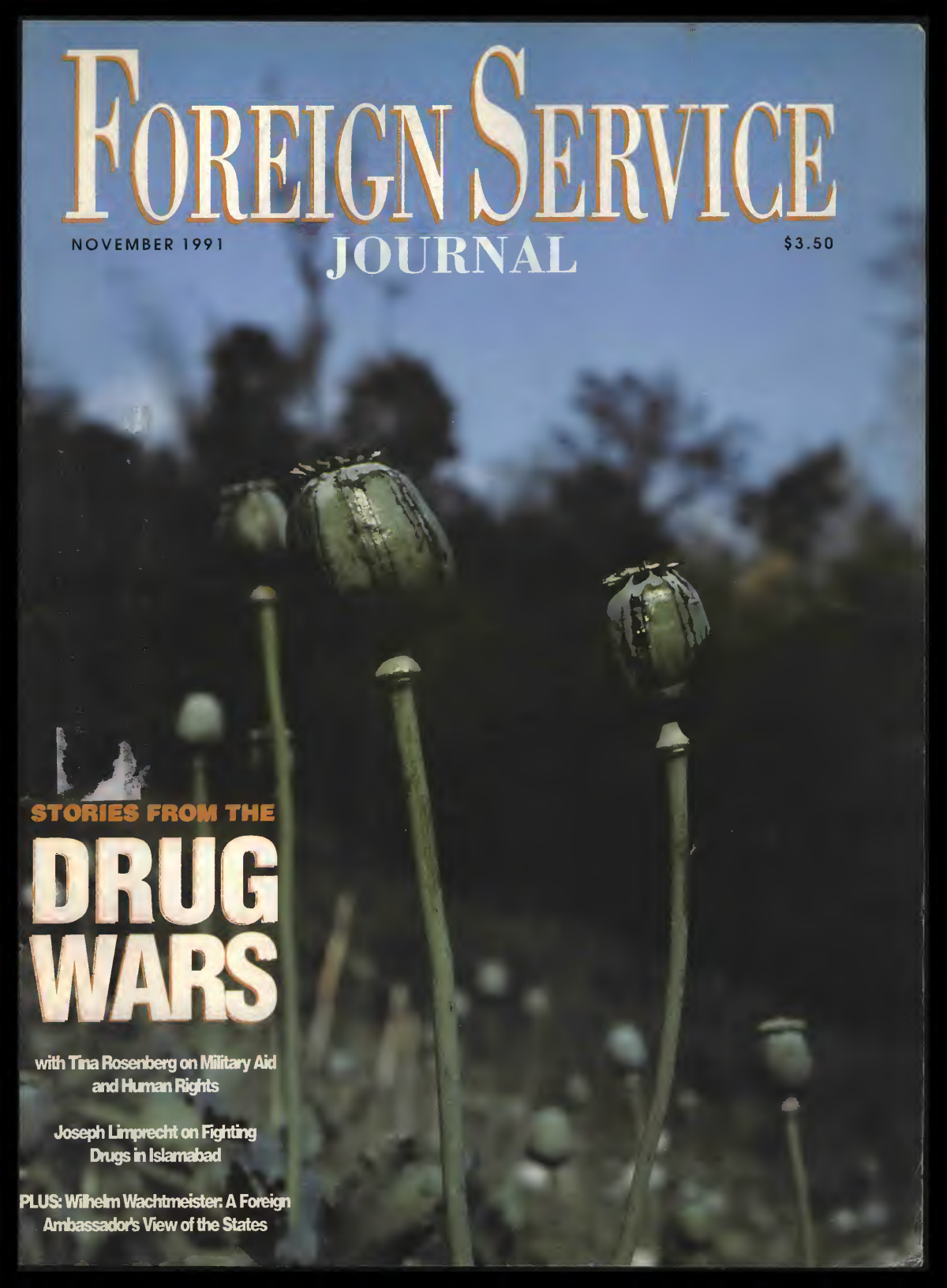


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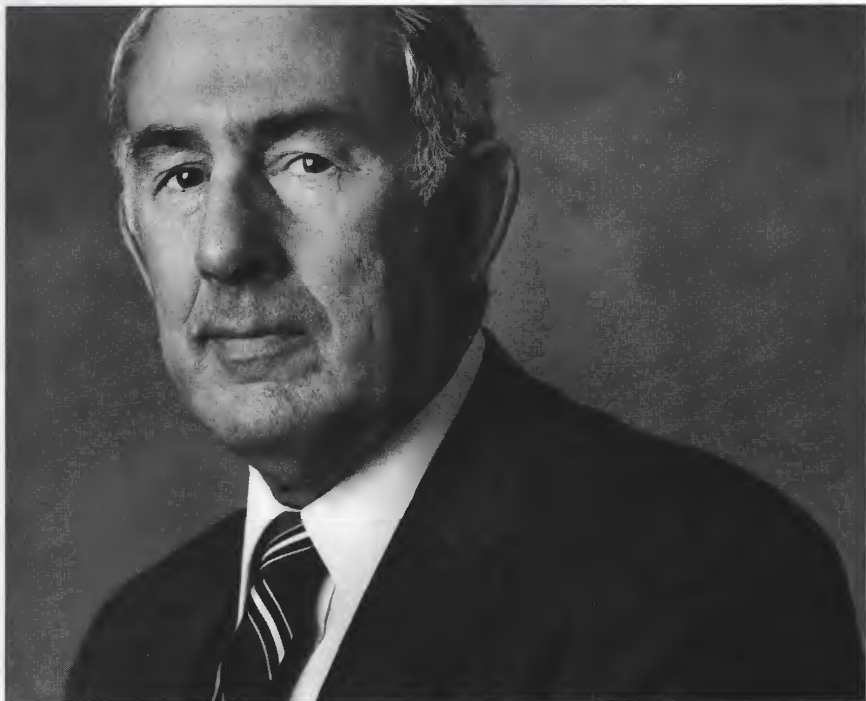
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# AFSA VIEWS

## Strunk and White on EEO

AFSA was asked by one of its members to define its position on several affirmative action issues. Affirmative action was discussed in our last two editorials and was the subject of a special *Journal* issue in October. But the query we received helped us to clarify our own position. We want to share the questions and our response with our members; we would welcome management's replies to the same questions. The somewhat abridged text of our reply follows:

The questions about affirmative action that you put to AFSA are the sort of questions that many Foreign Service people are asking themselves today. Such questions are part of a national debate on affirmative action, and they deserve a clear answer. When an institution cannot clearly state its personnel policies, others will rightly suspect that it feels defensive or is trying to hide something. So let AFSA try its hand at being clear and frank.

You ask: "Should scores on entrance examinations be altered for any group, based on the race, sex, or ethnic origin of its members in order to increase the proportions of that group within the Foreign Service?"

My views on this issue are expressed in the editorial column of October's *Foreign Service Journal*. In the editorial I note some of the failings of our present examination system as it affects minorities. I call on management to work harder and more effectively to attract minority candidates who will be fully competitive in this, the most competitive of the federal services. I completely reject the notion of any necessary conflict in Foreign Service recruiting between representativeness and quality. We Americans deserve a Foreign Service that is excellent *and* representative, and it is management's job to see that we get it. AFSA approves—indeed strongly advocates—a more representative gender, racial, and ethnic balance in the service. It does not advocate, however, statistical and computing devices as substitutes for more management elbow grease.

You also ask: "Should any group of FSOs be allocated a certain number of promotions on the basis of their race, sex, or ethnic origin?"

Of course not. This question, however, is moot because promotions must not be, are not and have never been allocated on gender, ethnic, or racial lines. The promotion panel system makes it virtually impossible for management to put a racial or gender "spin" on the recommendations of the promotion panels. Ask your many colleagues who have served on promotion panels. I'd expect them to say that the process is cumbersome, sometimes inexact, but that it selects for merit in ways that are fair, legitimate, and free of bias. If you haven't yet served on a promotion panel, you should volunteer.

Finally, you ask, "Should any group of FSOs be allocated a certain number of positions on the basis of their race, sex, or ethnic origins?" To this we'd reply that such "allocations", to our knowledge, have occurred only with regard to:

- the women's class action suit and the subsequent decision of the federal Appeals Court: the department contested the class action suit at the District Court level, but did not contest the decision of the Appeals Court; and
- what we understand to be an assumption that each bureau have at least one woman at the deputy assistant secretary of State level.

Concerning (a), AFSA, like management, necessarily accepts the decision of the court. Concerning (b), it appears natural to us, with women numbering almost a third of the Foreign Service, and several bureaus having as many as five

(Continued on page 53)



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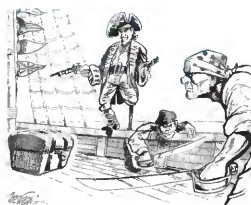
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Unholy Alliance ..... 24



Intellectual Property ..... 31

## FEATURES

Speaking Out: The Ivy Curtain ..... 14  
DALE HERSPRING

The Dean's List: A Foreign Ambassador Views the States ..... 20  
WILHELM WACHTMEISTER

## FOCUS: DRUG WARS

Unholy Alliance: Countering Narcotics with Military Aid ..... 24  
TINA ROSENBERG

Operation Islamabad ..... 28  
JOSEPH LIMPRECHT

The Problem for Intellectual Property ..... 31  
ROBERT EVENSON

Books ..... 36

Betsy L. Anderson on the consular past; John D. Stempel on intelligence in a multipolar world; Anne Stevenson-Yang on a new Foreign Service novel; Thomas McNamara on the media and foreign policy.

Diplomats in History: Under Siege in Lima ..... 45

## DEPARTMENTS

AFSA Views ..... 2      AFSA News ..... 46  
Letters ..... 4      Marketplace ..... 54  
Clippings ..... 8      Real Estate ..... 57  
50 Years Ago ..... 10      Classifieds ..... 59  
Despatch ..... 12



## LETTERS

### LEGAL OBJECTION

TO THE EDITOR:

The State Department's annual report on human rights featured prominently in the *Journal's* September issue. Yet the only explanation of how this requirement came about appeared in an abridged interview with Michael Novak. According to Novak's account: In early 1977, Senator "Scoop" Jackson (D-WA) prodded President Carter into giving some speeches, Carter named Pat Derian assistant secretary for human rights, and "after some resistance and confusion in the Department of State, it went forward." Then President Reagan . . . appointed a group who swiftly went from talking about Human Rights to encouraging institutions that would secure human rights.

Is not something missing from this account? How can the *legislated* human rights reporting requirement be explained without mentioning the role played in 1975 by Representative Tom Harkin (D-IA), then a freshman congressman, and in 1976 by Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-MN), in drafting the legislation? Intentionally or otherwise, the *Journal* chose well in entitling Novak's interview, "Ideological Warrior."

Greg Thielmann  
Foreign Service Officer  
Washington, D.C.

TO THE EDITOR:

Ambassador Horan states correctly that we have the "first multi-ethnic, democratic state of continental proportions" ["Views," September *Journal*].

From this does not follow, though, the assumption that our diplomatic efforts will be better off the more ethnic groups are represented in the Foreign Service.

I believe that I, as an American citizen, do not represent my ethnic group—which after so many generations in the United States is really just generic American. I represent my country. Nor do I believe window dressing the Foreign Service—no matter the representativeness of the manikins—enhances the Foreign Service's ability to further our national interests and to strengthen our national security.

Our ability to further our country's interests is enhanced only by assuring the service has the mix of training and talent required to do the jobs involved.

Paul L. Good  
Foreign Service Officer  
Pretoria

TO THE EDITOR:

The July *Foreign Service Journal* quotes *Newsweek* about the security restrictions placed on our staff at the embassy in Moscow. It is shocking to realize that personnel serving in such a critical post, at a time of momentous change, were prevented from doing their jobs. Security precautions are important, but it is tragic when they are permitted to prevent our diplomats from communicating with the widest possible circle of Soviet citizens.

Shocking, yes, but hardly surprising. This is just one more example of the security "tail" wagging the Department of State "dog." Before retiring I encountered other examples of Office of Diplomatic Security (DS) strictures that interfered with my mission.

