “You know, he’s new here. He’s new here. He doesn’t talk very much.” It was as if he was saying, “I know you know me from when I didn’t talk at all.” But he was now in charge of this other little one, trying to help him, and making sure that everybody knew he was helping him.

In addition to therapy, we faced the problem of reuniting the children with their families, if they could be found. By the time I left Mozambique, we had

reunited 2,000 children—2,000—in a country at war, where people can't read, where they have never even seen a photograph of a loved one before. We managed to track down families—I won't always say the parents, because often the parents were killed, or we just didn't know what had happened to them.

We developed a procedure that Dr. Boothby had used successfully in another part of the world. From the children in the home we got clues to identity. The older they were, the better they remembered the name of the village, the name of their parents. The younger they were, the more difficult it was. We put together all the clues, and it became obvious some children come from a certain region. We'd photograph those children and have each child speak into a tape recorder in his or her tribal language, saying, "I am Paulo. My mother's name is So-and-so," and as much else as they could recall.

I went with the team to Gaza Province where we first tried this. The people who were there were told to assemble at a certain point. We said, "This concerns children, your children possibly, children of your friends." So they came—I'd say maybe 500 people finally showed up. You could just see the mood of those people: "Let me get on with my work—I have to go get water, I have to do this, I have to do the other."

Our spokesman said, "We're going to show you photographs." It wasn't one single photograph, but sheets, quite large, almost poster-sized, that would have six, eight, sometimes 10 photographs of children on them. I remember watching the crowd look at these. They started passing them, mumbling and muttering. We told them, "If you think you might recognize someone, come up. You don't have to be sure. Just come up."

At one point a wonderful woman, an elderly woman, very dignified face, came up and pointed at a picture and said, "I think this is my grandson, Angelo." The children were not there with us, so the next step was to have her sit at a table; I sat with her. We got out the tape that Angelo had recorded and played it. I was so moved. I don't understand the language; they were speaking Shangaan. The woman sat across from me, looking down into the tape recorder (she'd never seen one in her life), and a voice came out of the tape recorder. Her face sort of crumpled up. I kept watching her face, and then tears started pouring down her cheeks. I got up and hugged her, because it was clear what was happening. She was hearing a voice she thought she knew. What the voice was saying matched the information she knew about her grandson, Angelo. And it was Angelo!

She and I composed ourselves. I turned the tape around, and *she* recorded for Angelo. I asked someone to translate for me from the Shangaan. She said, "This



is your grandmother." And she said, "Angelo, what you don't know is that your mother is alive. She came back to us two months ago and we killed a goat to celebrate."

We took the tape back to Angelo. But we had to be careful. Angelo had been through a terrible experience: he'd been abducted and lived in the rebel camps for a long time. You have to be very careful because a child must *want* to go back to the family. After the experience the child has gone through, he or she may like the safety of Maputo and the center. You can't just say, "We've found somebody who knows Angelo. Out with Angelo."

This was another interesting part of the process because the children didn't all immediately say yes. They thought about it; they thought about it. Angelo chose to be reunited with his grandmother and mother.

Frenesi was not so lucky. We couldn't find any of his extended family, and, obviously, his parents were dead. As we found homes for more and more children, it was very sad for the ones who were left, because they had bonded together as a group. Frenesi at this point kept saying, "I want to go back to my family. I want to go back to my family."

Frenesi had a best friend at the hostel, and we were able to locate his family. Before he rejoined them, before the two boys were separated, we approached this family and said: "The two boys are so close. We cannot find any trace of Frenesi's family, even in the extended concept of the African family. Will you agree to take him?"

And—this is the wonderful thing about Africa—although they were very poor people and had been through terrible times, they said, "yes." Frenesi found a home.

That's just one story. There are so many more . . . ■

The transcription of the oral history from which this article was drawn was made possible in part by a grant from the American Association of University Women Education Foundation.

DIPLOMACY'S ORPHANS

New Issues in Human Rights

BY THOMAS A. SHANNON

We are living through a period of quiet but profound change in the international human rights agenda, which will pose new diplomatic challenges to the United States. While the principal human rights issue of the 1980s—political repression—will remain our primary human rights concern through this decade, several new issues have emerged that do not easily fit into our traditional understanding of human rights. Nevertheless, The United States must come to terms with these “new” issues, or lose what influence it has over the human rights agenda.

Children of poverty

First on the list are the rights and welfare of children. Vigilante killings of street children in several Latin American countries have highlighted an explosive Third World social problem that has been declared a human rights issue by such groups as Amnesty International and Americas Watch. Rapid urbanization and the breakdown of family structure under grinding poverty have turned millions of children out onto the streets of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Deprived of normal care, feeding, and education, many of these children take to petty thievery, prostitution, and drugs. Lack of social services and creaky judicial systems have provided few institutional means to deal with this problem. Consequently, off-duty policemen

and businessmen in some cities have taken matters into their own hands, forming extrajudicial groups that harass, intimidate, and kill street children.

The reemergence of death squads in some Latin American cities, but this time without the political overtones of the past decade, underscores the precarious existence of many of the world's children, who neither have a voice in government nor wield economic or political clout. The recognition that many nations are failing their children prompted the 1990 UN-sponsored World Summit for Children, the largest-ever gathering of heads of state. The World Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted unanimously by the UN General Assembly in 1990, set benchmarks by which nations' treatment of children can be judged.



Mexican children

Cultural survival

Second is the right of indigenous people to retain their cultures and ways of life. Historically, this issue has been treated as an anthropological problem. It achieved human rights status only recently, when Indian cultures were violently and systematically repressed by central governments, as in the cases of the Guatemalan Maya and Nicaraguan Miskito during the 1980s.

This understanding is changing. Responsibility for protecting primitive Indian groups has devolved upon governments, as publics acknowledge that some groups

Rethinking the Human Rights Reports

BY JULIEN LEBOURGEOIS

The State Department's annual *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices* could use some well-intentioned tinkering. The reports have grown from 426 pages in 1978 to 1,701 pages in 1991. The reports cover more countries than before, but the expansion more importantly reflects the institutionalization of the human rights function. With greater time and growing expertise devoted to the reports, they are ever more comprehensive. Increasingly stringent requirements to provide examples, details, and conflicting assessments also have enlarged them. They have unquestionably become more "full and complete," as the law requires. But comprehensiveness alone does not guarantee objectivity. In fact, it may be possible to produce more useful reports with less effort and fewer resources.

The State Department uses its detailed instructions and checklist sent to the field as well as its editing and clearance process as the major instruments of quality control and consistency. Each country report, however, remains the product of a unique and sometimes extended negotiation among embassies and department bureaus over content and tone. Varying degrees of historical awareness and substantive expertise and different individual and bureaucratic points of view come into play. Standards for evaluation can change country to country, in ways perhaps recognizable only to those most closely involved in the preparation of a given report. Acute observations sometimes get homogenized into bureaucratic mush. The more ambitious the reports become, the greater the risk of such distortions.

The reports have been susceptible over time to faddish public and congressional preoccupations and to changing Executive Branch criteria. Economic and social indicators of quality of life are no longer considered relevant. The two-year-old requirement to discuss violence against women—specifically practices of female genital mutilation—reflects current U.S. domestic concerns more than evidence of a new international human rights problem. While the reports will naturally reflect changing times and must satisfy the needs of primary end-users, transient fashions in the definition of human rights and human-rights abuses are best avoided.

As now presented, the reports stand pretty much on their own. The last paragraph of the introduction to sections on each country is a short score sheet that can usefully be compared to the previous year's; the "score sheet" also identifies positive and negative trends. But the reports do not compare countries, making it hard to distinguish governments that violate rights grossly and systematically from those with less abysmal or even positive records. The introductory essay to the *Country*

Reports volume now goes part way toward making such useful distinctions and categorizations.

The reports are rigorously pruned of statements that might appear to mitigate a violation, since the U.S. government holds that violations are ultimately indefensible. Although morally sound, politically, this makes the reports somewhat unrealistic.

The human rights report typically involves the human rights officer at an embassy, labor, refugee, and consular officers, the political counselor, the deputy chief of mission, and the ambassador, as well as secretaries and communicators. In Washington, even more people are involved.

No other annual report prepared by the State Department commands as many resources, measured mostly in terms of employees' time. The reports may have a positive impact on the behavior of some governments, and they have earned a reputation as a basic sourcebook. The impact, however, is uncertain, and the informational service the reports provide is not an essential aspect of U.S. human rights diplomacy. Furthermore, Congress does not need such extensive reports to make informed decisions about foreign aid and military assistance.

With chronic departmental budget woes, the current commitment of resources to the human rights reports is probably disproportionate, as well as unnecessary for meeting the legal requirement.

Clearly, the human rights reports need to be trimmed down and better tailored to current needs. Some first steps:

- Significantly reduce the scope and length of the reports by covering only major developments, not static conditions.
- Work with Congress to change the annual requirement to one less frequent, say every two or three years, with special reports or testimony by the department stipulated if needed.
- Expand the introductory essay to facilitate country comparisons and help sort violators into clearer categories.
- Include a report on the United States to facilitate comparison and promote understanding of U.S. standards. A private panel of limited duration and mandate could be appointed for this purpose.
- If such an innovation is overambitious or unworkable, include specific references to U.S. human rights guarantees and practices in the introductory essay for the major issues under discussion.
- Write more of the report in Washington in order to better standardize approaches to different countries, expand the conclusions and comparisons in the introductory essay, and reduce the number of people, telegrams, and resources now involved in reaching agreement on the final text of each country report.

As a desk officer in the late 1970s, Julien LeBourgeois handled the Jamaica report. He also drafted reports on Sweden (1981-83) and Indonesia (1988-90).

face cultural and physical extinction unless their contact with the modern world is better controlled. Although some governments are reluctant to accept this responsibility, international human rights organizations are not reluctant to assert it. Amnesty International's interest in the fate of Brazil's Yanomami Indians—a tribe decimated by disease and the depredations of their homeland by timber poachers, ranchers, and miners—is evidence that the issue has entered the mainstream of the human rights community.

Environmental organizations, too, have expressed interest in the fate of indigenous peoples, adding political urgency to the issue. Environmentalists know that most indigenous groups depend for their survival on their habitat; the economic development of their traditional lands is a direct and immediate threat to them. The melding of human rights and environmental concerns is a new and politically powerful development which will ensure that the plight of many indigenous peoples is well publicized throughout Europe and North America.

Struggle and flight

The last item on the emerging human rights agenda is the rights of refugees and other displaced persons. Again, the problem is not a new one; what has changed is our understanding of it. In the past, refugee rights have been viewed largely as a humanitarian issue, acquiring a human dimension only when the displaced persons were political exiles. However, the suffering inflicted on refugee groups in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Central America, and Africa—either through political manipulation, denial of relief supplies, or outright attack—has highlighted the central human rights aspect of this problem. America's own strapped resources and public "compassion fatigue" make uncertain the U.S. ability to continue to respond to these man-made disasters. The result is a growing consensus that the international community must hold to account governments that provoke, countenance, and manipulate the mass displacement of human beings.