I remember well DS roadblocks to efforts to find new quarters for our Consulate General in Montreal. I was anxious to move our staff from one real danger—vulnerability to attack by car bomb that could be parked only

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feet from our ground-floor windows. But to move from that clear and present danger, we endured seemingly endless delays while attempting to meet DS demands that we find a perfectly secure locale. For each of my objections to suggested sites—suitability, location, morale, health, or efficiency—I received the same five-word retort: "That's not in the equation." In other words, as long as DS's mission to entomb us in perfect security was met, the Consulate General's mission was of no importance. Eventually, a compromise location was found, but an outrageous sum was expended on what, in my opinion, was needless security enhancements.

Another DS cross that nearly all consular sections must now bear is the ubiquitous bullet-proof interview windows. No matter how well the windows are engineered, they do in fact interfere with communications between a consular officer and his client. A visa officer often has only seconds to make a decision: Is the applicant eligible for a visa or is he/she a threat to the national security, labor market, or welfare system? Every nuance of the applicant's demeanor, body language, voice inflection, and facial expression can assist in making a valid decision. The bullet-proof windows interfere with observation of those vital clues. They also create a psychological barrier, turning the visa officer literally into a "faceless bureaucrat," thus impeding the building of confidence that helps to elicit a free flow of information. I am convinced that the danger to the nation of wrong visa decisions is many times greater than the small enhancement gained to office security. I submit that the windows provide little added security if the consular premises are well served by a public access control system that includes package searches, metal detectors, and other means to prevent entry of weapons. With good open counters and adequate public access controls, I have yet to learn of any instance of significant injury.

Let us find some way to take the initiative back from DS. It is long overdue. Our mission comes first—theirs is secondary.

*Robert W. Maule  
Consul General, retired  
Seattle, Washington*

## LOYALTY

TO THE EDITOR:

I would like to add my personal observations on loyalty to the excellent ones by another retired labor officer, Eugene C. Martinson, in his article in the *August Journal*.

Let me describe one of my own Marshall Plan security experiences to illustrate the harm done by the McCarthyites, and how U.S. interests can be affected adversely by the incompetent administration of our security policies. Shortly after the 1952 election, Secretary of State Dulles appointed a Capitol Hill staff member friendly to Senator McCarthy as assistant secretary of State for Administration. His name was Scott McLeod.

What affected me directly was the policy McLeod enunciated publicly in 1953, to the effect that no socialist really belonged in any important State Department position. Since some of my duties heading the Labor Division of the Marshall Plan in Paris involved representing the department on a number of highly secret NATO committees, I marched up to our chief and told him he had a problem, in that I was a living, breathing member of the Socialist Party, and a prime example of someone McLeod thought should not be in a responsible job. (By then, if truth be told, I was already a backslider in my socialist views. But I retained my party membership out of nostalgic sentiment and personal friendship with 1952 Socialist presidential candidate Norman Thomas. Besides, objecting to McLeod's policy was a matter of principle, as one of my friends in the admission in Germany had already been told his job had been abolished, and we all understood that the action was "security-based.")

I told the ambassador that the McLeod announcement might have dangerous repercussions in the international community, as many European governments had socialist representatives. The ambassador suggested that before I made any fuss about the matter, I should write to Norman Thomas, asking what was being done about it in Washington, and soliciting his advice. When I wrote to Thomas, he told me he had already been in correspondence with his fellow-Princetonian, Foster Dulles, on the matter. It seems that Dulles felt he had

to support McLeod, and was not at all interested in Thomas' suggestion that McLeod be reversed. So Thomas went over Dulles' head and asked for an appointment with the president.

Eisenhower agreed to see him, and, according to Thomas's letter to me, said that any loyal citizen who was a socialist had the right to be trusted in any government job for which he was qualified. Further, he authorized Thomas to repeat what he had been told to the usual crowd of newspapermen gathered outside the White House.

Sherman Adams, who was present at the interview with Thomas, was instructed to pass the president's view on to the State Department, but so far as Thomas knew, no correction had been forthcoming. All in all, Thomas was impressed by the president's fairness, but said he regretted his unwillingness to do battle with McCarthy or McLeod. In any case, I finished out my Paris tour in 1957 and returned to the Labor Department.

My last encounter with McLeod was at an embassy party in Dublin. I was introduced to the ambassador, who turned out to be McLeod. The following ensued:

McLeod: "Weisz, with a 'z' sounds familiar."

I: "I believe you once had some doubts about me or my affiliations, and ultimately changed your mind."

McLeod: "No, I didn't change my mind; it was changed for me."

*Morris Weisz  
Foreign Service Officer, retired  
Washington, D.C.*

## CORRECTION

Due to an editing error, the paragraph on page 28 of the article "Assignment Louisiana," by David H. Shinn [*October Journal*] was incorrect. It should have read as follows: The scope of my activities gave me an unusual opportunity to see the interaction between the races on a southern college campus. In Louisiana, relations appear fairly good on the surface, but if you look closely, much remains to be done. The most common form of racism is prejudice by whites aimed at people of color. But whites don't have a monopoly on racism. This year gave me the impression that the races in the United States are increasingly polarized. ■

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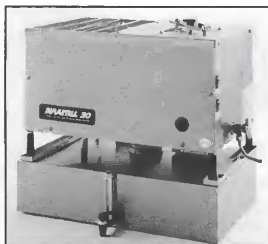
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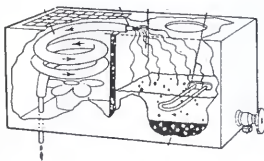
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## AID TO A.I.D.

THE WASHINGTON POST  
EDITORIAL, SEPTEMBER 26, 1991

The Agency for International Development . . . is establishing something of a reputation for itself. It's not the kind the agency needs. . . A.I.D.'s white-collar crime rate is higher than that of most major U.S. cities, according to a memorandum prepared by the agency's inspector general's office.

The inspector general's analysis has been challenged by A.I.D. counselor Kenneth H. Sherper in an internal response. Mr. Sherper said the conclusions were "false, inaccurate, and misleading" and based on "badly skewed and distorted data." . . . The fact remains, however, that in the past several years, seven senior officials have been convicted of criminal offenses. That should not be the government norm.

Dr. Roskens does know that his agency has a problem. . . That will end only if senior management moves decisively to address those problems that everyone agrees exist.

## A.I.D.'S ARCHAIC BUREAUCRACY

GOVERNMENT EXECUTIVE, OCTOBER 1991  
BY CHRISTOPHER MADISON

A.I.D.'s most publicized problems are the few instances of corruption. Its weaknesses, however, run much deeper. Most serious, say agency insiders, are flaws in A.I.D.'s management structure and its program design and contract award processes, all of which are archaic and cumbersome.

"In 25 years of government, this is the worst bureaucracy I've ever worked with," says Mark Edelman, A.I.D.'s deputy administrator, who is leaving the agency this fall to pursue a business career.

Not only is A.I.D.'s management structure outdated, but the agency suffers from confusion about its mission, which Congress has changed repeatedly, and from frequent leadership changes over the past decade. . . Its staff has dwindled from a peak 18,000 in the mid-1960s to about 4,000 today, more than half of whom serve overseas.

With the debate [about development priorities] over, [Administrator Ronald] Roskens has shifted the focus to streamlining A.I.D.'s management in hopes of restoring the agency's stature. So far, his ambitious reorganization plan has produced only turmoil and grumbling. . . But [Inspector General Herbert] Beckington . . . says Roskens' scheme has potential. "It's a massive change, and people fear change of any kind. But there's no reason it can't be a promising development."

### State's Stepchild

Part of A.I.D.'s image problems stem from its stepchild relationship with the State Department as well as confusion about how the two agencies' missions interrelate. . . A.I.D. officials explain the relationship this way: The State Department decides foreign policy, and A.I.D., guided by that policy, administers the economic aid programs. Even when Congress and the State Department decide how much economic assistance a country will receive, A.I.D. often has a say in how the money will be spent. . . A.I.D.'s [most] significant role in foreign aid is in designing and implementing more than \$3 billion worth of health, education and economic development programs in the poorest countries.

A series of recent scandals at the agency, many involving high-level officials, has called into question A.I.D.'s

ability to carry out its responsibilities free of corruption. . . . The IG's office is not shy about boasting of its record in catching corruption. But some say Beckington's activities, some of which focus on technicalities such as travel expense violations, have cast a pall of paranoia and demoralization throughout the agency.

### *Roskens' Reorganization*

The agency's problems stem largely from a haphazard organizational structure centered on 11 bureaus, which includes three geographical bureaus, six policy-oriented bureaus and two concerned with administrative matters. Many of these bureaus have overlapping responsibilities. Edelman [says], "Every bureau does the same thing that every other bureau does. Everything is duplicated by everybody every place . . . everybody's responsible, so no one's responsible." [Roskens] has streamlined the organization so that fewer officials report to him. . . . Top management will include two associate administrators . . . and a policy director. . . . Roskens has also vowed to institute a program for evaluating programs and eliminating those that don't work. . . . and has moved to give field officials more authority to design programs and to make other decisions. . . .

"Morale is down, worse than ever," says one ex-staffer. "I think most people see the reorganization as rearranging the deck chairs." Reorganization inevitably affects morale, and congressional staffers report grumbling—and even chaos—from the A.I.D. bureaucracy. But Deputy Edelman believes Roskens' reforms will work—and will ultimately improve morale.

## **FLAT-FOOTED STATE**

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, SEPTEMBER 22, 1991  
BY ROBERT S. GREENBERGER

Rosemarie Forsythe is a top State expert on the Soviet nationalities. She has traveled extensively across the Soviet Union, hired a private tutor to teach her languages of Turkmenia and Uzbekistan, and developed such extensive sources that the presidents of Georgia and several other republics invited her to attend their parliamen-

tary sessions on independence. Last month, Ms. Forsythe was transferred [from the U.S. Embassy in Moscow] to Canberra, Australia.

The massive changes sweeping the Soviet Union since last month's abortive coup caught the Bush administration flat-footed. Even as the balance of power shifted to the leaders of the 12 remaining republics, the administration initially clung to a Moscow-oriented approach. One possible reason is that it has largely ignored the handful of specialists in and out of government who have been urging for some time to focus on the politics and problems of the diverse republics.

The State Department insists that it does listen to the specialists. In the aftermath of last month's coup, the administration has begun paying more attention to the republics. . . . Still, department spokesmen acknowledge that Mr. [Paul] Goble (the department's and probably America's leading expert on Soviet nationalities) wasn't among the U.S. officials present at Mr. Baker's brief meeting with Estonia's president and prime minister.

[Former U.S. Ambassador] Jack Matlock says he raised the lack-of-expertise issue in the earliest days of the Bush administration. [But] it was only last spring that the administration took a small step toward establishing ties to the republics, proposing that the U.S. Embassy in Moscow rent storefronts in various outlying regions and send "circuit riders" from the embassy to visit with local politicians. In August, the State Department was still dicker over lease terms in Kiev, but the only major post the U.S. was able to open during [Matlock's] tenure.

Even now, the department is adding only a handful of new jobs to handle the ever-expanding task of monitoring the republics. The Soviet Affairs Office has increased the number of experts on nationalities to four from three a year ago . . . and the department plans to add to its embassy in Moscow six new Foreign Service officers who would augment the circuit-rider program.

Meanwhile, State has just sent out an urgent notice to all Foreign Service personnel in the building. Anyone

able to speak such languages as Uzbeki and Kazakh, the notice said, should please contact their personnel counselor as soon as possible.

## **CALLING IN THE MARINES**

THE WASHINGTON POST, SEPTEMBER 16, 1991  
BY AL KAMEN

The Marines usually land at nightfall. They quickly jump off their buses, hit the State Department C Street entrance, and begin their sweep of the building. The enemy? The many, the bad, the careless. The department officials who have forgotten to lock their safes or have left classified documents lying about. . . . The Marines, in training for guard duty at U.S. embassies abroad, leave pink slips in the place of the document at the offender's desk. . . . Too many slips can lead to suspensions or other disciplinary action.

The Marine sweeps cause employees, especially overseas, "to get so compulsive," said Hume A. Horan, who served in a number of sensitive posts overseas and now heads AFSA. "You close the safe, you reverse the dial, you reverse it again," he said, "and still you worry. I've sometimes said to myself: 'You've got to get a hold of yourself.'"

The Marines "will simply disembowel an office and put it back together again," Horan said. "They know what to look for. A piece of paper sticking out of a book, numbers circled on a calendar or on a desk pad by people who can't remember the safe combinations."

Overseas, "it's like cops and robbers," said Horan. "You knew they were going to try and get you. It was kind of a game. When they tag the ambassador they are really happy. You go to the Marine House and they are smiling." But despite any feeling of harassment the program evokes, Horan said, it serves its purpose, otherwise, "people will slip into sloppy habits."

When people began throwing classified documents into recycling bins, the Marines promptly found them. A memo soon followed explaining that everyone was for helping the environment, but not recycling secrets. ■



## A More Representative Foreign Service

### The Appointment of Assistant Secretary of State G. Howland Shaw and Our Foreign Service

By Ellery C. Stowell (Reprinted from the American Journal of International Law, April, 1941)

There are at present seven women among the 829 members of the career Foreign Service. . . . The department has not favored the entrance of women. It is argued that women cannot meet the requirement that a Foreign Service officer should be available for any assignment and capable of fulfilling the duties of any post. It is argued that women cannot well be appointed to certain unhealthy and dangerous posts, and that in certain countries it would not be fitting to run counter to local prejudice by asking them to perform duties not usually discharged by women. On the other

side it may be argued that even in the case of men, special qualifications are considered in making assignments. . . . It is also asserted that women are as capable as men of withstanding unhealthy climates. A more serious objection is the practical consideration that when a woman in the Foreign Service marries she generally resigns and her training and acquired experience are lost for the service.

The candidate who shows a knowledge of current political events and economic conditions and is able to express in good English views based

upon his own observation is much more likely to impress his examiners than he will through the mere possession of wealth and social background. Wealth is no longer the great advantage which it formerly was. Lavish entertaining is no longer the rule and any display or attempt through wealth to secure a privileged position would militate against that *esprit de corps* which is the most important asset of every

*The candidate who shows a knowledge of current political events and economic conditions and is able to express in good English views based upon his own observation is much more likely to impress his examiners than he will through the mere possession of wealth and social background.*

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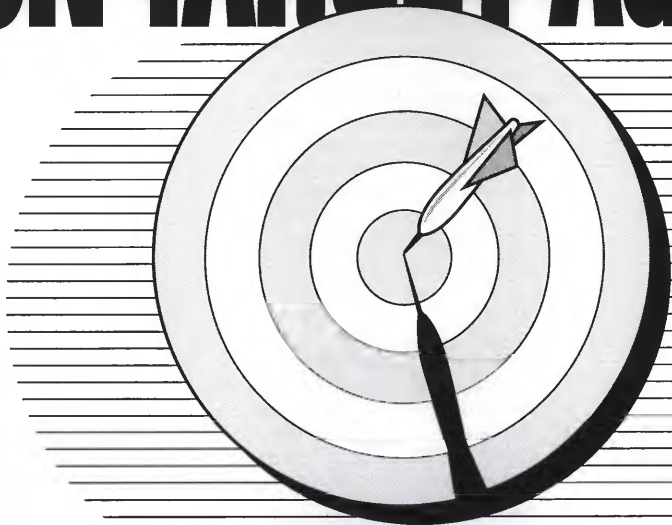
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The *Journals* Editorial Board has

developed a tentative calendar of editorial themes for 1992, with the broad goal of focusing more closely on the structure and functioning of the foreign affairs bureaucracy. We have already begun to examine the scope of diplomacy, with our September issue on human rights, the October issue on fairness in hiring and promotion, and next month's *Journal*, debating what sort of intelligence the government needs in the changed world of the 1990s.

Here are the issues we plan to address:

- The role of the National Security Council: Has the end of the Cold War changed the council's mission?
- Immigration and Refugees: Who should craft an immigration and refugee policy for the future?
- The United Nations and Multilateral Diplomacy
- Nuclear Proliferation and the Demilitarization of Foreign Policy
- Environmental Diplomacy: Getting ahead of global warming, deforestation, acid rain, and other worldwide threats
- All the President's Men: A look at the current players, the upcoming presidential campaign, and the process of choosing top officials in the foreign affairs bureaucracy
- Dissent: Does the system encourage Foreign Service officers to take dissident points of view?
- The Future of Public Diplomacy
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# SPEAKING OUT

By DALE R. HERSPRING

## Behind the Ivy Curtain:

### *Breaking into academia after a Foreign Service career*

**A**s they near the end of their careers, many Foreign Service officers (especially political officers) begin thinking about a second career. For many, that career is academia. Practically speaking, entering the academic world requires being accepted by political scientists, since they staff the departments in which international relations is generally taught.

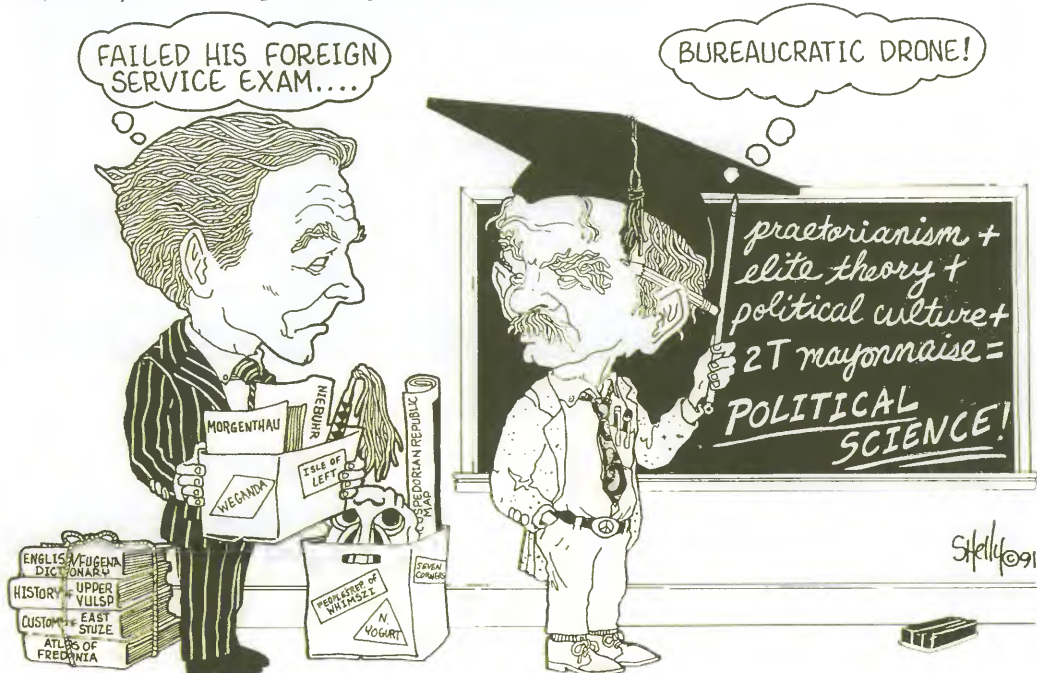
Most Foreign Service officers believe that, since they have successfully dealt with the practical side of international politics both in this country and abroad, colleges and universities will welcome them as teachers with open arms. After all, 20 or so years in the Foreign Service

mean that these retirees can provide students and faculty with new perspectives on how foreign policy is formulated and conducted. The reality, however, is somewhat different. While retired officers may discover they are welcome in non-teaching positions, if they attempt to become regular members of a political science department, they will probably be greeted with suspicion and, in some cases, hostility. There are a number of reasons for this situation, some justified, some not.

#### Grand theory

Political science as a discipline (and international relations is a sub-field of political science in most universities)

has become increasingly theoretical. Grand theory, quantitative analysis, mid-range theory, and game theory have become part of the standard vocabulary of political scientists. Previously, theoretical work in the field changed very little over the years; a knowledge of Hans Morgenthau or Reinhold Niebuhr was sufficient. In practice, this meant that holding a Ph.D. in political science and publishing a book and several articles qualified one to become a professor in a political science department after a career in the Foreign Service. The explosion in theory has changed the situation, however. It is impossible to understand political science literature without being familiar with a wide





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variety of theoretical approaches. Political scientists, in communicating with one another, assume that the listener understands such approaches as elite theory, praetorianism, or political culture. They find it hard to accept individuals into their discipline who are not sufficiently literate (in their eyes) to understand and use these basic terms.

The reality is that very few Foreign Service officers understand such theoretical frameworks. In fact, in my experience, most are hostile to such approaches. "I don't need some dumb theory; I deal with the real world," is a comment I have heard only too frequently in the department. I have seen situations where the only way in which a concept such as political culture could be employed in a State Department document was to disguise its use. As a result, it is not surprising that very few FSOs are able to speak the language of the political scientist or are able to gain their academic respect.

### Facts irrelevant

Resentment on the part of academics toward those who participate in the policy process is not new. But the situation has worsened in recent years because of the direction political science has taken. Today there is often minimal respect for history, language, or area knowledge—exactly the areas in which FSOs excel. Many political scientists—including many who specialize in international relations—believe such knowledge is unnecessary. "We have gone beyond the need for this type of information," is the way one political scientist put it to me. Many of them believe that their models are so powerful that they can dispense with such idiosyncratic information. "Individual cases may vary, but we are looking for nomothetic variables, and for that we do not need to know languages or have an intimate familiarity with the history, politics, or culture of a particular country" is another comment I have heard frequently. The bottom line for the FSO is that his or her experience (which comes from dealing with different cul-

tures and societies) may be considered irrelevant by many political scientists.

### School of the practical

Closely related to the theoretical question is the importance to the political scientist of a strong conceptualizing ability. In using this term, I do not mean the ability to write coherent, understandable briefing memos on complex issues—something FSOs excel at. Rather, I have in mind the ability to state a hypothesis, develop indicators, and then test the hypothesis. Most FSOs shy away from such abstract, highly structured thinking—not surprising given the operational nature of their work and the time pressures placed on them, which leave little time (or reward) for conceptualizing. Indeed, one of the worst things an FSO can do is to become known as a conceptualizer: someone who is too academic: someone who does not have his or her feet on the ground. From the perspective of many political scientists, this situation is unsatisfactory. In fact, many believe that FSOs have more in common with political historians than with political scientists.

Unfortunately, FSOs have a reputation for being experts in telling anecdotes. "They seldom get to the point. Instead, they seem to specialize in telling war stories," is how one senior political scientist put it to me. Teaching is much more difficult than many FSOs realize. In my own case, I estimate that I spend an average of 14 hours preparing a one-hour lecture to be given at the university level. In addition, teaching involves more than reading a text or speaking extemporaneously. Techniques vary depending on the level of students and the nature of the course. For example, teaching undergraduates at a smaller, non-elite university is quite different from handling graduate students at a major university. The old adage (which some FSOs still believe) that "those who can, do, and those who can't, teach" is simply nonsense.

Closely associated with the bias toward the theoretical or conceptual orientation is a disdain for individuals with a

practical background in government, who are rarely viewed as "real" political scientists. Political scientists tend to fear practitioners, because many academics know that the FSO can always say, "But that is not how the process works. I know, I was part of it." For academics, many of whom live in small college towns far from the hustle and bustle of Washington and who make their reputations based on their ability to manipulate and develop a particular theoretical framework, FSOs are threatening. This is even more the case if the FSO has published extensively and understands abstract theory as well as the academic.

### Fear of failing

The academic marketplace is very tight at present. Several universities began the last recruiting period looking for two or three people to fill vacancies in their departments. By the beginning of 1991, however, they found the level of these positions downgraded in some cases and eliminated in others. To make matters worse, a number of universities believe it would be unethical to hire someone with an impressive governmental background at the entry level (and the higher one goes in the academic hierarchy, the fewer the number of available jobs). Faculty, meanwhile, concerned over their own chances for promotion, fear that bringing such a person into the department at the associate or full professor level will not only hurt their chances for promotion, it could change the orientation of the department away from their theoretical interests toward more practical concerns as well (thereby hurting their chances for promotion).