The emerging human rights agenda poses a tough diplomatic challenge. The issues on the agenda reflect deep-rooted economic, social, and political problems that admit of no quick fixes. Unlike political violence, these issues also are not amenable to the customary finger-pointing and condemnation. This is not to diminish responsibility for human suffering, but to recognize



Salvadoran girl

that in most cases, harsh rhetoric gives reluctant governments an excuse to resist international pressure.

Unless handled adroitly and in good faith, human rights issues will drive a wedge between the developed and developing worlds. Third World nations are already nervous about what they perceive as the erosion of the traditional concept of state sovereignty, which provided them some measure of protection from outside interference. While international interest in human rights protection is legitimate, it must keep governments focused on human rights and not permit them to slide off the point by claiming that national independence is at stake.

Ways and means

How to accomplish this? A modest beginning would include the following: first, a reexamination of the structure of the State Department's annual human rights report (see page 33). The format needs to be revised and expanded to include these new issues. Since much of the human rights report's structure is legislatively mandated, such a review would probably require consultation with the Congress.

Second, redouble U.S. efforts in multilateral human rights fora. Such fora are a useful means to engage countries that would otherwise resist bilateral approaches on human rights. For such fora to be effective, however, they must focus on real human rights issues. Efforts by some Third World nations to introduce extraneous issues, such as national economic development as a human right, or to include as fora members known human rights abusers, such as Cuba, must be resisted. Finally, we must look for creative ways to express our willingness to help countries struggling to improve their human rights records—for instance, Administration of Justice programs that help train police and courts in juvenile justice. Although such programs would have only a limited impact, they would identify us diplomatically as part of the solution and not part of the problem.

While efforts to provide protection to politically marginalized and vulnerable groups is a marked expansion of our traditional human rights policy, it is in keeping with its overall purpose. The history of the 1980s should be evidence enough that human rights issues can be ignored only at our own risk. ■

Thomas A. Shannon is special assistant to the ambassador at Embassy Brasilia.

MUTUAL SUSPICION

The Abduction of Dianna Ortiz

BY ANNE STEVENSON-YANG

In late 1989, American nun Dianna Ortiz was abducted and tortured in Guatemala, allegedly by government security forces. According to her own account, during her roughly 24-hour ordeal Sister Dianna was raped repeatedly, burned with cigarettes, and lowered, semi-conscious, into a pit full of human bodies, crawling with rats. Deeply traumatized, the Ursuline nun, who had been teaching children in the town of San Miguel Acatán, Huehuetenango department, would not speak publicly about the ordeal for more than a year. When she chose to break her silence, she spoke with ABC's Diane Sawyer. The resulting segment of ABC's "PrimeTime Live" news program, aired on June 6, 1991, leveled explosive accusations at the U.S. Embassy in Guatemala and even hinted at U.S. complicity in the abduction. It also accused the embassy's human rights officer, Lewis Anselem, of spreading vicious rumors about Sister Dianna, saying she was a lesbian and had been the victim not of a political kidnapping but of a soured tryst.

Several congressional delegations have visited Guatemala to promote investigation of the case, and Congress has passed amendments to foreign aid authorization bills conditioning U.S. aid to Guatemala on progress in bringing Ortiz's assailants to justice. The story reveals fundamental misunderstandings between the U.S. embassy in Guatemala and American missionary orders there, which have exacerbated the difficulties of resolving a case that remains a key irritant in U.S.-Guatemalan relations.



Dianna Ortiz

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL URSULINE ORDER

The kidnapping

According to Sister Dianna's sworn statement made on January 31, 1991, the incident unfolded as follows:

In September 1987, Sister Dianna had gone to Huehuetenango to begin teaching alongside two other nuns. The following September, Bishop Victor Hugo Martinez of the diocese of San Miguel received a communication saying that the nuns were working with local guerrillas, which Ortiz has denied. (Ortiz is in seclusion and was not available to be interviewed for this story.) Beginning in January 1989, Sister Dianna received a series of anonymous notes telling her to leave the country, and on a trip to Guatemala City in July, she was grabbed by a man who threatened her and repeated warnings to leave. More letters followed, with threats of rape, murder, and decapitation.

On October 21, 1989, Sister Dianna went to Belen Retreat Center in Antigua to take a Bible course and decide whether or not to remain in Guatemala. As she sat in the garden reading her Bible at 8 o'clock on the morning of November 2, a man put a hand on her shoulder and said, "*Hola mi amor.*" She recognized him as the man who had threatened her earlier in Guatemala City. With an armed companion, he forced Sister Dianna through a breach in the wall out onto the street. The men showed her a hand grenade and said they would kill innocent people if she screamed or tried to flee, then they forced her onto a city bus.

After a half-hour ride, the kidnappers took her off

the bus and, blindfolding their captive, entered a waiting police car driven by a uniformed officer. They drove to a large building in which Ortiz could hear the screams of a man and woman.

During her torture and interrogation, Ortiz was shown pictures of herself taken throughout her stay in Guatemala, along with pictures of people she said she did not recognize, whom she was told to identify. One photo showed her at a demonstration of teachers in Guatemala City. She was burned repeatedly with cigarettes—a doctor's examination made after she returned to the United States reported 111 burns on her back. Her assailants raped her repeatedly, beat her, and lowered her into a pit full of bodies, some of which, she told Diane Sawyer, were still twitching.

Apparently, Sister Dianna survived due to the intervention of a man called Alejandro who, she is convinced, was an American. Interrupting the interrogation, he told her captors that the story of the disappearance was already on television news and demanded that they release Sister Dianna. According to Ortiz, he then apologized to her, saying that she had been warned to leave the country but that her kidnapping was a mistake. He also said that he was struggling against communism. "Alejandro" took Ortiz to a gray Suzuki jeep and said he would drive her to see a friend at the American embassy, but, recognizing a street sign, Sister Dianna jumped from the car when it stopped in traffic and ran for aid. She was helped to the Maryknoll Center and thence to the home of the papal nuncio in Guatemala.

The aftermath

Although she met briefly with Ambassador Thomas Stroock, Sister Dianna was apparently too traumatized to speak. Ortiz declined to be interviewed by the U.S. Embassy and did not file a formal complaint before returning to the United States on November 5, two days after her release. Her lawyer, Paul Soreff, says such a complaint is not necessary in the Guatemalan legal system, but State Department officials seemed frustrated by that failure, indicating that it was just part of a pattern of reluctance on the part of the Ursuline sisters to pursue an investigation while clues remained fresh in

mind. Guatemalan police obtained a court order in an effort to get her testimony, but, in deference to the severe trauma Ortiz had experienced, the U.S. Embassy interceded to request that she be permitted to leave the country without submitting to further interviews.

Guatemalan government officials have publicly ridiculed and denounced Sister Dianna, saying she fabricated the story to discredit the government and had voluntarily left the convent to meet a lesbian lover. Former Defense Minister Hector Gramajo, who recently graduated from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, has frequently repeated the

story of a "lesbian tryst," although at one point he withdrew his remarks and wrote a letter of apology to the Catholic church.

The Ortiz story was described in a paragraph in the department's 1989 human rights report and, along with the murders of U.S. businessman Michael V. DeVine and Guatemalan anthropologist Myrna Mack and the massacre of 13 civilians at Lake Atitlan, forms the centerpiece of U.S. human rights complaints against Guatemala. Guatemala's military intelligence branch, known

as G-2, has for years been notorious for kidnapping, torturing, and killing those who oppose the government. Guatemala's military operates largely free of political control. U.S. influence, too, has been strong in Guatemala since 1954, when the CIA helped sponsor a coup against the elected government.

The abuses caused the United States in December to suspend \$2.8 million in military aid. In June, the House of Representatives passed an amendment to the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill conditioning all aid to Guatemala on progress in human rights, specifically naming the Ortiz case, and the Senate passed a similar amendment in July. Both bills are now in conference. The Bush Administration has requested \$85 million in economic and development aid to Guatemala and another \$2 million in military aid for fiscal year 1992-93.

Ad hominem

The ABC report left a highly negative impression of the embassy's conduct, leveling accusations of miscon-



One of the threatening letters received by Sister Dianna in San Miguel

duct squarely at embassy staff. "... [A]fter Dianna Ortiz collapsed, weeping," said Diane Sawyer, "the American embassy reacted in a way that was strange, if not contradictory. The American ambassador went to see her to express his personal concern, but, according to sources in Washington, and here [in Guatemala] as well, a member of his staff, the human rights officer, a man named Lew Anselem, started spreading rumors about her—and pretty vicious rumors.

"Several sources told us that Anselem had told them Sister Dianna Ortiz was a lesbian. And before long, Guatemalan officials were saying similar things in public."

The program showed Sister Dianna saying she felt betrayed by the American embassy. Then, Diane Sawyer continued, "The American embassy refused to talk with us about the mysterious Alejandro or the rumors about Dianna. Lew Anselem refused, too, though he's denied to other people that he said those things. Nevertheless, embassy officials have told members of Congress they still question her story."

State officials have publicly questioned details of the case, since discrepancies exist between different affidavits filed by Sister Dianna.

"It's hard to know exactly what constitute the facts" in the case, said U. S. Embassy Public Affairs Officer Jim Carroll. "We have several different affidavits from Sister Dianna's lawyer, and they are slightly different." Lew Anselem did not respond to requests to be interviewed for this story.

According to Soreff, the lawyer for Dianna Ortiz, the ABC broadcast was the first time he or Dianna had heard that Anselem had started the "lesbianism" rumor. Department officials vigorously deny that anyone in the American embassy started the story and, in a letter to ABC on June 7, Ambassador Stroock asked for a retraction, saying that the embassy had answered every one of ABC's questions during lengthy interviews before the broadcast. Asked whether the ambassador had refused to answer any questions, Walter Porges, vice president of the news division at ABC, commented only, "Ambassador Stroock answered no questions on the record."

"Our report was carefully researched and reported and would not have been broadcast if we did not think it was fair and balanced," said Porges.

On-the-record comments were "the only thing that didn't happen—and they [ABC] were offered written statements as well," said Deputy Assistant Secretary for Central America Joseph Sullivan. "But like most shows of this nature, they pick and choose and characterize as they choose."

While the program intimated that the embassy had not vigorously prosecuted the Ortiz case, Paul Soreff called Stroock a "shining light" in human rights in the area and said, "We are not suggesting that the U.S. embassy was involved. . . . We are very pleased with everything the embassy has done to help in this case."

Church and state

Statements by members of human rights groups and missionary orders not directly involved in the case suggest that, at a minimum, they believe U.S. government officials lack understanding and sympathy for missionaries in Guatemala.

"This case is just the most recent example of mistrust between missionaries and their embassies in Central America," said Lee Miller, of the Washington-based Religious Task Force on Central America, whose organization has been monitoring the case. "Our embassy people must know how abysmal the human rights situation is there, but they didn't take Dianna's disappearance seriously from the beginning, and then, when the nuns didn't trust them, they got defensive instead of understanding their position."