### Political untouchables

Given the flack FSOs take in Washington for their supposedly "liberal" views, it may come as a surprise to learn that in many places, they are considered too "conservative." I have encountered academics who have little understanding of how the policy process works (even though they teach courses on the

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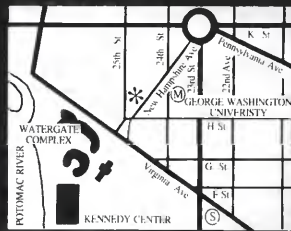
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## SPEAKING OUT

topic) but are more than prepared to blame a Foreign Service officer for what they perceive to be mistakes in U.S. policy around the world. Attempts to explain how the process works in reality or how the dissent process functions within the department are often of no avail. The bottom line is that the Foreign Service officer has been "contaminated" by his or her work within the government.

On some university campuses, too, "political correctness" reigns supreme. It is forbidden to question policies or ideas, such as affirmative action, that are aimed at improving the status of disadvantaged groups. Such criticism, it is believed, will be used against the "struggle" and therefore undercut the efforts of these groups to throw-off their exploitation. I have sometimes found a greater willingness to openly discuss such policies in the departments of State and Defense than in some of our major colleges and universities. FSOs may be seen on the Washington bureaucratic scene as timid "cookie pushers," but they are often more prepared to see both sides of an issue are their academic colleagues. Consequently, when an FSO naively suggests on some university campuses that there are two sides to every issue—especially controversial ones like affirmative action, abortion, or U.S. policy toward Latin America—and that both deserve to be openly discussed, he or she risks being attacked as a racist, sexist, or warmonger.

### Foreign Service arrogance

While part of the problem with the attitudes of political scientists toward FSOs comes from jealousy, the fact is that many FSOs also look down on political scientists. The reference one often hears to academic "space cadets," the suggestion that teaching is for those who cannot make it in the real world, and the disparaging way some FSOs treat scholars or Peace Corps volunteers abroad all reinforce this image. FSOs who care about their (or their colleagues) relationship with political scientists should think twice about how

they treat academics.

There has been a change in the last 20 years in how members of a political science department are recruited. Formerly, a senior professor could bring someone into a political science department even if younger faculty opposed such an appointment. In recent years, however, the power of the senior faculty has been broken. Indeed, when it comes to search committees (a small group of individuals—usually four or five—who screen candidates and suggest the most promising to the department as a whole), a liberum veto operates. In practice, this means that if one person on the search committee strongly opposes a candidate (for whatever reason), that person is scratched from the list in order to maintain departmental harmony. In fact, any time there is a serious disagreement within a department on hiring, the normal response is not to hire anyone. Such disagreements need not be ideological, although that sometimes occurs; they can be over something as minor as the candidate's methodological or theoretical orientation. A department that is highly quantitative may reject someone who specializes in political culture, for example. "He is a very competent political scientist, but his research does not fit in with the direction of research in the department" is another typical excuse. Considerable pressure for conformity means that people who think differently may find it difficult to get hired except at the most junior level. The hiring process often turns into an effort to select the least controversial candidate.

### Roads less traveled

Those truly committed to becoming professors should not give up—only recognize that the search for a position will be uphill all the way. But those willing to consider other entries into academia have several options, and a Ph.D., publications, and teaching experience are not always necessities. Such positions may be as:

- *Visiting Professor.* Political scientists often feel more comfortable

with an ex-FSO if his or her appointment is temporary. The advantage of such an appointment is that it has the potential of turning into a full-time position if both sides decide they like the arrangement.

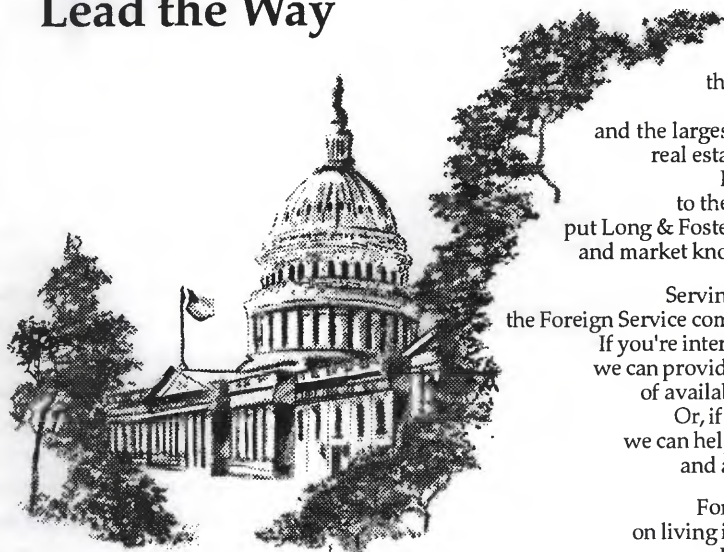
- *Academic Administrators.* With their strong managerial backgrounds and familiarity with how the State Department and the foreign affairs community operate, Foreign Service officers can be useful to universities in positions dealing with foreign students or administering international programs.
- *Analysts in Think Tanks.* There are a number of university-like think tanks (some associated with universities, some not) that value an FSO's practical experience—providing the officer also has a good publication record.

A former FSO should remember that new colleagues will probably be suspicious of this government transplant. Breaking into this environment resembles the acclimatization process required at an overseas assignment: the local people speak a foreign language and have a different culture. Breaking in requires not only persistence and luck, but a good deal of sensitivity and consideration for the concerns of those who are spending their lives in academia. Indeed, the burden is on the FSO to prove to prospective colleagues that their preconceived attitudes about the Foreign Service are wrong. The task should not be too difficult: after all, Foreign Service officers are trained diplomats. ■

*Dale R. Herspring recently retired from the Foreign Service and is currently a senior fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars. He has taught at Georgetown, Columbia, and the University of Maryland and is the author or editor of five books and more than 40 articles. The author would like to thank Ambassador Harry G. Barnes Jr. for his helpful comments in the preparation of this article.*

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# THE DEAN'S LIST



**D**uring a 42½ year diplomatic career, I have had the pleasure of close contact with American colleagues in Stockholm, Vienna, Madrid, Lisbon, Algiers, New York (UN), Moscow, and, of course, Washington. During 15 years as ambassador here, I have dealt with five presidents, six secretaries of State, seven deputy secretaries of State, and eight chiefs of protocol. I can, therefore, claim some experience on the subject of American diplomacy.

In order to fairly evaluate American diplomatic service, it is useful to analyze the conceptual difference between the diplomacy of a parliamentary democracy, such as Sweden, and that of American democracy. Ours is based firmly on the concept of a professional Civil Service. Below the level of cabinet minister and—lately—secretary general, the service is totally pro-

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BY WILHELM WACHTMEISTER

fessional. Exceptions are occasional ambassadorial appointments of a political nature. Such appointments, made mostly among outstanding political personalities, have become more frequent of late. In contrast to American practice, the political appointees are part of the Foreign Service career until retirement, at age 65. Upon entering the service, they cease to be party politicians and are thought to represent not only the incumbent government, but the entire nation. In the case of Sweden, that is particularly easy, as foreign policy is basically non-controversial among the political parties. Thus, for instance, as a career diplomat, I have never had any difficulty serving governments of varying political color. My appointment as ambassador to the United States was made by a Socialist government, even though my political inclinations are known to be far from socialistic.

## Leaving business to the pros

This multi-partisanship in foreign policy is, in my view, a source of strength for a small country, not least because it enables the conduct of foreign policy to be entrusted to a skilled, professional Civil Service. After all, diplomacy, too, is a profession, though one of generalists rather than specialists. The dentist, surgeon, or general can hardly be recruited on political merits alone; if that were the case, I would hate to be the patient or the soldier under the command. Diplomacy differs somewhat in its degree of specialization, but only somewhat. Only an outstanding personality can compensate by his personal qualities and stature for the lack of professional knowledge and experience.

A great power such as the United States can afford the luxury of choosing personal representatives of the president as envoys to other great powers. The American ambassador can expect to have direct and frequent personal access to the head of state to whom he is accredited. In that case, it can be an advantage for the ambassador to be known as a personal friend of his president. The condition, however, must be that the envoy is a person of outstanding quality—an Averell Harriman, a David Bruce, an Ellsworth Bunker, a John Sherman Cooper, a Robert Strauss to mention some extraordinary persons who come easily to mind. But it also presupposes that the ambassador is provided with a competent diplomatic staff, in particular a deputy chief of mission, to assist him with the diplomatic work. These conditions fulfilled, I have no problem with a reasonable measure of political appointments. On the contrary, appointments of such high caliber often are a stimulating infusion and enhance the prestige of diplomatic service. On the other hand, diplomatic appointments of mediocre personalities as rewards for political or financial support will demoralize and harm a country's Foreign Service. Such damage can be surprisingly long-lasting.

Given the frequency of political appointments to the most popular and prestigious embassies, one would expect the American Foreign Service to be inferior to those of comparable

nations. The incentive for the best to join the service would seemingly be negatively affected by the limited prospects of reaching the most desirable positions. If that is true, it is all the more remarkable that the United States has a diplomatic service second to none. My long experience allows me to make such a categorical statement. Knowledge, honesty, candor, often combined with the necessary sense of humor, are qualities that I have found in abundance among American colleagues everywhere. Numerous friendships for life have resulted. This has been particularly true during my 15 years in Washington.

## Humble centers of power

To serve in this capital is a real privilege. It is a great professional challenge, with many opportunities to make a difference for one's country, otherwise a not too frequent experience for a diplomat. It is both easy and difficult in comparison with the great European capitals. Easy, because Washington is basically a political capital, where access to decision-makers in the administration and Congress is better than in most other great capitals. Difficult, because of the tremendous competition among diplomats for that same access. A standard rule for governments should be to keep their representatives for a sufficiently long period to enable them to develop the personal relations that alone will empower them to perform their duties to maximum effect. Obviously, I have no complaints against my own government in this regard. The competition means a fierce pace of activity. If you let down for a moment, you find yourself left behind or outside.

My experience is that power in Washington often rests rather far down in the hierarchy. Except for the most important matters of principle, the opinion of the desk officer or senator's aide may very well turn out to be decisive. Therefore, the second secretary of the embassy often carries as much weight as the ambassador—a stimulating thought for younger diplomats.

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back home for information and exchange of views with the U.S. government regarding international affairs throughout the world. This gives a global perspective to the daily routine of the embassy and enhances the already strong sense of living and working in the mainstream of world events. That is an important component of the uniqueness of Washington as a diplomatic post.

### Cold War in miniature

Representing Sweden in Washington during all these years—the last three as dean of the diplomatic corps—has, of course, been the highlight of my professional life. It began as a challenge. The relations between the two countries were uncharacteristically chilly. The issue was the Vietnam War and the sharply critical attitude of the Swedish government. The breaking point came in December 1972, when Prime Minister Olof Palme issued a violent condemnation of the so-called Christmas bombings of Hanoi. The statement infuriated President Nixon

to the extent that he declared the newly appointed Swedish ambassador (not me) unwelcome for the time being. This, of course, was not diplomacy. It was punishment for bad behavior, and played into the hands of leftist America-bashers in Sweden, whom the government tried to contain.

The quarantine lasted for 14 months. During that time, diplomatic exchanges were restricted to the director level in Washington. In Stockholm we did not engage in such a game but gave the U.S. charge free access as before.

A sign that the anger in Washington had abated came when I visited Washington as political director in November 1973. I was invited at short notice to see Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who apparently had been admonished by our friends in the Senate to normalize relations with Sweden. Kissinger's message was that he thought our two countries should be able to coexist and added: "And, furthermore, I want to get those Minnesota senators off my back." The senators were none less than Hubert

Humphrey and Walter Mondale, both warm friends of Sweden.

In March 1974, the ban was lifted and I was appointed to Washington; the earlier appointee, having tired of waiting, had received another post. The task was a positive one in the sense that the relations could go only in one direction, upward. It was, indeed, the strong wish of both governments that the abnormal situation be corrected as soon as possible. After all, Sweden is one of America's oldest friends, one of the first to recognize the nation's independence. I was warmly received by President Nixon and his administration, and when, a few months later, the Ford Administration took office, this unhappy phase in Swedish-American relations was closed and we renewed our historic cordial relationship. We have lived happily together ever after.