Sister Frances Wilhelm, Ortiz's superior with the Ursulines in Maple Mount, Kentucky, cited as a source of misunderstanding the perception of religious orders abroad that the church and not the U.S. government is their sponsor and representative. "It would seem that in the beginning, the differences between the mission of the church and that of the embassy created the difficulties in communicating," said Sister Frances. "It is most natural for a nun to go to her own church officials for protection rather than to her embassy, strange as it may seem to state officials."

"[The embassy] pressed and pressed and pressed us to let them talk with Dianna, but she was in no condition to talk with anyone," she said.

Michael Ratner, a lawyer with the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York City, who is part of Ortiz's legal team, said he believed that, at the outset, the embassy was fearful of disturbing bilateral relations and thus did not vigorously pursue an investigation. "The United States doesn't have that much interest in upsetting its relations with the Guatemalan military, and this [the kidnapping] was clearly a military operation," Ratner said.

Embassy officials counter that they were eager to look for clues. But they were also extremely sensitive to Dianna's emotional state and kept her well-being foremost in mind in the hours following her reappearance.

Searching for Dianna

Interviews and documents relating to the case suggest that State Department officials believe the conduct of the Ursulines in Guatemala City immediately following Sister Dianna's release frustrated their attempts to begin a thorough investigation. According to the State Department's internal chronology of the case, Dianna's 8 a.m. abduction was discovered when she did not appear for a Bible class at 10 a.m., and her belongings were found in the retreat garden. At 12:30 p.m. Sister Darlene Chmielewski telephoned consular officer Phyllis Speck to report the disappearance. Sister Darlene, a Franciscan who had been teaching with Sister Dianna

in San Miguel, said that she would come to the embassy that afternoon to make a detailed report, but at 5:20 she called again to say she had been detained and could not go until the next morning.

Department officials found the delay puzzling. But the Ursulines say that embassy staff told them the case would not be investigated until Dianna had been missing for 24 hours. When Sister Darlene offered to go to the embassy, she was told it would not be necessary. This signaled to them that the embassy would not be a strong ally in the search for Dianna that day.

At 9 p.m. on the night of the disappearance, the embassy duty officer received a call from the State Department Operations Center about the case, and the duty officer conferred with the deputy chief of mission and consul general. After telephoning the Posada de Belen retreat center, from which Dianna had disappeared, Speck, the consular officer, and the human rights officer, Anselem, went to Maryknoll House for a two-hour meeting on the case. Speck offered to begin calling hospitals and morgues. At Maryknoll, Father Daniel Jensen said the papal nuncio had arranged a meeting the next morning between 8 and 9 a.m. with Interior Minister Villatoro Morales. But when Anselem arrived at Maryknoll House at 7:30 the next morning to accompany Father Jensen to the Interior Ministry, he was kept outside and told they must all go to the papal nuncio to obtain a letter of introduction and then to pick up the archdiocese's attorney. The embassy officers were perplexed by the delay; the State chronology notes that while waiting for the papal nuncio's letter, Father Jensen made jokes and discussed shopping opportunities.

The group arrived at 8:50 for the appointment with Morales, whom they saw on his way out. A few minutes into their talk with police officials, the group from Maryknoll House received a telephone call saying Dianna had returned. Two hours later the embassy had already received a congressional inquiry about the Ortiz case. The office of Representative Ted Weiss (D-NY) was among those that were aware of the disappearance. Weiss aide Miles Lackey called the embassy's conduct immediately following Sister Dianna's disappearance "mixed," but he stressed Ambassador Stroock's strong record in human rights.

The State Department chronology suggests that over the next two days, the embassy staff was repeatedly hampered in efforts to pursue the case. Sister Dianna made no statement directly to embassy officials or to the police, a statement written in the third person and in Spanish was provided to the embassy by the papal nuncio. Most of the embassy's offers to help Ortiz, by

providing medical assistance, escorting her to the ambassador's residence, and arranging transportation home, were rebuffed; the Ursulines say Ortiz had all the help she needed, including medical attention.

On November 5, Sister Dianna flew to Kentucky. A judge was appointed in Antigua to investigate the case, but Interior Minister Morales on March 12, 1990 declared the case closed, concluding that it was a "self-kidnapping."

Sister Dianna's case is currently proceeding on three fronts in Guatemala. After many false starts, President Jorge Serrano has appointed a widely respected special prosecutor, Fernando Linares, who is being assisted by American investigator Carl West (also now investigating the murder of U.S. businessman Michael DeVine). Additionally, Adjunct Human Rights Ombudsman Marie Eugenia de Siera is conducting an investigation. In the courts, jurisdiction has been transferred to Guatemala City's Court of Fifth Instance.

In the United States, Sister Dianna has filed a \$10 million lawsuit against General Gramajo, the former defense minister, for slander and, in his capacity as commander of the army and its intelligence arm, G-2, for assault and battery. The case has been further clouded by a report published July 21 in Mexico's "*Siglo Veintiuno*" that Vinicio Cerezo, who was Guatemalan president at the time of the kidnapping, admitted that "Guatemalan security institutions were responsible for the kidnapping of the nun Dianna Ortiz."

Human rights groups agree that the Ortiz case is atypical in Guatemala only because Sister Dianna is alive. Her testimony would seem to provide an opportunity to find the perpetrators of the crime, including the mysterious "Alejandro." The moral clarity of the case makes it a natural rallying point for human rights groups and the church, which have cooperated in promoting legislation on U.S. aid to Guatemala. Nevertheless, misunderstandings have continued to roil resentment against the U.S. Embassy in Guatemala on the part of some supporters of Ortiz who see U.S. representatives abroad as tainted by earlier covert government operations in the region. These feelings may have been aggravated by the ABC news report, which portrayed the U.S. embassy as unwilling to cooperate. The concerned groups say they are putting aside past differences to work together on the investigation, however, and the Ortiz case promises to remain key to U.S.-Guatemalan relations until real progress has been made in the investigation. ■

*According to a press account,
former President Vinicio
Cerezo admitted that
"Guatemalan security
institutions" were responsible
for the crime.*

Anne Stevenson-Yang is editor of the Foreign Service Journal.

IDEOLOGICAL WARRIOR



*Setting an Agenda in
Human Rights: An Inter-
view with Michael Novak*

BY JOHN HARTER

The Foreign Service can help provide an "ideological edge in human rights" says Ambassador Michael Novak, who served as U.S. representative to the United Nations Human Rights Commission in the early 1980s. In this interview, Novak, currently at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) in Washington, examines the new prominence accorded human rights during the 1980s and the reforms adopted by some regimes. Novak believes that Foreign Service officers must be better trained to participate in the "war of ideas." Novak developed some of these themes at a talk at the Foreign Service Club in December 1990. The interview, conducted by retired Foreign Service officer John Harter, has been edited for length.

John Harter: Can you clarify what you mean by "human rights"?

Michael Novak: There are two routes to understanding human rights: through religion and through philosophers like John Locke in England and James Madison in the United States. The religious argument was that God made every human being—not just Christians and Jews—in his image, capable of reflection and choice and that to honor this image is to honor God, and to defile it is to insult God. The philosophers argued that every human being fears torture, fearing that under torture, he could be made to go against his own will; and therefore a regime must be created in which torture is not legitimate.

Harter: What does the phrase "human rights" mean in practical terms today?

Novak: It means that citizens may not be tortured, forced to violate their conscience, or compelled to say what they don't mean. It means they have a right to speak out, to take part in civil life, and to state their own views. Those rights cannot be abridged, and any government that seeks to abridge those rights to that extent is illegitimate and may lose the consent of its citizens—with the expectation that other nations will support their efforts to seek redress.

Harter: Clearly the first 10 amendments to the U.S. Constitution represent a substantial portion of what you mean by human rights . . .

Novak: And I'm reluctant to multiply those rights much further. We shouldn't use the word "rights" profliately, so that it loses its value.

Harter: Do you see any connection between respect for human rights and economic development?

Novak: Absolutely! An important capacity of the human being is the capacity to be creative in the production of goods and services—a capacity that is at the heart of economic development. Pope John Paul II has recognized that capacity as a fundamental right as deep as the right to liberty of conscience.

The people of Eastern Europe see quite clearly today that they won't be satisfied with democracy unless they are part of a dynamic, growing economy. They won't be happy solely to vote every two to four years unless they see improvement in their daily lives.

Harter: But why does the extension of human rights

encourage economic development?

Novak: New wealth comes from invention and discovery, not by taking from others. It doesn't come from dividing the pie up a little differently, but from imagining and producing new things—this requires rights to personal enterprise, personal initiative, and economic creativity, not to mention private property.

Harter: *Who gets credit for the U.S. emphasis on human rights?*

Novak: Prodded by Senator "Scoop" Jackson, after his inauguration, President Carter gave some eloquent speeches on [human rights] at Notre Dame and elsewhere. . . . Jimmy Carter really did put human rights in the consciousness of U.S. foreign-policy makers. He named Pat Derian assistant secretary for Human Rights, and, after some resistance and confusion in the Department of State, it went forward.

Harter: *That was the origin of the department's annual reports on human rights?*

Novak: Yes, the annual reports began at that time. They have been getting better, year by year, and they have had an impact! When I was the U.S. representative to the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva, I saw the delegations of other countries line up when those books arrived in the third week of the session. Every delegate would immediately turn to the pages on his own country, and each and every one of them took quite seriously every word.

There was some complaint from senators that the Carter Administration gave too much emphasis to declarations and too little to follow-up. It sometimes seemed that they let the perfect be the enemy of the good. . . . We saw what happened in Iran and Nicaragua, for example, as examples of going from bad to worse, because of an inadequate grasp of all the factors at stake.

Harter: *What was the response of the Reagan Administration to those issues?*

Novak: The Reagan Administration, bending over backward to be bipartisan in this area, chose such persons as Jeane Kirkpatrick, Richard Schifter, and Elliott Abrams, who had grown up in the Humphrey-Moynihan-Jackson wing of the Democratic Party—Democrats who had long been concerned about the practical implementation of human rights. With this group, the emphasis swiftly went from talking about human rights to encouraging democratic *institutions* that would secure human rights. By 1990, 15 former military dictatorships (chiefly in Latin America) had taken some steps—sometimes only partial, but quite considerable in other cases—in the direction of democracy. Democracy took root in the Philippines and even began to be a battle cry in the Soviet Union, not to mention Eastern Europe.

Harter: *Do you feel President Reagan had a personal interest in those developments?*

Novak: I do. His eloquence evoked echoes all around the world. There was ample evidence of that when he went to Poland a year after his presidency and to the Soviet Union. He said things that made people think, "You know, that's right!" But it's not enough to have pieces of paper with human rights written on them: you have to have institutions that guarantee due process to protect these rights.

It was the threat of military force that convinced Marcos that he would have to leave the Philippines, for example; and it was the withholding of aid to the Chilean military that put great pressure and embarrassment on Pinochet, especially when some very hard-nosed American ambassadors made it plain to Pinochet that we weren't kidding. I believe President Reagan was personally concerned about developments in those two countries, and others.

Harter: *Can you think of two or three countries in which there has been significant improvement in dealing with human rights in recent years?*

Novak: That has been the case in most of Latin America. . . . Latin Americans now live under regimes that are much more democratic. They may be imperfectly democratic, in that they don't all have good, independent judiciaries, for example, but at least they elect congresses and presidents, and their governments change from party to party. Human rights are better protected than they were under the many military dictatorships of the late 1970s.

Harter: *What were the reasons for those improvements?*

Novak: The improvements came about when ordinary people realized that the anti-democratic tendencies of both the left and the right are dangerous. I remember vividly an argument I heard in Chile in the early 1980s: I heard some socialists speak about democracy as a bourgeois illusion, and I heard some of the Pinochet people say democracy would never work in Chile.

Well, just a few years later, those same socialists still said democracy is a bourgeois illusion, but they added that it sure beats being tortured or thrown in prison! And those same Pinochet supporters said, "I didn't mean that this torture should be permitted. I'm not prepared to support that." In election after election, throughout Latin America, majorities have chosen governments that oppose the left and the right. They voted against the generals and the extremists whenever they had a chance—and they voted for liberal government and economic growth.

Harter: *What do you think of the UN Declaration of Human Rights?*

Novak: Oh, I think that was an enormous achievement. The political and civil rights sections are basically derived from the U.S. experience, and they closely follow our own Bill of Rights. It was an enormous achievement to make those principles the common law of nations.

Harter: But has it had an impact on events?

Novak: Oh, there's no question about that. It was obvious to me at the Helsinki talks in 1986 that even then the Yugoslavs, Czechoslovaks, and Hungarians, for example, Communists though they were, would have voted with the West if they could have, time and time again. But they had to toe the line.

Harter: What did you think of the UN Human Rights Commission?

Novak: I had never been involved with the U.S. Foreign Service before the 1980s, and at first I didn't want to go. But one day just after the inauguration of President Reagan, Jeane Kirkpatrick came up to me in the AEI dining room. She had been asked to be U.S. representative to the United Nations, and she asked me if I would go to Geneva. She thought I could articulate what the United States stands for as a nation founded by people who wanted freedom to exercise their rights. She wanted us to call attention to the fact that we would condone no abuse of human rights anywhere in the world. So she persuaded me.

When I got to Geneva, at my first meeting as the U.S. representative to the Human Rights Commission, I was shocked at the way everybody attacked Israel. Given all the countries in the world that abuse human rights, it did not seem to me that Israel was an appropriate focus. The invective and the mood were so ugly that I wrote a private letter to Jeane, saying, "I feel like a rat drowning in the sewers of Constantinople! Why did you send me here?" She still teases me about that.

Harter: Did you drown?

Novak: No, we fought back! We started to speak as directly and clearly as possible, and we laid down markers on where we stood. On my first night in Geneva, a group of Western Europeans and others invited me to dinner, and they all looked at me as though I had green hair. I realized then that I was the first Reaganaut in captivity, and they were all eager to hear what I had to say.

All the questions were directed at me, and, finally, I said, "Look, a great nation is like an aircraft carrier—it changes policies very slowly, only a few degrees at a time. Our briefing book was prepared by the Carter Administration, but we'll rarely deviate from it. Our policy on human rights will be amazingly consistent, because our national ideals are consistent." However, I said, there may be one difference: the Carter Administration would give very eloquent and ringing speeches, and then sometimes end up voting in a weaker way. "On the other hand," I said, "we will try to align our votes exactly with our speeches."

Harter: So you feel the Human Rights Commission accomplishes useful results?

Novak: Yes, I think so, especially when the Carter and Reagan Administrations concentrated on actions, not words. As a direct result of concerted activities—some-

times behind the scenes—people were released from prison. We had reason to believe that certain disappearances which might have happened did not happen, because of the pressure brought to bear. The drive for human rights contributed to the developments that later took place in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Before 1982, believe it or not, the Human Rights Commission had never voted to condemn human rights abuses in those countries. The Helsinki Agreement set standards for Eastern Europe, and that helped in Geneva. . . . If you change the way people think, their behavior will change, and that puts great pressure on politicians. So I think debates and resolutions in the UN Human Rights Commission—and the Helsinki process—put pressure on governments. The Helsinki Monitors, Amnesty International, and other organizations like that help mobilize a constituency for change around the world.

Harter: Do you think the Department of State is optimally equipped, institutionally and also in terms of specialized personnel, for giving appropriate attention to human rights?

Novak: Increasingly so. If there is a weakness in the Department of State, in my view, it is that people who are attracted to the Foreign Service are more interested in practicing diplomacy than they are in the ideological work that is a necessary prerequisite to the effective practice of diplomacy. They tend to be mostly intelligent and idealistic people, but after they enter the Foreign Service, their daily routine usually involves them in a lot of non-idealistic work. They have taken a real interest in the human rights reports, however, and every year those reports are receiving more attention—they are more detailed and they command more support throughout the foreign policy establishment. But that kind of work runs counter to the basic tendencies of the diplomatic service, where you're usually trying to clean up the debris left by controversy. I think the department needs an ideological edge, perhaps in the form of a cadre of highly competent people whose job it is to think institutionally about long-range trends and ideas that may prevail 10 years from now.

Harter: Do you mean we need a strong policy planning operation?

Novak: Yes, we do, but I was thinking of something even more abstract and perhaps more ambitious than that. . . . I think we need people in the Department of State who are removed from the everyday world of foreign affairs to advance an agenda that mixes idealism with realism. Furthermore, in the world as it is, propaganda has become a major form of political power, and it seems to me that Foreign Service officers are generally not well trained in either generating or combating effective propaganda. They tend to agree too much, even with their avowed adversaries. But when it's adverse propaganda, you have to be more aggressive and knock it down immediately. In short, I would like to see the Department of State develop better training in the war of ideas. ■

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BOOKS

The Strategists

THE COMMANDERS

By Bob Woodward, Simon and Schuster, 1991, \$24.95 hardcover

Reviewed by David Jones

The Commanders is clearly the political insider book of the year. Written in Woodward's characteristic breathless, race-horse style, *The Commanders* has more the feel of a Tom Clancey novel than of classic political commentary. Nevertheless, the volume is an intensely serious effort devoted to Woodward's self-professed objective of examining the workings of the Pentagon and the military in policy formation.

Commanders gives the reader a two-for-one value. Though it was originally designed to examine military influence and interaction with senior administration figures during the Panama Just Cause intervention, the Gulf crisis blew up before Woodward completed the study. Consequently, he expanded his effort to embrace the U.S. response to Saddam's Kuwait invasion.

Woodward explores the relationships among President Bush, Secretaries Cheney and Baker, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Powell, and National Security Council Adviser Scowcroft during these crises. He salts the text with anecdotes and commentary attributed to a wide variety of senior military and civilian officials, effectively creating a plausible sense of the story behind media headlines and the motivations driving high-level decision-making.

At the minimum, *The Commanders* provides a solid, military-oriented, chronologically precise recounting of the Panama and Gulf actions for any-

The Spirit of '91



one whose recollection has faded. There are the required tidbits of personality (Cheney flunking out of Yale with youthful drunken-driving convictions, Saudi Ambassador Bandar's penchant for pursuing various private and sometimes conflicting projects). There are revelations of decoded intercepts of Noriega conversations and intimations of the same about Iraqi communications designed to infuriate the National Security Agency. There are extensively reconstructed accounts of key meetings between the president and top advisers, between senior figures such as Cheney and Powell, and the Joint Chiefs and their military colleagues.

Woodward's hero is clearly Powell. He is portrayed as balanced, perceptive, firm, and, in the Gulf, inclined to favor the embargo rather than military

action. Other principals are unfocused (President Bush), vindictive (Cheney), driven (Scowcroft), or self-serving (Baker). In judging the book, however, a senior State official told me to watch "who was *not* talking" and that the book was "written across the river"—i.e., through conversations with Department of Defense officials, both military and civilian, with virtually no State participation. As a consequence, the diplomatic elements of both Panama and the Gulf are all but omitted. There is virtually no mention of the painstaking diplomatic efforts to build UN support, to create the military and economic coalition, to cement Soviet support, to manage Israeli restraint, secure Turkish and Syrian participation, etc.

At the end of the account, the reader must decide whether plausibil-

ity equals accuracy and whether versimilitude equals precision. For me, the conclusion lies in a trivial point: Woodward's characterization of Army Chief of Staff Carl Vuono as "happy-go-lucky." While General Vuono is neither dour nor melancholy, in his intensity of purpose and dedication he was as "happy-go-lucky" as an Abrams tank.

David Jones is a Senior Foreign Service officer.

The End of the First Act

**KISS THE HAND YOU CANNOT BITE:
THE RISE AND FALL OF THE
CEAUSCUS**

*By Edward Behr, Random House,
1991, \$22.50 hardcover*

Reviewed by Roger Kirk

Many readers will remember the television pictures of the Romanian revolution at Christmastime in 1989—Ceausescu's panic when his speech

One of the most interesting aspects of this book is the author's discussion of the effect of the Ceausescu regime on its subjects. He points out that Ceausescu's was not a "bloody dictatorship." Although its victims, like those of the Soviet gulag or the Nazi concentration camps, were "hideously traumatized, the damage done to individuals was mostly psychological and not physical."

was interrupted by catcalls, his hasty departure from Bucharest, the joyful fraternization of the army and the people, then shooting in the streets, and finally the bodies of the executed dictator and his wife. The first chapter of Behr's book is a fascinating account of these last days of the Ceausescus,

based on research on the spot and interviews with persons such as the helicopter pilot who took the Ceausescus off the roof, the worker whom they forced to drive them to what they thought would be safety, and the major who was their chief jailer.

The bulk of the book is a detailed description of Ceausescu's rise to power, the nature of his regime, and the historical context within which this took place. The author traces the development of Ceausescu from uneducated, stammering youth to skilful political manipulator to flattery-seeking autocrat. He steers a careful course among the exaggerated accounts of both Ceausescu's sycophants and his enemies and gives us a balanced and useful biography. He recounts accurately how Ceausescu enjoyed a certain popularity among Romanians in the late 1960s, how power accentuated his bad qualities, and how he was hated by virtually all his subjects by 1989. The revolution came, in part, because "by the mid-1980s, the

Ceausescus were committing the ultimate, unforgivable gangsters' error: they were no longer looking after their own."

One of the most interesting aspects of this book is the author's discussion of the effect of the Ceausescu regime on its subjects. He points out that Ceausescu's was not a "bloody dictatorship." Although its victims, like those of the Soviet gulag or the Nazi concentration camps, were "hideously traumatized, the damage done to individuals was mostly psychological and not physical." Behr notes that everyone had to make moral compromises to get ahead, even to exist. "All the things that achievers elsewhere take for granted—promotion, comfortable apartments, a living wage . . . could only be obtained in return for the loss of one's soul."