### Friendship and the Cincinnati

The Society of the Cincinnati has a membership of descendants of officers who fought for the independence of the United States from British colonial rule. Only one member of a family can be admitted. There is a French branch for descendants of the members of Lafayette's expeditionary force. It so happens that at that time, a number of Swedish naval officers from the nobility served in the French navy. One of them was an ancestor of mine.

At the suggestion of my friend Senator Claiborne Pell, who is a member of the Society, I applied for membership in the French branch. I was interviewed by the French society and had to prove my descent from the officer in question. I described his role in the war and mentioned that he was wounded in a naval battle. "*Ah, il a été blessé, mais c'est tres bien, c'est tres important,*" was the immediate comment, and I was admitted as a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, France.

Following my long tenure as ambassador of Sweden in Washington, it is gratifying to be recognized as a descendant of one of the liberators of this country. The circle is closed. ■

*Ambassador Wachtmeister currently lives and works in Washington as adviser to the chairman of Volvo.*

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# UNHOLY ALLIANCE

## Latin American militaries and the war on drugs

BY TINA ROSENBERG

**T**he U.S. Department of State tells two very different official stories about the situation of human rights in Peru. On July 30, Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger signed a determination that the Peruvian security forces were "not engaged in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights," that the human rights situation was improving, and that the military answered to civilian control.

A rebuttal, however, could be found without leaving the building. The State Department's own Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1990 said of Peru, "Security forces personnel were responsible for widespread and egregious human rights violations. . . . There were widespread credible reports of summary executions, arbitrary detentions, and torture and rape by the military, as well as less frequent reports of such abuses by the police." At a congressional hearing in March 1991, Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs Bernard Aronson described Peruvian security forces' abuses as "long-standing and systematic."

The contradiction highlights the State Department's ambivalence over its chosen strategy in the fight against cocaine. Increasingly favoring a militarization of the drug war in Latin America, State officials find it necessary to softpedal another important but often contradictory goal: promoting human rights. But human rights abuses are an inevitable companion to militarization. Furthermore, U.S. experience in recent years in Peru, Colombia, and Bolivia suggests that winning the drug war requires

the support of Peruvian, Colombian, and Bolivian societies. Only a strategy based on respect for human rights can create such support.

### Down in the valley

Eagleburger downplayed the abuses of Peruvian security forces because it is Bush Administration policy that to fight coca leaf, the Peruvians must first wrest control of the Upper Huallaga Valley, where 60 percent of the world's coca leaf is grown, from two guerrilla groups that dominate the valley: the Shining Path, or Sendero Luminoso, and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement. Sendero, in particular, had turned into a union for Peruvian peasant coca growers, negotiating higher prices for coca leaf with the Colombian traffickers who buy it, and charging the Colombians a "tax" to use local airstrips. Administration officials believe that effective crop substitution and interdiction first require winning back the Upper Huallaga from Sendero. Hence, they have proposed training the military to fight coca leaf and

The military has long been hostile to rural peasant federations, considering them subversive.



Alfonso Robles/MIKE World Photos

paste, and sending Peru \$34.9 million in military aid and 50 or more military advisers.

In late September, Congress approved the aid, albeit with conditions attached to its use.

The recruitment of local militaries into the drug war is U.S. policy all over South America. U.S. counter-narcotics military assistance to Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia totaled less than \$5 million in FY 1988; in FY 1990 it had risen to \$140 million. But it is a strategy that Andean governments have resisted. Alan Garcia, president of Peru until 1990, refused to allow U.S. military aid. Current Bolivian and Peruvian leaders Jaime Paz Zamora and Alberto Fujimori resisted such aid until the United States made it clear that economic aid depended on their acceptance of military aid. President Cesar Gaviria in Colombia has said that he would gladly give up all U.S. aid in exchange for trade concessions. Early in 1991, the Bush Administration coaxed the Argentine Air Force into fighting drugs in that country, despite hard-won Argentine statutes prohibiting the armed forces from an internal role—laws written to avoid repeating the human rights violations of the Dirty War.

Militarization is bad news for human rights. The first reason is that the money often does not go to fight drugs, but into what for most Latin militaries is a much higher priority: fighting guerrillas. Colombian Army Chief of Staff General Luis Eduardo Roca and Army General Jose Nelson Mejia told U.S. congressional investigators that \$38.5 million of the \$40.3 million in U.S. counter-narcotics military aid in FY 1990 was to be used not to fight cocaine but to combat guerrillas in Operation Tri-Color in northeastern Colombia, an area not known for its narcotics production. "How would this advance the two countries' anti-narcotics goals?" investigators asked.

The generals' response: if processing facilities were located during the operation, they would be destroyed. The

Bogota-based Inter-American Legal Services Association reports that in

1990, the Colombian villages of Yondo, Remedios, Llana Caliente, and Becerril were bombed during anti-guerrilla operations by UH-1H and Hercules helicopters and A-37 planes, injuring several civilians and destroying the homes of thousands. While the Colombian armed forces already had these aircraft, they were also the models supplied by the United States in 1989 as emergency counter-narcotics equipment.

Human rights are always at risk in anti-guerrilla operations, of course, but the danger of violations exists any time a military is assigned to wage war on an internal enemy, including drug producers. Bolivia has no significant guerrilla insurgency, but members of the anti-drug police, or UMOPAR, have been accused of torture and rapes in counter-narcotics operations in the Chapare and Beni coca-growing regions. As the Bolivian military—traditionally more abusive and corrupt than the police—becomes involved, abuses are likely to rise. The military has long been hostile to rural peasant federations, considering them subversive.

All three of the major drug-producing countries are nominal democracies, but in all three the military is strong and soldiers pay little heed to civilians. The Bolivian military has an unhealthy taste for coups, and Bolivia's new civilian government has been struggling to keep its tenuous hold on power. In its war against Sendero, the Peruvian government has placed more and more of Peru under armed forces command—today more than half Peru's citizens live under de facto dictatorship with no civilian authority. Militarizing the drug war, which makes

local armies the U.S. partner in the region, further increases the power of the armed forces and weakens civilian control. "When you have a corrupt chief of police, you fire him," Bolivian politician Gonzalo Sanchez de Losada told the *Wall Street Journal*. "When you have a corrupt chief of the army, he fires you."

## Destructive engagement

State Department officials say that U.S. involvement allows the United States more sway over local military practices—a sort of military constructive engagement. "It's better to be on the inside where we have influence," one State Department drug official told me. "If we just stay on the outside, criticizing, we become irrelevant." This is a frequent rationale for U.S. military aid, but it can bring perverse results. Instead of altering the behavior of the aid recipient, the relationship often has the reverse effect: U.S. dependence on the recipients to carry out policy goals may lead the United States to tolerate, overlook, or even justify abuses, for fear of creating opposition to the policy in Congress, U.S. public opinion, or in host countries. The mouse, after all, also trains his scientist: when he rings the bell, the good doctor brings him cheese.

This is evident in Eagleburger's human rights determination and in other official pronouncements regarding military aid. Indeed, at a joint hearing before three House Foreign Affairs subcommittees on September 12, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights Richard Schifter argued that Peru's violations do not form a consistent pattern, because many people are arrested and released without being tortured. A joint report by the departments of State and Defense transmitted to Congress in February 1991 stated, "We cannot gloss over past [government] abuses in some countries. . . . But, we should not succumb to the notion that organizations like the Sendero Luminoso of Peru or the FARC in Colombia are champions of human rights."

This deeply cynical statement does indeed gloss over present abuses in the two countries with the worst human rights records in the hemisphere. Sendero is indeed a terrorist group that has murdered thousands of civilians, especially those such as priests and peasant organizers who seek to improve the lot of the poor. The Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARC), to a lesser extent, has murdered and extorted. But this does not give the Peruvian and Colombian governments permission to fall into barbarity as well. Three thousand leftist politicians or organizers were killed or disappeared in Colombia from May 1989 to June 1990—more than General Augusto Pinochet killed or "disappeared" in 17 years in Chile. For the last four years, the United Nations has ranked Peru's security forces number one or two in the world at disappearing their own people.

## "Accomplished bureaucrats"

Militarization has several roots. A new study of the Andean drug war by the Washington Office on Latin

America points to frustration at the failure of anti-narcotics policies, the political benefits of being "tough" on drugs, the feeling that military means are needed to fight well-armed drug traffickers, and Pentagon officials' growing unease—despite long-standing opposition to a military role—that the end of the Cold War is leaving them with little to do. Admiral William Crowe, then recently retired as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said on ABC News' *Nightline* in 1990: "Certainly I think we'll put more emphasis on the drug war. And if there are resources tied to it, why you'll see the services compete for those, and probably vigorously. We take some pride in being accomplished bureaucrats, as well as military men. And I think it's legitimate for military men to try and perpetuate their institution. . . ."

The Southern Command has been particularly enthusiastic about the war on cocaine, seeing it as an extension of the Cold War; often officials refer to the enemy as "narco-guerrillas." The intertwining of counter-narcotics and counter-insurgency is U.S. policy in Peru and Colombia, according to the official statements of the departments of State and Defense, and Southcom.

There is some truth to the narco-guerrilla connection. Certain fronts of the FARC guerrillas in Colombia did protect jungle cocaine labs. The Shining Path does raise money by taxing drug traffic and does protect coca-leaf growers. But that does not make these groups drug traffickers as such. (Indeed, Sendero's efforts on behalf of Peruvian coca growers put it at odds with the traffickers who buy the leaf.) In Colombia, the narc-FARC marriage is one of convenience. The two groups do not agree on an ideology or goals for society.

The phrase overlooks a far more pervasive and significant connection: the narco-military. The link is due to more than corruption. In Colombia, many traffickers have become wealthy landowners and joined forces with paramilitary groups and active duty officers to rid zones of pesky peasant and labor organizers. Many of Colombia's massacres of rural activists can be traced to this narco-military connection, with traffickers supplying the financing and the army the manpower. These shadowy paramilitary organizations operate with impunity. In April 1991, Colonel Alfonso Arrellano Reyes of the Colombian anti-drug police confirmed that paramilitary groups protect drug trafficking operations. But as for breaking them up, the police didn't seem to be trying very hard. "In practice, we've never been able to find them," Arrellano said. "We have never had an armed conflict with one of these groups."

Perhaps the most compelling reason not to militarize the drug war is that programs to reduce coca and cocaine do not require it. The Colombian police, for example, make 80 to 90 percent of all drug seizures and raids on airstrips in that country, yet received only 16 percent of the \$65 million emergency aid package the United States sent to Colombia in August 1989, with the rest going to the military. The Bush Administration is incorrect in stating that military aid is necessary to allow anti-coca

The mouse, after all, also trains his scientist: when he rings the bell, the good doctor brings him cheese.



crop substitution programs to go forth in the Upper Huallaga Valley. Crop substitution has been going on for years, carried out by the Peruvian government and by the United Nations Development Program, which had 200 employees in the Upper Huallaga Valley for three years; only one staffer was killed by Sendero. "Sendero will ask villagers if a particular program is good and helpful, and if villagers say yes, they leave it alone," said Ivan de Rementería, who headed the UNDP's efforts in the Upper Huallaga. Many observers believe that it is not Sendero that will block crop substitution but the ease of planting coca in the vast stretches of the Huallaga that now lie fallow.

## Stick to carrot

A strategy that emphasizes human rights and non-military solutions would be better for both the drug fight and Peru's battle against Sendero. The administration has already recognized this. Since January 1989, it has carried out no forced coca eradication programs in the Upper Huallaga, recognizing that such repressive actions were driving local peasants into the arms of Sendero and reducing what little credibility the Peruvian government retained in the valley. The new U.S.-Peru drug agreement, aside from its pernicious provision of military aid and the pitiful sum of \$250,000 allotted to improving Peru's justice system, reflects a potentially effective switch in strategy from the stick to the carrot.

In Colombia, a repression-based strategy proved temporarily effective but unsustainable. In 1989, President Virgilio Barco began a tough crackdown on cocaine after traffickers killed presidential candidate Luis Carlos Galán. But the traffickers responded with terrorism, and

soon a backlash began: Colombians believed that if the government was not equipped to fight the traffickers, it should not have provoked their wrath. President Gaviria reversed the Barco policy, deciding that the best way to fight the Colombian problem of drug terrorism was to abandon the fight against drug trafficking, considered a U.S. problem. Gaviria's policy is tremendously popular in Colombia; meanwhile the DEA reports that 1990 cocaine production in South America—almost all of it in Colombia—was up 28 percent over the year before.