Behr is right, and how to live with the resultant guilt is a struggle for each such individual today. How the traumatized population can find the vigor and self-reliance to create a free society is Romania's most critical problem. To date, the people of Romania and their leaders have opted for minimal change and minimal risk. Most former officials and regulations are still in place. So are the old habits—avoiding responsibility, avoiding risk, working the system to one's advantage rather than trying to change it. As a result, the economy is spiraling downward, and popular malaise is increasing. Whether this will reach a flash point and what its results will be are difficult questions. It is disturbing that neo-fascists are doing well.

Behr calls the Ceausescus' execution "the end of the first act of a gory melodrama likely to continue for years . . . Unmentioned but ubiquitous, they continued to cast their shadow over Romania." The reviewer is optimistic enough to feel that the melodrama will have a relatively happy ending—but it will take a decade to play out.

Roger Kirk, who currently teaches at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, served as U.S. ambassador to Romania from November 1985 to July 1989.

Islamic Primer

A HISTORY OF THE ARAB PEOPLES

*By Albert Hourani, The Belknap Press
of Harvard University Press, 1991,
\$24.95 hardcover*

Reviewed by David Fredrick

This excellent and readable history is useful for apprentices, journeyman, and master craftsmen who work with and for the Arab world. To read it is to get the kind of broad overview and perspective offered in Western civilization textbooks. Hourani sketches out 12 centuries of diversity with enthusiasm and clarity. His work is appropriate for both serious students and casually curious readers. Citizens of

Elkader, Iowa will find a few pages on their town's patron, the Algerian warrior Abd el-Qadir. He points out that in 1492, the Americas opened up to Spain, just as Spain expelled the Arabs and Jews.

I have often wondered what produced the Shi'ites, the Sunnis, and the Ismailis. Hourani lays out quite clearly the descendants of the Prophet Mohammed and the political, economic, and social reasons for the schisms in Islam. He explores thoroughly how Islam became the unifying force for peoples in much of the world and generated the strong language of Arabic that swept out many ancient languages.

Hourani introduces interesting topics such as "Kharijism," probably well known to some scholars but less so to other people. It is a belief that the head of the community (the imam) who shows himself unworthy should be removed. "Kharijism" was well suited to the needs of loose collections of tribal groups living in secluded places who might need a leader or arbitrator from time to time but did not want him to have permanent and organized power.

We have seen this principle operate in Arab societies where small groups forcefully eject leaders. Could not the principle of "kharijism" serve equally well as a philosophical basis for democratic processes?

We Americans don't know a great deal about the Arab, Islamic world. Hourani gives us a lot of basics, such as "...there is a supreme God who reveals Himself in some form for human beings. For Christians, the revelation is that of a person, and the basic theological question in the early centuries was that of the relationship of this person with God; for Muslims, the revelation is a book, and the problem of the status of the Book is therefore fundamental."

Some Arabs believe that Westerners have a limited perspective about the Arab world. Hourani helps us to understand this history and gives us a deeper perspective, which is always

appreciated by Arabs. It also helps us to understand the shifting sands of alliances in the Middle East. The 1991

Education of the Arab masses is treated as if it were the unfinished business of colonizing powers. Little is said about women's rights or democratic institutions. It's obvious that Hourani is disturbed by such factors, but he does little to examine the societal origins of such fundamental challenges now facing the Arab world.

alliance between Egypt and Syria might have been surprising to some in the context of the last decade but was all of a piece in Hourani's outline. His descriptions of the persistent enmity between Iran and Iraq and the ancient discord that finally blew Lebanon into pieces are also illuminating.

Education of the Arab masses is



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treated as if it were the unfinished business of colonizing powers. Little is said about women's rights or democratic institutions. It's obvious that Hourani is disturbed by such factors, but he does little to examine the societal origins of such fundamental challenges now facing the Arab world. His assessments are limited to suggesting that conditions are caused by factors outside the control of Arab societies and, as such, cannot be influenced by Arab leaders. Can it be that Arab nations are passive victims of fate and Western machinations (oil, trade, crusades, etc.)? Have not Arabs made much history, just as they have been made by history? What happened to some chunks of Arab history, such as Mindanao in the Philippines, Arab slave traders in central Africa, and the Arab-Islamic influence in central Asia? This can be forgiven, but it takes time, just as it has taken us Americans a long time to face up to our role in the winning of the West from the American Indians and in other capers.

Cross-cultural understanding is the foundation of peace. Hourani's book is a significant contribution to such understanding, confirmed by its rise to the *New York Times*' list of non-fiction best-sellers. It can be the backbone in Arab studies programs and a key source for persons going to live and work in the Arab world. It is must reading for Westerners seeking (or needing) broader

and deeper appreciation and understanding of the Arab peoples and nations so central to world political and economic stability.

David Fredrick, a Foreign Service officer with the Agency for International Development, has served in Thailand, Senegal, Zaire, the Yemen Arab Republic, and Morocco.

Revolutionary Espionage

SECRET NEW ENGLAND: SPIES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

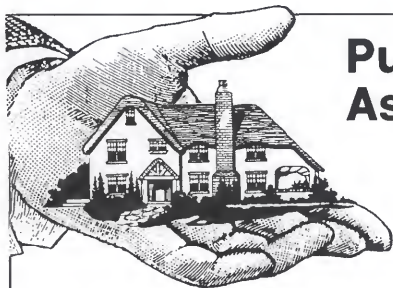
Edited by Edmund R. Thompson, Bookcrafters, Chelsea, Michigan, 1991, \$13.95 softcover

Reviewed by Smith Simpson

Before the cause of the American Revolution could be trumpeted it had to be whispered. With covert operations ushering in overt resistance to British

rule, the pageantry of war rested in no small part on a hidden substructure of intelligence-gathering, espionage, and covert activity that historians long overlooked but which, as much as battles, determined the outcome of the revolution.

Eleven authors, four of them with PhDs and one a professor of law, all formerly connected with the CIA, Army intelligence or counter-intelligence, or otherwise specialists in intelligence subjects, have contributed to this collec-



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tion of essays on how secret operations figured in our successful rebellion against British rule. They make an interesting and readable addition to the literature on that turning point in our history. The most compact and sharply focused of the essays is that of G.J.A. O'Toole on Benjamin Franklin's remarkable service as U.S. minister to France. O'Toole is a former chief of the Problem Analysis Branch of the CIA, and his essay is evidently a distillation of the research that went into his 1989 novel, *Poor Richard's Game*.

Americans are not enamored of espionage and covert activities, and it seems clear not only from the foreword of the book but also from its sponsorship by the Association of Former Intelligence Officers that an objective of the book is to persuade Americans that such things are not so alien to their nature as many suppose. But these activities within one's own territory to gain one's own independence are hardly comparable to their projection abroad into other people's countries. Nor is employing them in war the same as employing them in peace. It may be that George Washington can be characterized as "an acute spymaster and a wily practitioner of deceptive operations," but George as general and George as president of the United States must play by different sets of rules. If former intelligence officers and their associates can tackle those issues, they will come closer to joining the issues that trouble the American people.

A retired Foreign Service officer, Smith Simpson is author of Anatomy of the State Department, The Crisis in American Diplomacy, and other books.

The 'People' People

THE U.S. CONSUL AT WORK

By William D. Morgan and Charles Stuart Kennedy, Greenwood Press, 1990, \$45 hardcover

Reviewed by William H. Barkell

There has been an unfortunate dearth of literature on the history and importance of American consuls and their contribution to U.S. interests abroad. There have been a few vanity press attempts, usually of the "Tales of

a . . ." school of writing, accompanied by a private P.O. box number to send for a copy. As for serious attempts, in 1983 Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy published *The Consular Dimension of Diplomacy*, a symposium edited by the late Martin F. Herz. In 1990, Charles Stuart Kennedy's superb *The American Consul: A History of the United States Consular Service 1776-1914* was published. Now comes *The U.S. Consul at Work*, by Kennedy and William D. Morgan.

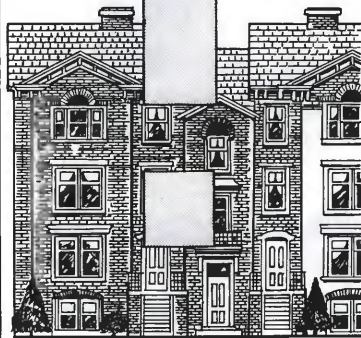
Morgan and Kennedy are former Foreign Service officers, and Kennedy is director of the Foreign Affairs Oral History Program at Georgetown University. They have collaborated in this collection of oral history interviews with both retired and active consular officers. The result is a book that can be read both as a first-hand account of the development of the consular function since the 1950s and as a useful guide, particularly for newly minted consular managers.

The book is topically divided into chapters as diverse as "consular leader-

ship," "professional training," "relations with Congress," "the visa function," and many more. In retrospect, the central importance of Assistant Secretary for Consular Affairs Barbara Watson strikes this reviewer, who was cutting his consular teeth in Manila during her tenure. It was Watson, who served as assistant secretary from 1977 to 1980, who began renovating the consular function from what was considered a department backwater to a forward-looking activity. Its heightened importance and visibility have continued under Watson's successors. This transformation required a change of attitude on the department's part as well as within the bureau itself. It was spurred on, in part, by congressional concern over the protection of Americans abroad.

Anyone who was condemned to the old, pre-Congen Rosslyn consular training at the Foreign Service Institute will read the accounts of Willard Devlin, Elizabeth Raspolc, and Betty Swope with a rueful smile of remembrance. The relentless drone of the lecturer and the blur of Foreign Affairs Manual cita-

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BOOKS

tions seemed purposely designed to dampen the spirit and initiative of eager officers. Nothing reflects the renovation of the consular function in the last 15 years so much as the approach to training. The establishment of Congen Rosslyn represented the turning point in the professional program for consular officers.

Field leadership, management techniques, junior officer development, and relations with the other sections of the embassy are all covered from the perspectives of the officers interviewed. Particularly compelling is Diane Dillard's account of the bombing of the American Embassy in Beirut on April 18, 1983, just six months after her arrival as consul general. It is a tragic tale well told and a superb example of selfless devotion to duty and leadership under fire. Dean Dizikes's account of the evacuation by ship of some 500 American citizens from Cairo to Nicosia during the 1973 Yom Kippur War will resonate with



Consular Officer Robert Sorensen hands out an information sheet on emigration procedures outside the U. S. Embassy in Moscow.

those who have been involved with the evacuation of American citizens. There is heroism and pettiness: one of those involved volunteers to do anything, while another threatens to write his

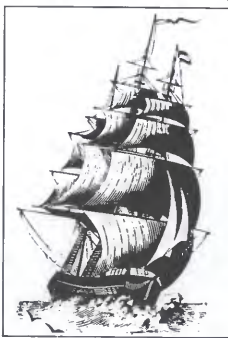
congressman, because he was not assigned a first-class cabin.

Finally, the section on shipping and seamen reflects the antiquated (almost non-existent) role the consular officer plays today in this most traditional of consular activities. It consists of two anecdotes by the authors. Until recently, the FAM citations on shipping and seamen were couched in language as archaic as the activity itself. I still remember reading that destitute mariners were to be placed in warm quarters "located away from the scenes of vice." It is good that the consular function has moved ahead, but a nostalgic imagination prefers to see that citation remain unchanged. ■

William H. Barkell is a Foreign Service officer in the Office of Freely Associated State Affairs (EAP/FAS).

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Note: The Foreign Service Journal is indebted to Foreign Service Officer Peter Eicher for this historic despatch and explanatory note.



THE ERUPTION OF KRAKATOA

The eruption of Krakatoa on August 26, 1883, was one of the most violent and celebrated volcanic eruptions in history. In this despatch, the U.S. consul in Batavia (now Jakarta), Stewart Hatfield Jr., reports to Assistant Secretary of State John Davis on his experience during the eruption and on its devastating results.

Batavia, 1st September 1883

Sir,

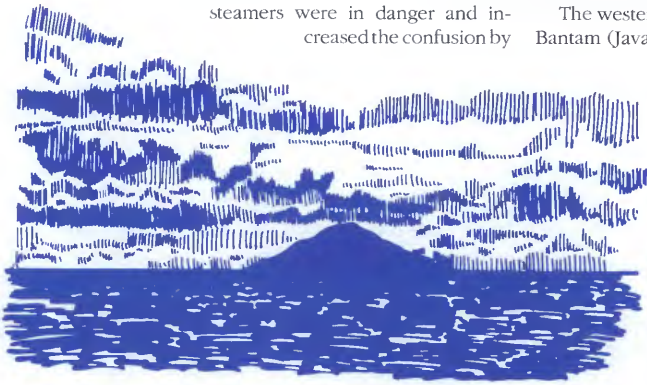
On Saturday afternoon, the 26th, loud reports similar to the discharge of heavy artillery in our immediate vicinity astonished Batavia; it was soon understood that these sounds issued from the volcano on Krakatoa Island, situated in Sunda Straits between Java and Sumatra.

All throughout the night of the 26th, these reports, which were tremendous, continued, gradually lessening, however, as day drew near, but when I state that the gas street lamps, and those in private houses, were extinguished and that doors, windows, and even houses were shaken by the concussions caused by a volcano situated 90 miles away as the crow flies, the force of the explosions can be better appreciated.

Morning at last arrived, but as the

day passed, it grew gradually darker; at about 9 o'clock a.m. it commenced to rain ashes slightly; in an hour this had increased to such an extent that it resembled a heavy snow storm, and by 11:30 a.m. Batavia was in as utter darkness as night, which continued until about 1:30 p.m., when the atmosphere slowly cleared. The fall of ashes is stated to have amounted to 5 centimeters, or, say, 2 inches.

Business was, of course, entirely suspended—at about noon a tidal wave reached this city, the water rising between 8 and 10 feet and flooding the lower town, sending . . . small river craft generally into confusion, and landing many of them in the streets and on the roadways. . . . Several steamers were in danger and increased the confusion by



firing distress guns.

The dry dock . . . has been carried away, the last seen of it was 4 miles off the coast. . . . Ashes fell at Surabaya in Java, and Penang, in the Malacca Peninsula, and in Singapore, the reports were heard.

The section which felt the full force

of the eruption was the Java coast bordering on the Straits of Sunda, . . . it has been completely altered in appearance and entirely not one stone remains on another. . . . Most of the inhabitants have perished, the entire coast facing the Straits has been swept clean and where last week there were villages, buildings, fields, etc., there is at present a veritable dismal swamp of mud and water. Smaller places situated on the coast . . . actually no longer exist.

The island of Krakatoa has disappeared and the sea covers that place now, but between Krakatoa and Sebesie Island 16 new formations have appeared and a sort of reef bearing five active craters.

The western part of the province of Bantam (Java) is quite a desert being covered with ashes and mud. Trees and all vegetation have perished, in fact everything has been carried away, cattle are deprived of food and the outlook is certainly disheartening for that district. Full details have so far not been received as everything is naturally in confusion, but navigation of the Straits is certainly dangerous on account of the changes and the fact that the lighthouses have been destroyed.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. HATFIELD



IG investigations: What are your rights?

by Turna R. Lewis
General Counsel

Staff members in the Offices of the Inspector General (OIG) of State and A.I.D. have been using threatening and illegitimate tactics in investigations of individual employees. The OIGs, responsible for tracking down waste, fraud, abuse, and mismanagement, investigate individuals for such infractions as fraud in travel vouchers and allowances, based on an employee request or anonymous information.

Investigative methods employed by some IG staff serve no other purpose than to intimidate employees. Employees have recounted to AFSA some of the particularly egregious problems:

- Employees have been denied their right to consult with counsel before being interviewed by IG inspectors, or to have counsel present at IG interviews;
- Employees have been denied access to IG reports and forced to file a Freedom of Information Act to obtain IG reports of their own investigations, which were referred to another office for disciplinary and/or adverse action;
- Employees have been arrested by IG staff even though they were fully cooperating with an investigation and their whereabouts were known to IG staff.

Unfortunately, negative accounts of IG procedures and practices are not unique to Foreign Service employees. The Subcommittee on General Services, Federalism, and the



Photo by Fan Yang

From right to left, former AFSA President Ted Wilkinson, Xenia Wilkinson, Bruce Laingen, and current AFSA President Hume Horan talk with Secretary Baker at AFSA's Fourth of July party in the State Department.

District of Columbia, chaired by Senator James Sasser (D-TN), conducted a study of complaints by federal and private sector whistleblowers. The resulting draft investigative report, "The Inspector General System," issued in July 1990, details myriad examples of IG ineffectiveness, including lack of objectivity in conducting investigations, refusal to investigate legitimate complaints, witness and whistleblower intimidation, and improperly conducted investigations. One of the most disturbing aspects of the report is its documentation that IGs have disclosed the identity of whistleblowers.

Anyone notified that an IG investigator wants to talk with him or her should contact AFSA and/or private counsel *before* the interview. The interview may be a custodial one, in which the employee is physically detained, or, most likely, non-custodial, meaning that the employee is free to leave the interview at any time. An employee should *never* submit to a custodial interview without a criminal attorney present.

In a non-custodial interview, the IG does not have to inform an employee that he or she is the focus of an investigation. Initially, the IG may not have identified the subject or scope of an investigation, and an employee may be a witness. However, IG advice to the contrary, the subject of this sort of interview does have rights. An employee who has a reasonable belief that the interview may lead to disciplinary and/or adverse action has the following rights:

- to consult with an attorney or representative before and during an IG interview;
- to have an attorney or representative review any statement before signing it;
- to be informed before the IG interview begins of these rights and that information provided by the employee during the course of the interview may be used in administrative, civil and/or criminal action against the employee.

Employees interviewed are required to answer questions specifically related to their official duties.

Refusal to answer such questions may be the basis for terminating employment.

AFSA to A.I.D.: Unfair

by Mark W. Smith
Legal Assistant

AFSA has filed an unfair labor practice charge against A.I.D., claiming that by compelling employees to sign audit representation letters, the agency has changed work procedures without negotiating with AFSA.

The letters attest that the signer, to the best of his or her knowledge, has provided all relevant information to the investigators and knows of no "irregularities" in the project, as well as providing other broad assurances.

AFSA questions the letters' use, since an employee who inadvertently provides wrong information could be left open to disciplinary action or even criminal prosecution. The agency has provided no written assurances that employees who sign will be immune from such actions. The A.I.D. general counsel's office expressed similar concerns to the OIG in meetings earlier this year.

Although the agency claims the letters are voluntary, employees may feel pressured to sign them. Without a letter, no positive comments can appear in an audit report. Furthermore, the audit report would note a refusal to sign an audit representation letter, so a refusal could be interpreted as an indication of incompetence or guilt and could be mentioned in an employee evaluation report.

AFSA has asked the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board to block use of these letters while it considers our unfair labor practice claim. In the meantime, AFSA has requested information from A.I.D. in preparation for negotiations.



Charles William Maynes

A foreign policy prescription:

Letting go of the status quo

by Richard Thompson
Coordinator, Professional Issues

A total restructuring of U.S. foreign policy is needed for the post Cold War period, according to Charles William Maynes, the editor of *Foreign Policy*. Speaking to a Foreign Service Club audience July 30, Maynes characterized administration policy as a "cautious clinging to the status quo."

The spectacular failure of Soviet communism, coupled with generational change in the Soviet Union, mean that Soviet foreign policy has been permanently transformed, Maynes said. In response, U.S. foreign policy should be restructured, beginning with a sharp cut in NATO-related expenditures that would leave only a token force in Europe, along with prepositioned equipment.

Maynes urged the United States to seek multilateral solutions to international problems, including making stand-by armed forces available to the UN Security Council. The tradition that superpowers not serve on peacekeeping forces should be revised to permit their selective participation.

New vision is also needed in arms control. The United States should begin thinking of what is necessary for a minimum deter-

rent—a Brookings Institution study suggested 1,500 to 3,000 warheads might be enough. Maynes also believes that the United States should move to a "no first use" of nuclear weapons posture, since the rationale for rejecting such a position was that the United States faced a foe with conventional superiority.

In the economic field, State and other agencies should give equal weight to geoeconomics along with geopolitics. The world is likely to see three trading blocs, the effect softened by the globalization of finance.

Finally, Maynes suggested greater concentration on this hemisphere, citing William Colby's statement that the threat of illegal immigrants was greater than the danger of nuclear missiles.

Close to home

During the discussion period, Maynes elaborated on this theme, saying that some of the U.S. resources currently devoted to the Middle East and military-base countries should be freed for development efforts in Latin America, "so people can make a living without moving here."

He agreed the biggest threat to the United States is at home, but added that some resources are still needed for foreign affairs. If the United States wants to retain a leading role in Europe, it must provide funding commensurate with that level of responsibility. For example, the United States has let the European Community take the leading role in reconstructing Eastern Europe, which will have long-term consequences for the U.S. position.

In response to a question about controlling "second-tier" arms suppliers, Maynes noted that even the Soviet Union, as well as second-tier suppliers such as China and North Korea, badly need hard currency and will sell weapons if they do not have other options. He asserted that President Bush made a big mistake after the Gulf War in

not trying a moratorium on arms sales.

Maynes defended the administration decision to continue granting Most Favored Nation status to China, on the ground that the United States must preserve its relationship with this potentially threatening country. Maynes noted that regional instability in the post Cold

War era does not necessarily affect U.S. interests, citing the lack of major power involvement in Yugoslavia, as it suffers incipient fragmentation. Ethiopia is a similar example.

A transcript of the talk is available from AFSA. Contact Dick Thompson, at 338-4045.

A.I.D.'s survival course

by Priscilla Del Bosque
A.I.D. Vice President

A profound, difficult, and immediate challenge confronts all A.I.D. employees: the future of A.I.D.'s role in development. What happens to A.I.D. will affect the shaping of foreign aid policies. The agency's fate will also affect the outcome of today's unprecedented opportunities throughout the world for lasting economic and democratic change. If A.I.D. is unable to meet these challenges successfully, the very survival of the agency is at stake.

I believe that A.I.D.'s Foreign Service—its people, its strengths, and its values—can help the agency meet the challenges, and that AFSA can help.