Almost every Colombian and Peruvian citizen I met, whether rural or urban, poor or rich, left or right, corrupt or clean, shared one view about drugs: it is the gringos' war. The United States has yet to convince Latin societies that they are seriously hurt by drugs or should assume part of the burden of fighting drugs. One important reason is that many people see the cure as worse than the disease. Military occupation, U.S. interference in local sovereignty, forcible loss of a source of national or personal income with nothing to replace it—these are the strategies that cut into crucial local support. A strategy that emphasizes local dignity, economically rational crop substitution programs, and development would encourage more Andean citizens to say no to drugs—and yield the added benefits of strengthening local economies and government institutions. Respect for human rights, far from being an obstacle to a successful war on drugs, is one of its cornerstones. ■

*Tina Rosenberg, a visiting fellow with the Overseas Development Council in Washington, is author of **Children of Cain: Violence and the Violent in Latin America**, published by William Morrow.*

# OPERATION ISLAMABAD

## Combatting Narcotics in Pakistan

BY JOSEPH LIMPRECHT

**A**rriving in Islamabad to take over the Narcotics Affairs Section (NAS), I found myself working in one of the roughest and most remote frontier areas in the world. As long as anyone can remember, opium has been a traditional cash crop for the fiercely independent, Pushtu-speaking Pathan tribesmen of eastern Afghanistan and Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP). To travel among the Pathans is to begin to know one of the most interesting traditional cultures left on earth. These people have demonstrated their toughness and resilience in years of warfare against the British and the Soviets, and in continual feuding among themselves. They are among the most hospitable people in the world—people who will offer a visitor everything they have—but they are also among the most warlike.

On one excursion to Mohmand Agency, a tribal area north of Peshawar, a Pakistani official responsible for maintaining some semblance of law and order among the Pathan tribes told me how, two weeks earlier, he had talked a tribesman out of an armored personnel carrier. The tribesman, who had been driving the APC down the main road, had stolen it from his rebel commander in Afghanistan, driven it over the pass into Mohmand Agency, and planned to sell it in the local arms bazaar. There he would have found a ready market for it, since Mohmand people love weapons above all else.

That point was underscored when the official and I pulled into the fortress compound of a key tribal chief. At least 100 of his fellow tribesmen greeted us, 10 of them firing AK-47s in a traditional Pathan greeting, emptying their clips into the air. Then one of the chief's men opened fire with the chief's very own anti-aircraft artillery piece, blasting away at the nearest mountainside until he

had finished off a whole belt of ammo. I asked later what use the chief could possibly have for a towed anti-aircraft gun. For artillery fire against enemy local clans, I was told. I knew then what we were up against.

### Epidemic

The narcotics problem is an extremely difficult one in Pakistan. The country has supplied upwards of 40 percent of the heroin consumed in the United States in recent years. Right now, the figure is somewhat lower, since the better-organized, Chinese-run Southeast Asian trafficking organizations have taken over a larger share of the business. Most of Europe's heroin, however, still comes from Pakistan. But the bulk of the heroin produced in Pakistan stays right there—Pakistan now has somewhere between 1 and 2 million heroin addicts—more than twice as many as the United States. According



to one recent estimate, one in nine males between 15 and 30 in Karachi is addicted to heroin. And this is a recent phenomenon—12 years ago Pakistan had no heroin addicts.

Agriculture has always been relatively marginal in many parts of the NWFP, but opium has thrived. For decades opium was grown and harvested there, then transported by caravan across Afghanistan and Iran to heroin refining labs in France, Sicily, and Eastern Turkey. But police crackdowns in the West and in Turkey in the 1970s, Iran's 1979 Islamic revolution, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at the same time disrupted this trade.

The drug financiers in the West and Middle East responded by teaming up with smart, tough Pathan operators to set up simple heroin production laboratories in the semi-autonomous Tribal Areas along the border between the NWFP and Afghanistan. Within 35-40 miles of Peshawar, the ancient trading center on the Pakistan side of the Khyber Pass, Pathan tribesmen still live, free of almost all interference from the government of Pakistan and operating under the protection of both vague tradition and genuine 100-year-old treaties dating from British days. Western drug enforcement authorities estimate that, at any given time, more than 100 labs are functioning free of government enforcement in these "politically inaccessible" areas (tribal areas where Pakistan government officials have no authority and may enter only with tribal permission). These labs process the opium grown in the NWFP and across the border in Afghanistan.

## The U.S. role

U.S. counter narcotics programs now account for more than \$150-million per year in assistance to other countries (this is distinct from A.I.D.-funded programs such as the Gadoon-Amizai Project in Pakistan). These programs are administered by the Bureau of International Narcotics Matters (INM) headed by an assistant secretary, who is responsible for all U.S. counter-narcotics policy beyond the borders of the United States. While the bulk of these expenditures go to the large programs in the Andean coca-producing countries—Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia—there have been programs in the Asian heroin-producing countries since the 1970s. Today there are significant programs in Pakistan and Thailand,

each under the direction of the ambassador coordinating the work of the Drug Enforcement Administration, A.I.D., and the State Bureau of International Narcotics Matters.

INM's Pakistan program is funded at about \$5-7 million per year. While far smaller than programs in Latin America, it is one of the broadest and most extensive programs anywhere. More than half of the funds go to the crop control program-rural development programs that are designed to bring development to remote, opium-growing areas, provide alternative cash crops to opium farmers, and help the government of Pakistan open up hitherto "inaccessible" areas to enforcement of the ban on opium cultivation. There is equipment and training for law enforcement agencies charged with drug enforcement. Finally, there is a relatively small demand-reduction program, designed to help Pakistan combat its growing addiction problem.

Each of these projects is designed specifically to further U.S. counter-narcotics objectives in Pakistan:

- to reduce opium cultivation in the NWFP;
- to induce the government of Pakistan to arrest, prosecute, convict and imprison major drug traffickers;
- to shut down heroin production labs and bring their operators to justice; and
- to extradite from Pakistan alleged traffickers indicted in U.S. courts.

The crop control program is managed from the Narcotics Affairs Section's Peshawar satellite office, headed by a retired A.I.D. officer with nearly three decades of experience in the rural areas of Asia. He is assisted by two Pakistani engineers and two agricultural specialists. Its efforts are currently focused on Bajaur and Mohmand Agencies, semi-autonomous tribal areas northwest of Peshawar on the Afghan border where, along with nearby Dir District (where there is a similar UN-sponsored project), more than 75 percent of the opium poppy grown in Pakistan is cultivated.

The embassy's counter narcotics policy is that INM money must be spent in a clearly focused manner to ensure that U.S. counter-narcotics goals are met. Thus, the crop control program is principally directed toward road building in the tribal areas. Once a road is built into a hitherto inaccessible, poppy-growing valley, government of Pakistan authorities are at least theoretically able to patrol and enforce the ban on opium cultivation.

## Warrior culture

It sounds simple, but it is not always easy. In one confrontation a few years ago (fictionalized effectively in the British television series "Traffic"), nearly a dozen farmers were killed trying to defend their poppy crops against government paramilitary forces.

The tribesmen do not easily accept central government authority. After all, they fought the British to a standstill for decades (skirmishes were still being fought against the Mahsuds of South Waziristan as World War II began). Today, in the wake of the Afghan war, they are better armed than ever. Every male has an AK-47 (women count for very little in this extreme example of a warrior culture; in fact, they are seldom even seen), and automatic weapons are openly carried on the roads and in the villages. One can see men walking down the road with rocket launchers on their shoulders-for use against their clan enemies. And any tribal chief worth his salt has his own Soviet-made 14.5-mm towed anti-aircraft gun. Rockets, missiles, grenade launchers, mortars—all are available in the local markets. And they are not for show. The martial Pathan culture demands that they be used—in feuds, in routine highway lawlessness, or just for show.

Nevertheless, word of the benefits offered by NAS projects—good roads, drinking water projects, improved agriculture, jobs—filters out into even the most remote valleys and is not without its attraction for these fiercely independent people. The Peshawar-based project engineers—both native Pushtu speakers—traveled regularly off the roads into the far-flung back country and met the people. The people are not always friendly, and their experiences are sometimes a bit frightening (like the time their jeep was surrounded by 35 unsmiling, heavily armed tribesmen who wanted an explanation for their presence in this "closed" valley). Fortunately, more wanted NAS's projects than didn't. The crop-control program is moving forward, and the areas where opium is grown are shrinking year by year.

## The enforcers

The law enforcement project has been harder to get started. Corruption remains a problem in all South Asian police forces—the average policeman in Pakistan earns less than \$40 per month—and years of martial rule by the army under former President Zia left the police a second class force, underequipped and plagued by poor morale. Investigative techniques are at best fledgling. DEA's 15 agents stationed at the embassy and in Lahore, Karachi, and Peshawar are charged with working directly with the Pakistani police agencies, not only to make their own cases, but also to train the local agencies to upgrade their enforcement capabilities.

There have been improvements during the past year, as Pakistan's para-military border forces, particularly the legendary Frontier Corps along the Afghan border, under instructions from the prime minister, have taken a new interest in going after drug smugglers. INM's response has been to work hand-in-glove with the DEA to assist the para-military

organizations. The NAS has the money to provide the equipment and training that is needed. DEA has the manpower and expertise to name the organizations best able to make use of assistance, and to work closely with them to ensure that the assistance is effectively used. Under the leadership of the ambassador and the DEA Country attache, State-DEA cooperation began to bear fruit in late 1990 after the Frontier Corps in Balochistan seized 1,741 kilograms of heroin—apparently the largest heroin seizure ever—following an all-night gun battle with an encampment of heavily armed smugglers near the Afghan border southwest of Quetta. The smugglers escaped—they outgunned even the Frontier Corps with an anti-aircraft artillery piece roped to the bed of a pickup truck—but they left their dope behind.

Not all law-enforcement projects are immediate successes. For example, it has taken more than two years to get the federal anti-narcotics elite investigative unit established. Other non-functioning past projects have led to the shut-off of assistance by the embassy. But the apparent commitment of Nawaz Sharif's government to genuine enforcement lends hope for their future.

## Saying no

The third and smallest project area, demand reduction, focused originally on funding seminars and media campaigns to help persuade Pakistanis, especially the elite, that narcotics really is Pakistan's own problem, not just one for the West. Cheap, readily available heroin is ruining thousands of lives in Pakistan. An addict can feed his habit for under \$2 a day in Pakistan, where heroin is cooked on a piece of tinfoil and the fumes inhaled (it's called "chasing the dragon") rather than injected. Pakistan's leaders are beginning to recognize the extent of the heroin problem. Consequently, the focus of NAS's demand-reduction program has shifted to funding community-level outreach projects and teacher education. In these projects, NAS has worked very closely with the UN Drug Control Program (UNDCP). In one unique project, the embassy NAS is funding a program that was developed and is managed by the UNDCP. This cooperation was put together and implemented at the local level.

As long as there is a demand for drugs, people will find a way to make money supplying them. There are no silver bullets in Pakistan, just as none have been found in the United States. There have been disappointments with U.S.-funded programs in the past and there will be more in the future. But the embassy, DEA, and INM are strongly motivated to persevere. The effort is worth continuing. ■

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*Joseph Linprecht was counselor for Narcotics Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad 1988-91. He is currently deputy director of the Office of Israel and Arab-Israeli Affairs, Bureau of Near East and South Asian Affairs. The opinions expressed are the author's and not those of The Department of State.*

# Imitation

## and the New Industrialists

### Why some countries don't buy intellectual property rights

BY ROBERT E. EVENSON

**D**uring the 1980s, the United States repeatedly charged that a group of developing countries were stealing its intellectual property. The accused tended to be the Newly Industrialized Economies (NIEs), or they were near-NIEs. Frustrated by the ineffectiveness of traditional intellectual property rights (IPR) conventions, the United States and other developed countries have recently turned to international trade law and agreements to regulate intellectual property claims. Primarily, the United States has used section 301 of the U.S. Trade Acts (1975 and 1988), along with a multilateral initiative to incorporate intellectual property rights into the GATT negotiations.