The fundamental problems facing the agency today can be summed up in two words: leadership crisis. The agency is unable to assert forcefully and effectively an agenda for development. It is unable to put forth and defend a credible claim on greater resources to further U.S. interests in bringing to successful fruition the dramatic post-Cold War movements for democratic and economic development; it is unable to respond adequately to the people's aspirations for a better life, for more pluralistic systems, and for greater economic opportunities.

Resource crunch

The leadership crisis is manifested in the perception that A.I.D.'s resources are declining and will continue to decline. The crisis is reflected in the *unquestioned acceptance* at many levels that this resource crunch is unavoidable and inevitable. Because of this perception, A.I.D.'s leadership role in development is being eroded: it is looking for ways to do fewer things with fewer resources and at

AFSA Election Results

		STATE	AID	USIA	RETIRED	COM.	AGR.	TOTALS
PRESIDENT	Horan	926	239	75	1358	3	5	2,606
	Write-in	22	2		9			33
VICE PRES.	Kirby	613	155	50	1044	2	4	1,868
	Milton	333	73	19	287	1	1	714
	Write-in	7						7
A.I.D. VICE PRES.	Del Bosque	752	241	65	1188	3	4	2,253
	Write-in	7	7		1			10
USIA VICE PRES.	Hensgen	737	204	76	1166	3	4	2,190
	Write-in	4	4					5
RETIREE VICE PRES.	Beers	374	95	24	632	2	7	1,129
	Schmitz	525	137	45	748	1	3	1,459
	Write-in	3			1			4
SECRETARY	Jones	886	246	72	1294	3	5	2,506
	Write-in	4	1					9
TREASURER	Huggins	844	235	72	1275	3	5	2,434
	Write-in	8	2		1			11
STATE REPS	Barry	809						809
	Delly	731						731
	Gallagher	572						572
	Naland	468						468
	Perry	802						802
	Reioux	742						742
RETIREE REPS	Write-in	12						12
	Byrne				1250			1,250
	Harter				630			630
	Newberry				1142			1,142
	Norland				1158			1,158
	Schneider				1113			1,113
A.I.D. REPS	Write-in				9			8
	McKinney		188					188
	Zak		221					221
USIA REP	Write-in		5					5
	Hale			51				51
AGR REP	Write-in			1				1
	Hamby						5	5
COMMERCE	Write-in					2		2
	Write-in							
BYLAWS-GENERAL	yes	900	236	51	1286	3	5	2,481
	no	67	18	1	84	0	0	170
BYLAWS-DUES	yes	584	160	39	1042	2	5	1,832
	no	392	96	13	327	1	0	829

the same time, it is expected to be more accountable for results.

I question this perception and its underlying logic. I believe that today A.I.D. should be an expanding agency, not for the sake of expansion but because today's changing world offers unprecedented opportunities for greater world prosperity, greater global cooperation, greater chances for democracy and peace.

But too many of us—from the top to the bottom—accept the belief that A.I.D. will shrink, will do less, and that this is unavoidable and irreversible. Even AFSA, as the representative of the Foreign Service, has been blindsided by the effects of this crisis. While AFSA's intentions have been good—to spread more equitably the sacrifices derived from budgetary compression—the net effect has been to undermine cohesion. AFSA needs to push for an incentive system that enables individual excellence, a system that permits the retention of capable and proven senior managers and the upward movement of talent from the lower ranks. If A.I.D. were expanding, the question of spreading the sacrifices would not be an issue.

Legislative Issues

Aid bill: over the first hurdle

Rick Weiss

Congressional Liaison

The foreign aid authorization legislation was approved by an unexpectedly large and bipartisan Senate vote of 74 to 18, following a similar solid House vote last month. Both votes reversed related policies against funding international family-planning programs that include abortion information. The Senate authorized \$14 billion for foreign aid to a score of countries, with the largest single amount, \$3 billion, going to Israel.

Did you know . . .

• that if you pay over \$50 for travel arrangements by cash or personal credit card you will not be reimbursed by the department unless you have prior approval from the Government Accounting Office (GAO)? To avoid this costly hassle, use the department's transportation requests if ever possible. The great deal you could get by using your credit card for a free upgrade may end up costing you the entire fare.

If the Foreign Service and AFSA are to play an active role in the future direction of the agency, several factors are necessary before constructive action can be taken:

- We need to seek a constructive dialogue with A.I.D. management about the future of A.I.D.;
- We need to agree on an agenda for the dialogue with management;
- We need to agree on an agenda for a dialogue with congressional committees, providing insights into the complexities of development work;
- We need to agree to avoid adding to the distorted negative image of A.I.D. and its management of foreign aid programs;
- Finally, we need to agree that undertaking this effort is important and worth the energy and effort.

AFSA's role

AFSA, through the A.I.D. Standing Committee, can take the lead in organizing this effort. But without your participation AFSA can do very little. We have a difficult challenge before us; we also have an exciting opportunity to strengthen A.I.D. and its leadership role in development and to develop a more productive Foreign Service with increased operating resources to do the job demanded of it. AFSA is not just elected representatives; it is all of us. We need not just your dues, we need your physical and intellectual support.

These remarks are excerpted from a speech Del Bosque delivered at a special A.I.D. AFSA meeting on August 6.

The conference between the House and Senate on the A.I.D. bill will be in September, but President Bush has threatened to veto the measure because of its family planning provisions. If Bush signs the bill, it will be the first authorization bill for A.I.D. since 1985.

On the appropriations front, the A.I.D. FY 92 bill has been passed by the House, but the Senate has not yet marked up its version. Floor action is likely in September.

The State/USIA authorization bill has been passed by both the House and the Senate. The Senate included amendments to encourage language training; to provide equal

compensation for Americans hired by embassies while living abroad; to amend the Foreign Service Act to give EEO grievants a choice of going through EEO or regular grievance procedures; and to provide State Department personnel with compensation for the loss of property while posted overseas. The State Department is to report back to Congress with a plan to provide additional compensation for such losses, over and above current limits of \$40,000.

State Appropriation Bill

The Senate passed the State and related agencies FY 92 appropriation bill on July 31. The Senate fol-

lowed the Hollings subcommittee's provisions:

- **Funding:** A funding level some \$42 million below the budget request and \$14 million below the House-passed budget.
- **DOSTN:** No additional funding for the Department of State Telecommunications Network (DOSTN) and a recommendation that the remainder of the \$15 million funded in prior years be applied to State salaries and expenses. The lack of funding reflects the committee's reservations concerning this proposed worldwide telecommunications system. It believes State may need to upgrade some of its telecommunications capabilities but "sees no reason to proceed with DOSTN at this time."
- **FSN pay:** The committee is concerned about the State

Department's holding down pay increases for U.S. citizens abroad, while providing large increases to its foreign national work force. The committee wants to see overseas pay increases absorbed and offset against other programs.

- **Moscow embassy:** A recommendation of \$130 million, "to be made available until expended" for Moscow embassy reconstruction and security. Although the House bill would allow State to proceed with its "top hat" proposal, the Senate committee provides funding only for full reconstruction or "tear down and rebuild" the chancery building—"if there is one overseas location where the United States must ensure security, it is the capital of the Soviet Union."

- **Arab and Israel Provisions:** The committee wants to take a stand against the Arab countries that maintain an economic boycott of Israel and against the Arab demand that passports not show visits to Israel. Provisions would require State to use anti-boycott certification procedures that are similar to those used by the Arab League to enforce the boycott and to stop issuing duplicate passports ("Israel-only" passports).
- **UN:** The appropriation for international organizations includes 20 percent of the arrearage payments, dependent upon progress in the employment of American professionals by the UN and various other international organizations.

From the Vice President

by William A. Kirby

I join with our new president, Hume Horan, in expressing appreciation for the support given to the Continuity and Outreach Slate. We are all keenly aware of the responsibility you have entrusted to us and welcome the challenge. In return, we challenge you not to be content with simply being a member of AFSA—although that's certainly the place to begin.

I would particularly urge members overseas to get in touch with

the AFSA representative at your post and see what needs doing. If there is no AFSA rep at post, is there any reason you couldn't take on that responsibility? Our goal is an AFSA presence at every post, however small. Let us know if you're willing.

If you're in Washington, we need your participation here, especially if you have just returned from overseas and can bring that "field" perspective to bear on the issues. You should consider taking

part in the State Standing Committee that meets Mondays at 12:30. We also need AFSA keypersons in every bureau. If you're interested in either of these opportunities to contribute to a more effective organization, call me at 647-8160 for more information.

Answers to the Foreign Service Quiz (Questions appear on page 10)

1. H.E. Jose Luis Fernandes Lopes of Cape Verde, since 1989. The dean acts as spokesman for the diplomatic corps, and he takes first place in reception lines, among other ceremonial honors.
2. New York City
3. To verify the diplomatic immunity of foreign diplomats for law-enforcement officials.

News Briefs

AFSA staffer wins award: Richard Thompson, AFSA's coordinator for Professional Issues, was one of four individuals who received the Board of Directors' Award for Outstanding Achievement from the Public Employees Roundtable. The award "recognizes those who have generously contributed their time and efforts to help achieve PER's mission." Thompson has been the AFSA representative on the board of PER since joining the AFSA staff more than three years ago, and for the past year has also been on the PER Executive Committee and Finance Committee.

PER is a coalition of 30 professional associations (including AFSA) which carries on activities designed to enhance understanding of the public service, raise the *esprit de corps* of public servants, and attract young people into public service careers.



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Guest Services

Foreign Service Merit Awards 1991

The AFSA\AAFSW Merit Awards recognize high school seniors who have demonstrated academic excellence and outstanding leadership during high school. This year, the 20 merit awards are in memory of Ambassador Clifton R. Wharton. Funds for the awards are provided jointly from the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund and the Association of American Foreign Service Women. Following are excerpts from the award winners' essays on the impact of the Foreign Service experience on their development.

By Michael Dailey
Scholarships Intern



Lisa Ann Bleyle, Hawaii Preparatory Academy, Kamuela, Hawaii, daughter of Kathy and David Bleyle, State. (National Honor Society, judo)

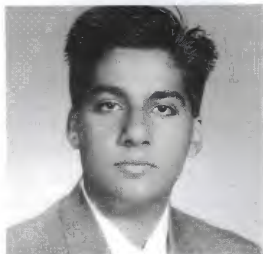
Lisa wrote of her experience during the Chinese student uprising: "It wasn't until Voice of America became our only link to the outside world that I realized they (the students) weren't going to win. . . . Back in America the press asked . . . what had happened. I didn't know what to reply other than that people had died fighting for freedom of speech and a free press, things that we in America take for granted." She will attend the University of Rochester.



Rachel Bonkovsky, Decatur High School, Decatur, Georgia, daughter of Fred and Elizabeth Bonkovsky, State. (Governor's

Honor Candidate, Varsity Soccer, violin)

Rachel recalls her visit to a recently reunited Berlin: "This summer I entered the S-Bahn [and peered] out at a new Berlin. . . . The grey drabness still struck me but the laughter and life of my fellow passengers assuaged my first impressions of gloom. . . . I felt happiness for the families reunited, and the new freedom of Berlin, but I also felt a melancholy ache within me. . . . The walls that had once represented pure political dreams were down, giving way to the realities of a capitalistic system that the East Germans . . . had long idolized." She will be attending Amherst College.



Basit Chaudbry, Hackensack High School, Hackensack, New Jersey, son of Surraya and Iqbal Chaudbry, A.I.D. (National Merit Scholar, National Honor Society, music)

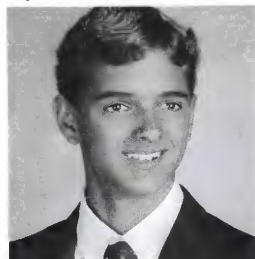
Basit recalls his experiences with poverty in Pakistan: "[At first] I took the classic, 'it isn't my problem, they did it to themselves,' attitude. . . . I used to live in my own little world, concerned only about myself and what would be good for me. My goal in life now is to, in some way, make a differ-

ence in the world. I owe this all to [the conditions I saw in Pakistan]." He will attend Columbia University.



Jason Robert Failla, International School of Brussels, Brussels, Belgium, son of Ann and Sebastian Failla, State. (Presidential Academic Achievement Award, National Honor Society, tennis)

"I was lucky enough to be focused at a young age and to appreciate the opportunities I had while living (abroad) and make the most of them. I learned that hard work and determination have their rewards." He will attend Cornell University.



Matthew Thomas Herbert, Marshall High School, Falls Church, Virginia, son of April and Kevin Herbert, State. (National Honor Society, Most Valuable Player in cross-country;)

Matthew recalls his initial 'culture shock' upon returning State-

side five years ago: "I realized how different my life had been from that of my peers. . . . My own country felt foreign to me . . . I felt like a social pariah. . . . [Eventually I realized] that living abroad gave me a chance to see and do things none of my new friends had ever done. . . . I had developed an appreciation for the diversity of people and their cultures." He will attend William and Mary College.



Abaron David Levy, Woodlawn High School, Arlington, Virginia, son of Carol and Joel Levy, USA. (National Merit Scholar Semi-Finalist, drama)

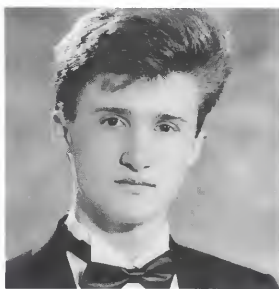
Aharon sums up his overseas experience quite succinctly: "What my Foreign Service experience has really done is made me 'me.' What we are depends on what our memories are, and most of my memories are from the years I spent overseas . . . a calm Sunday afternoon interrupted by the hundreds-of-centuries-old bells in Bucharest . . . a cloud of pink mist rising in the early morning light from a lake thousands of feet below on the floor of Ngorongoro Crater." He will attend Haverford College.



Robert Philip Livingston, Jakarta International School, Jakarta, Indonesia, son of Judith and Rich-

ard Livingston, State. (National Merit Scholar Finalist, Presidential Scholar Semi-Finalist, forensics)

Robert tells of how his overseas experience has increased his appreciation for being an American: "My constant exposure to different societies has heightened my appreciation of my own . . . [and I have] a new-found respect for all the advantages that the United States has to offer. . . . Although I appreciate the diversity of societies and cultures around the world, and although I have met people from all over the globe, I consider, and am proud to have, America as my home." He will attend Yale.



Colin F. McCormick, International School Bangkok, Bangkok, Thailand, son of Keith P. McCormick, State. (National Merit Scholar Semi-Finalist, Eagle Scout, track)

"Overseas education has . . . made me reflect often upon language. Many of my [Thai] friends have been baffled by American idioms or customs, and I have been forced to use language with precision and care in order to communicate effectively. I have also come to respect how difficult it is to work and study in a foreign language. Overseas education . . . has shown me how difficult agreement and communication between people of different cultures and languages can be, yet how vital they are to human achievement. And it has made me see the rewards of intercultural dealings."



David Allen Moore, Milton High School, Milton, Florida, son of Sally and Herman E. Moore, A.I.D. and State. (Eagle Scout, scuba diving)

David summarizes his experience of living on three continents: "My travels abroad have given me a tremendous wealth of knowledge and experience about a large part of the world. . . . Residing among African, Hispanic, and Brazilian peoples has broadened my appreciation of their diverse cultures. . . . It makes me more aware of my own and encourages me to tolerate others." He will be attending the U.S. Naval Academy.



Jessica S. Oppen, Hunter-Tannersville Central School, Tannersville, New York, daughter of Ronald and Pamela Oppen, USA. (National Merit Scholar Commendation, National Honor Society, soccer)

Jessica recalls her toughest relocation, back to Stateside: "When I moved to America, I had spent eight of my 13 years overseas. The adjustment . . . taught me a lot about myself. I was completely unprepared for the unfriendliness, lack of interest, and racism, that I

encountered . . . [Overseas] you are accepted regardless of what you look like or where you come from. From this open and friendly environment, I went to a small fairly isolated school in upstate New York. . . . This change helped me because it forced me to be outgoing for the first time in my life. . . . She will attend the State University of New York at Geneseo.



Katherine C. Parker, Marshall High School, Ankara, Turkey, daughter of Patricia Parker, State. (National Merit Scholar Finalist, equestrian competition, track)

Kathy describes the respect she had gained for the Korean people while her family was stationed in Seoul: "I learned to appreciate (South Korean) dedication to perfection in all that they pursued . . . their tenets of tolerance and respect for others and for oneself, and commitment to improvement of the soul and mind. . . . I have learned to take my time and enjoy life every day and appreciate all the small things I do. . . . I have become much more open-minded and receptive to new or different ways." She will attend the University of California at Davis.



Jose Silva Santos, American International School-Lisbon, Lisbon,

Portugal, son of Isabel and William Gelabert, A.I.D. (National Honor Society, coaching, soccer)

"My Foreign Service experience [has] made me a more sociable and cultured person and provided me with the feeling of being a citizen of the world rather than of one country. . . . The fact that I was making friends [in Cairo] from Hawaii to the United Arab Emirates showed me aspects of different cultures and most important of all proved that international peace and understanding are possible." He will attend The Rochester Institute of Technology.



Joseph Silver, McLean High School, McLean, Virginia, son of Theresa and Neil Silver, State. (Governor's Russian Academy, creative writing award, track)

Joseph recounts his reacquaintance with the States after returning from Russia: "Four years ago, I returned to America. But having lived more than half my life overseas, I didn't feel American. I didn't feel like anybody. My two-week stay at the Governor's Russian Academy last summer . . . allowed me finally to come to grips with my past. Cultures make a claim on us. Once I realized that there was nothing shameful or strange about my nostalgia, I felt ready to be American. For too long I had thought of America as just another foreign country." He will attend Columbia University.



Richard Sutton Snyder, American Embassy School, New Delhi, India, son of Anna and Michael Hayden Snyder, A.I.D. (National Merit Scholar Commendation, National Honor Society, softball)

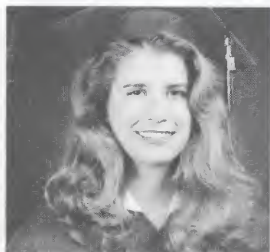
Richard recalls his memories of what home means to him: "Since I was 9, I have had three homes on three different continents. . . . Now I call India home . . . yet I often wonder how I can feel at home here. India is home because . . . I see many of the same people each day. Many of my friends at school are Indian, and seeing how they mesh East and West has provided me with new insights into Indian culture. My memories and feelings will remain strong for India, but home will change." He will attend Stanford University.



Jennifer Anne Sommers, Marshall High School, Falls Church, Virginia, daughter of Janyia and Harvey Sommers, State. (Summa Cum Laude, National Latin Exam, National Honor Society, violin)

Jennifer recalls her overseas experiences: "It was fun . . . to go to each others' homes to try new foods, learn new customs, and even attempt to speak new languages! I hope Americans in the fu-

ture will look at the world in increasingly global terms. I know that my own international experiences have enabled me to understand the world more fully and to know myself more completely." She will attend Columbia University.



Laura Elizabeth Spruce, Churchill High School, San Antonio, Texas, daughter of Judith and William Spruce, State. (National Honor Society)

Laura writes of her adjustments to overseas life: "Traveling from country to country . . . I simply adopted the culture of the moment and did not compare it to another. In England, Mom became mummy, color was spelled colour. In Burma, red did not clash with pink. . . . I try to retain this open-mindedness even now when I live in the United States. It is a quality that has allowed me to experience the world without questioning it." She will be attending the University of Texas, Austin.



Kimberly M. Taylor, Jefferson High School for Science and Technology, Alexandria, Virginia, daughter of Cornella and Wade Taylor, State. (National Achievement Finalist, National Merit Scholar Commendation)

Kimberly recalls that in Moscow: "Mom decided to prove to me—and to herself—that people are people, whether Russian or American. . . . Lessons learned from this crusade affect my outlook to this day: Nations quarrel with nations, not individuals. . . . Individuals must never be judged by race, creed, color, or nationality. The United States may, at times, disagree with [a country], but I must judge each individual personally—one at a time." She will attend The University of Virginia.



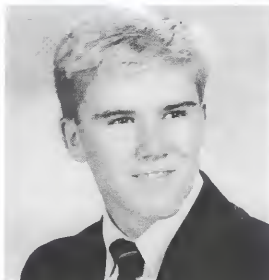
Christine Marie Tefft, West Springfield High School, Springfield, Virginia, daughter of John and Mariella Tefft, State. (National Merit Scholar Commendation, International Thespian Society)

Christine recounts meeting her relatives in Italy: "The simple life of Scanno gave me a sense of order, custom, and routine. They revealed to me the warm, generous, and friendly nature of Italians. . . . I began to feel that part of me belonged. . . . [I] discovered that part of me which is Italian. I felt comfortable in Scanno because I share with Italians the enjoyment of the small wonders in life and a sense of family and tradition." She will attend Georgetown University.



Megan Bonifer Tiedt, T.C. Williams High School, Alexandria, Virginia, daughter of Pat and David Tiedt, A.I.D. (National High School Crew Champion, National Honor Society, *mba*)

Megan elaborates on her idea of what teamwork is: "When I am . . . deeply involved in something is when my highest highs and lowest lows come. . . . [I have learned that] we depend on one another and must trust each other to give everything we have. First we train as individuals and then learn to cooperate within a group. The basis of both are really very similar—constant practice, cooperation, and control." She will attend the University of Michigan.



Jared Duncan Von Arx, Wootton High School, Rockville, Maryland, son of Anna and Emil Von Arx III, State. (National Honor Society, debate, swimming)

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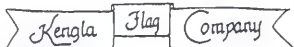
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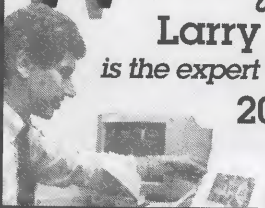
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