Will this route lead the United States to success? To answer the question, it is useful to examine which countries tend to violate IPR conventions, and why.

#### Real-world failures

Traditional IPR conventions have failed. To understand why, consider one example: IPRs for inventions. Within a particular country patent laws are designed to:

- Stimulate inventive effort by providing incentives to inventors enabling them to "sell" their inventions;
- "Remove inventions from secrecy," enabling potential imitators to make imitative or adaptive inventions;
- Obligate purchasers or users of inventions to pay license and royalty fees to the holders of patent rights (for a limited period of time).

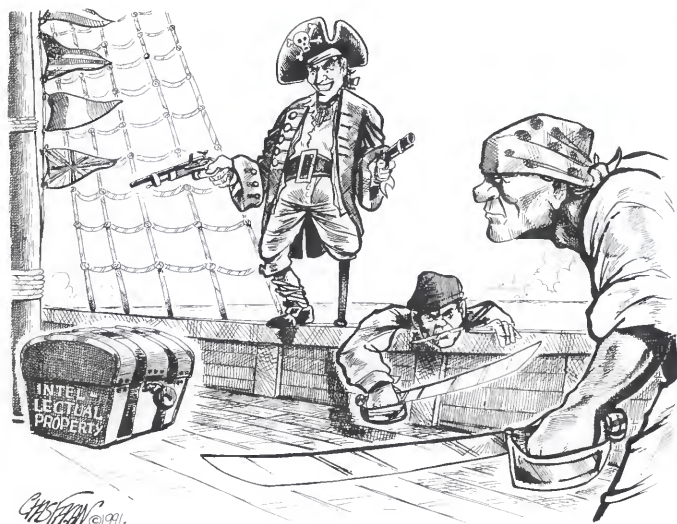
Inherent in the arrangement is a conflict between buyers and sellers of patent rights. Buyers would prefer to pay nothing for inventions. But without IPRs, inventions would not be produced. Hence IPRs constitute a "social bargain" that is in the interests of sellers and buyers collectively.

When two similar countries agree to recognize the IPRs of inventors from other countries, they effectively expand the market for inventions, and this constitutes a strengthening of IPRs. Thus two countries with both sellers (inventors) and buyers (licensees) will find workable a simple agreement calling for "national treatment." National treatment gives foreign inventors the same rights as national inventors, as required by the Paris convention for patents. National buyers will be obligated to recognize the IPRs of foreigners and

hence "pay" for the rights to use inventions that they might otherwise simply copy or reproduce. In return, national sellers will have expanded markets and rights to sell in other countries, and this increases the incentives to invent in both countries.

But consider this arrangement for two types of developing countries. In one case, the developing country is very poor, engages in little R&D, and generally lacks the institutions to effectively administer an IPR system. It does only a minor amount of adaptive invention. This country has no inventions to sell to the developed country; it imports inventions and naturally wishes to import on the best terms possible. It lacks the skills required for large-scale copying and reproduction of inventions originating abroad. It usually contracts with foreign firms to purchase engineering and technical services along with capital goods. IPRs are largely irrelevant to this type of technology exchange, because the seller usually sells IPRs through these larger contracts.

The second type of developing country, as typified by the NIEs, has invested in and achieved a considerable capacity to "reverse engineer" and copy the inventions of developed countries. It has significant numbers of trained



personnel. It has usually adopted an international export-oriented commercial policy stance and aggressively seeks to import technology in many forms on the best terms. However, even though it has substantial inventive capacity and research and development, it remains uncompetitive in selling inventions to developed countries. Its comparative advantage is in imitative adaptive invention, and thus, in developed countries, its imitations are of less value than the originals. These countries, on one hand, can copy and reverse engineer as well as screen and search for specific inventions. On the other, they lack incentives to recognize the rights of exporters. This combination provides powerful incentives to infringe upon the IPRs of foreigners.

### Easy prey

While oversimplified, this basic logic explains why IPR infringement is not an issue between similar developed countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), why it is an unimportant issue between OECD and poor developing countries, and why it is extremely important between OECD countries and the NIEs and near NIEs.

The logic applies with some modification to copyright and trademark issues as well. The modification is that a broader range of countries are able to copy items protected by copyright and trademark laws than are able to reproduce inventions. And even the poorest countries have the infrastructure to sell (as opposed to produce) such materials.

Very few developing countries are willing to invite international hostility by directly refusing to recognize the IPRs of foreigners. Most have some form of IPR system and most belong to the international conventions, but their IPR systems are generally weak, with limited protection for certain inventions (e.g., pharmaceuticals and food-related inventions). Violations of the IPRs of foreigners occur in spite of these laws because of lax administration and compliance.

### The "moral" cure

One approach to a remedy to the existing IPR "problem" from the perspective of developed countries is to invoke a natural rights case for stronger sanctions. This moral argument maintains that an inventor, writer, or artist has a natural right to exclude others from using or copying an invention, a

book, record, or film. There is, however, a competing moral or natural right argument. This is the "common heritage" or public good argument, which holds that many creative acts are the common heritage of mankind and should be enjoyed by all.

Patent laws clearly recognize the common heritage argument by excluding concepts, ideas, and naturally occurring materials from patent protection on common heritage grounds. Furthermore, they explicitly limit protection for eligible inventions to a fixed period, and they recognize the social bargain inherent in patent protection. Thus for patent laws, the natural rights case is probably untenable and is so regarded by most policy-makers.

For copyrights, the case for natural rights is stronger. Almost all would agree that plagiarism is a violation of natural rights, but many poor countries also argue that writers and artists have a common heritage obligation. Thus, they argue that copying without plagiarism should be allowable under the public good or common heritage argument. For trademarks, the case for natural rights is very strong. It is basically the case for protection from plagiarism.

If the OECD countries hope to achieve remedies through international (natural rights) law mechanisms, they will have to do so specifically for trademarks and possibly copyrights. Little is likely to be obtained by making a general case for all IPRs.

### Everybody's best interest

A second approach is to convince developing countries that stronger IPRs (including the IPRs of foreigners) are in their own real interest.

Economists have directed little attention to this problem and probably would not reach much consensus on it. It would appear, however, that the present system in general does not serve the interests of developing countries. Weak IPR systems with lax administration do not provide enough incentives for domestic R&D and invention or for the commercialization of inventions. The successful NIEs have achieved this capacity by using other incentives, for example, public sector support for

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training and research. Stronger IPRs in all developing countries would probably have facilitated additional R&D, and most would benefit from this.

Most developing countries base their IPR policies on international trade issues; few have sought to devise IPR systems that favor domestic inventors, writers, and artists. In fact, many IPR systems in developed countries are actually biased against domestic inventors. (Patent applications from abroad have already been examined, making them easier to deal with than domestic applications). Stronger IPRs would thus make a positive contribution in the form of stronger incentives to invent, write, or create in developing countries.

### Contributing to growth

From the perspective of developing countries, inventions are in a more important policy category than are books, records, and designer clothes. This is because inventions are, in large part, producer goods and as such they are an integral part of the economic and productivity growth process. Many inventions are "process" inventions: improvements in production technology. Others are "product" inventions where the product is to be used in producing other goods. Only a few inventions are "final" consumer product inventions. Copyrighted and trademarked goods, on the other hand, are in large part final consumer goods.

Stronger systems for recognizing the rights of foreign inventors have two effects on developing countries. First, for countries with the capacity to copy or reproduce, stronger IPRs will raise the direct cost of importing technology. Second, stronger IPRs will also stimulate domestic legal imitative invention. This legal imitative invention occurs in all societies and is important to the overall process of technological development. Legal imitative invention in developing countries has the advantage that it is "adaptive" in that it responds to local factor endowment conditions. The option to simply copy technology reduces incentives for imitative invention.

Are the benefits to developing countries worth the costs of a stronger

IPR regime? This depends on the country. For most NIEs, the present option to offer weak IPR protection to foreigners may be in their best interest. In the poorer countries, where stronger IPRs probably don't raise the real price of imported technology, the benefits of stronger IPRs probably exceed the costs. The range of countries over which the gains might exceed the losses will be widened if developing countries can develop IPR systems with a domestic bias.

Strengthening IPR systems with a bias toward domestic inventions is certainly a good idea, however. The utility model (or petty patent, for minor inventions) is well suited for this purpose. It is used in several countries (e.g. Japan and South Korea) to stimulate adaptive domestic invention. A country

*Many poor developing countries may gain from a GATT system, which will at least force them to give more consideration to their domestic technology policy. But advanced developing countries will probably lose from a GATT system. These losses will be lowered if they develop stronger domestic IPRs as a result.*

might also aggressively encourage domestic inventions and provide low-cost domestic patent services.

For copyrighted materials, the argument that countries gain from stronger domestic incentives holds as well. It is also relevant to note that when copyrighted goods (e.g., designer clothes) are illegally copied and sold for low prices in developing countries, many of the sales are made to customers who would not have purchased the item if priced at a copyrighted price. The large "pirated" markets for records, etc. are usually not markets "taken away" from the copyright holder. Thus, developing countries have much more to lose from stronger IPR protection to foreigners than foreign IPR holders have to gain.

### Flank attack

Because of this failure of traditional IPR conventions, the United States has been turning to bilateral trade actions through section 301 and special 301 and multilateral trade actions through the GATT. Although these remedies are clearly in the interest of developed countries, they come with high costs: they sour feelings toward the initiating country. The United States has probably lost some international goodwill because of its actions under section 301, and the loss has been incurred to placate specific interest groups in the United States. Removing special trade privileges that were negotiated on an understanding that the IPRs were not a trade issue is not exactly gracious diplomacy.

Many poor developing countries may gain from a GATT system, which will at least force them to give more consideration to their domestic technology policy. But advanced developing countries will probably lose from a GATT system. These losses will be lowered if they develop stronger domestic IPRs as a result. Unfortunately, the thrust of the bilateral and even the multilateral initiatives is to protect the IPRs of foreigners, not of producers in developing countries. It is unlikely, therefore, to directly induce renewed concern with IPRs for nationals, although it could indirectly have that effect.

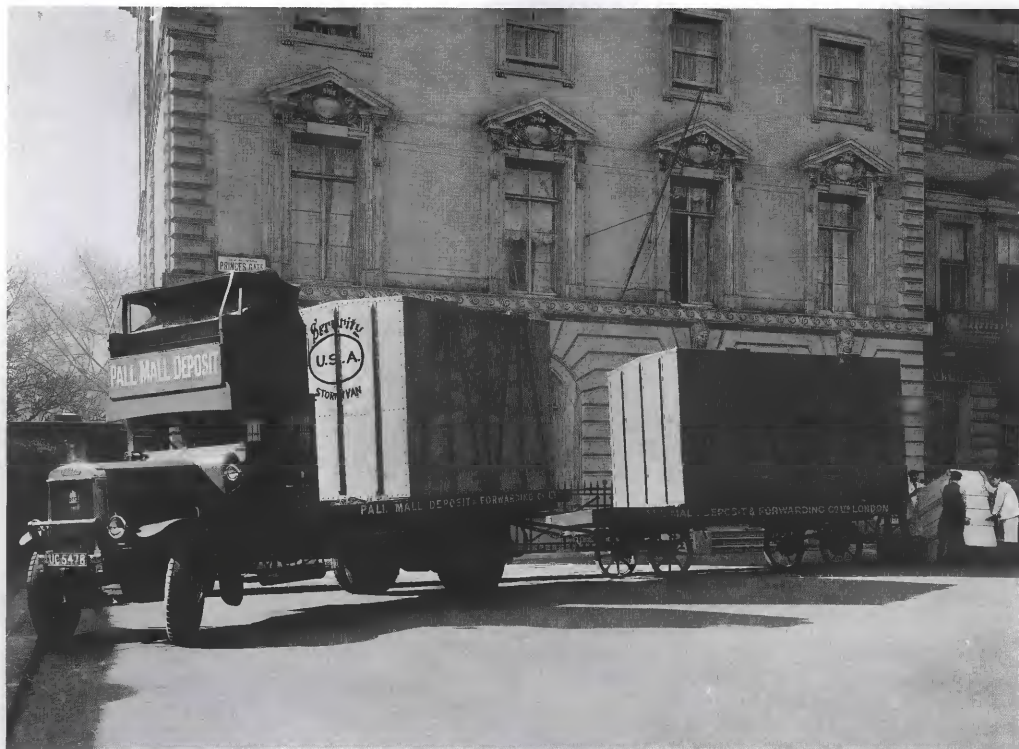
### A case for compensation

Do the developing countries have a case for "compensation" for opening up their technology markets to foreigners? It would appear so. They are being asked to remove barriers to imports of inventions, etc. Are these barriers any different from other import barriers? Do they really constitute unfair practices more than import quotas? One could argue that they are not different from other import barriers and that the case for negotiation in GATT is therefore on a par with negotiations over other trade barriers.

Will stronger IPRs improve global welfare? Probably. The GATT outcomes are a "second-best" solution to a complex problem. But they are an improvement over existing institutions. ■

*Robert E. Evenson is professor of economics at Yale University.*

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# BOOKS

## The Consular Past

**THE AMERICAN CONSUL:  
A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES  
CONSULAR SERVICE, 1776-1914**

By *Charles Stuart Kennedy*.  
Greenwood Press, 1990, \$39.95  
hardcover

Reviewed by *Betsy L. Anderson*

In this pleasurable and educational account, Stu Kennedy contributes an important study to the history of United States foreign relations. Rich in historical anecdote, *The American Consul* is a voyage in time, a vivid description of the consul's role in the emergence of the nation in the 19th century.

Retired from the service in the early 1980s, Kennedy has devoted the last several years to directing a Foreign

Service oral history project at Georgetown University. He describes this book as the product of his search for his professional roots. The book fills that gap for the entire Consular Service, giving us an important frame of reference for considering consular management problems today.

Even in the early days of the nation, there was a clear class distinction between consuls and diplomatic envoys. Diplomats served in the capitals of a very few countries; consuls were sent wherever trade flourished. A diplomat, most often from an influential family, was at home in the court life of Europe; a consul, most probably from the merchant class, was required to feel at home in seaports teeming with humanity from all over the globe. One is led to consider how this distinction has endured to the present day, as the service faces yet another reorganization plan which

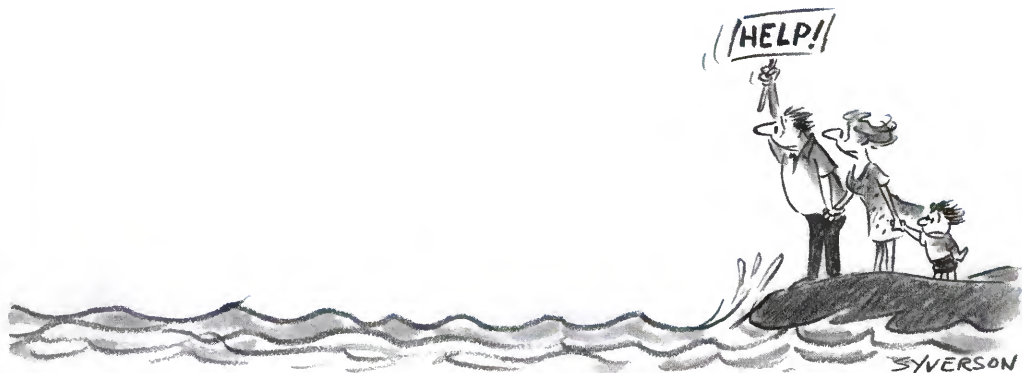
suggests dividing "substantive" from "managerial" officers.

Kennedy chronicles the struggle the consular service faced in attempting to achieve some form of continuity and professional stature. Drawn entirely from political appointments, the early consuls were a mixed lot, many with reputations for drunkenness, licentiousness, and graft. Salaries were set at the time Congress established a consulate and were seldom increased. In the early days, consuls were expected to make a living from fees, but this policy predictably produced a great opportunity for corruption, since most consuls were personally involved in trade at their ports of assignment. Despite occasional rumblings from the public and in Congress, a bill regularizing a professional Consular Service, with a career ladder and opportunity for transfer between posts, was not



In one example of consular autonomy, the American Consul William Eaton (in cocked hat) started from Egypt in March 1805 with eight United States Marines, 38 Greeks, 300 Arabs, and an unemployed pasha (left), to attack Tripoli from the rear. The little army marched across 600 miles of desert and captured the port of Derne before President Jefferson suddenly called off the war.

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## BOOKS

passed until 1906.

Today's consular officers will recognize some of the services provided and problems encountered by their predecessors. Destitute citizens, in those days mainly sailors, had to be provided with subsistence allowances and onward transportation. While

*Even in the early days of the nation, there was a clear class distinction between consuls and diplomatic envoys. Diplomats served in the capitals of a very few countries; consuls were sent wherever trade flourished. A diplomat, most often from an influential family, was at home in the court life of Europe; a consul, most probably from the merchant class, was required to feel at home in seaports teeming with humanity from all over the globe.*

Americans abroad were not generally required to carry passports, a consul could issue one upon demand. Consuls were responsible for the effects of deceased Americans. Then, as now, citizens do not like to be told what to do by their government: consuls in the Barbary States tried to warn merchant ships away from their ports during a

war in the early 19th century, fearing their citizens would be captured and held prisoner. Merchant captains, scenting profit, did not comply, and Americans soon filled the Moroccan jails.

Provisions of extraterritoriality in some places made the consul an absolute authority among his countrymen. Consuls maintained jails in most ports; the consul himself was judge and jury for most criminal cases involving

Americans. While today we would consider any such provisions a clear violation of a country's sovereignty, there was great precedent for it: the ancient Egyptians set up a Greek city on their territory for the purpose of engaging in extensive trade without subjecting themselves to the polluting influence of foreigners.

Nineteenth century consuls faced hardships we find hard to imagine today. Many died from tropical diseases; some were lost at sea on their way to and from posts. Still, their initiatives in disaster relief and human rights reporting foreshadowed some of the more important foreign relations items on our present policy agenda.

Kennedy's book invites discourse on another important issue. To the early consuls, the facilitation of trade was the *raison d'être*—the bread-and-butter issue. Wealthy or up-and-coming entrepreneurs lobbied hard to have consulates established in the ports where they had commercial interests. Trade facilitation has given way to protection and welfare of American citizens, a function much harder to put a value on. Compare: at the end of the Civil War, there were 644 consular posts. Today, the posts offering consular services number 249.

***Betsy Anderson is a Foreign Service officer serving in the Bureau of Consular Affairs.***

## Intelligence in a Multipolar World

### U.S. FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE: THE SECRET SIDE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

By Charles D. Ameringer, Lexington Books, 1990, \$24.95 hardcover

### THE CIA AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

By Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, Yale University Press, 1989, \$30 hardcover, \$14.95 softcover

### LEADERS AND INTELLIGENCE

Edited by Michael I. Handel, Frank Cass & Co., 1989, \$29.50 hardcover, \$15 softcover

### Reviewed by John D. Stempel

Robert Gates' confirmation hearings to be CIA director revived many of the issues involving intelligence in a democracy that arose in 1947 when the CIA was created, were hashed over by the Church committee nearly 20 years ago, and moved again to center stage in the Iran-Contra affair. This time, however, the debate about intelligence is taking place in an environment radically changed from that of 1974 to 1977 and a decade later.

*Glasnost, perestroika*, and the collapse of the Soviet Union's East European empire have been accompanied by China's in-turning after Tiananmen Square and the emergence of economic issues as the main stuff of foreign policy. These events have dramatically changed the landscape for discussing intelligence problems. Some may protest that the Gulf War marked the reemergence of more standard politico-military issues. While true, it remains to be seen how significant this proves in the future. In any case, aside from certain kinds of tactical military intelligence, the Gulf War and its aftermath also reaffirmed the reemergence of "humint," or human intelligence (as opposed to techint, or technical intelligence) as an important, if recently neglected, factor.

The three books discussed here present solid history and background on intelligence and its evolution for America in the post-World War II period. The best overall presentation is Ameringer's analysis of the "secret side" of American history from colonial days to the present. Jeffreys-Jones offers a much more thorough, in-depth look at

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the contemporary (since 1947) period. Handel's compilation of excellent essays deals with many intelligence issues familiar to diplomats—though the book draws primarily on military sources (not surprisingly, since it grew out of three international conferences from April 1986 to May 1988 on "Intelligence and Military Operations" at the U.S. Army War College).

Both Ameringer and Jeffreys-Jones deal with critical issues of intelligence in a democracy—the problems of political control, keeping the CIA out of politics, and the relationship of "pure" intelligence-gathering to covert operations (and what role such operations should have). On professional issues, while acknowledging that this has its disadvantages, Ameringer shares former CIA officer and State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research chief Ray Cline's belief that analysis should be separated from operations. He also believes that intelligence oversight by an independent commission is necessary, dryly noting that, "Presidents have not historically done a good job of policing themselves."

Jeffreys-Jones focuses more on the CIA's bureaucratic weakness and what he calls "supine" agency leadership on more than one occasion. Asserting that "there has never been a conspicuous, high-level resignation-in-protest from the CIA," he argues that the key issue is whether and how the CIA should be involved in policy-making and how political manipulation of the intelligence product can be avoided or minimized. While they both would probably applaud the appointment of a career intelligence officer from the analytical rather than the operational side of the CIA, both Jeffrey-Jones and Ameringer would certainly question the replacement of Judge Webster by Robert Gates because of his Iran-Contra involvement.

But the essays in Handel's volume demonstrate substantial malaise in the relationship between leaders and their intelligence officers and organizational components. Noting in his opening essay, "Before the 20th century, the political or military leader could still be successful as his own intelligence officer," Handel says the expanding need for all types of intelligence and the importance of intelligence for a leader's

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## BOOKS

decisions tend inevitably to politicize the intelligence community—especially in areas such as combating low-intensity violence and terrorism.

In an outstanding essay on "Commanding Generals and the Use of Intelligence," Dr. Harold Deutsch shows how personality factors and questions of timing influence a leader's receptivity to intelligence. He is particularly disturbing when he speaks of lessons not learned from World War I to World War II. In this he echoes the information provided in other books about intelligence failures. It would be useful to have some case studies from diplomacy on non-military issues to set beside some of the military ones.

Whether taking in just one or all three of these books, the reader may still have difficulty discerning which is the greater barrier to effective intelligence—the organizational problems of democracy, professional issues of collection and analysis, or individual ego problems of leaders and intelligence specialists. What remains clear from reading any of these books set against contemporary discussion of Gulf War intelligence failures is that there are still time-honored issues that need to be addressed on a continuing basis.

*John D. Stempel teaches at the Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce at the University of Kentucky.*

## Waiting for the Foreign Service Novel

THE EIGHTH CONTINENT: TALES OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE

By Philip Gould, Algonquin Books, 1991, \$17.95 hardcover

Reviewed by Anne Stevenson-Yang

"At twenty-five, three years behind the century, believing in nothing, Stefan, Count Z\_\_\_\_, toyed with ending his life." Thus begins the new novel by Philip Gould, a retired Foreign Service officer, with elements of

displaced Old European anomie, fallen nobility, and 20th-century violence familiar to us all and rendered without originality. Only this opening salvo does not lead us to the main story in *Eighth Continent*. The line is a quote from a novel written by "Stefan," a Polish refugee nobleman, lost in a changed Europe, who haunts the background of Gould's second piece of fiction.

Parallel to Stefan's story and eventually overtaking it is the union of

*The Foreign Service life contains ample material for the focused analysis fiction affords: the relativity and sense of remove engendered by so wide experience, the manufactured, village-like communities flung up at foreign posts, the singularity of a child's experience, the duplicity suggested by the routines of protocol. The Foreign Service could use a few good novels.*

*Perhaps Gould will try again.*

Stefan's biographer, Caroline, with the Foreign Service hero, Charlie McKay and their subsequent posting to Calcutta, engendering of a family, and disillusionment with politicking and transience in the service. Although related with the flatness—but without the observational rigor—of a reporting cable, this second story contains the obscured matrix of a true novel. But the author seems to doubt that, having witnessed the titanic displacements of war, the follies of the rich, miseries of the poor, and abortive political longings of the aggrieved, he could find in his own life episodes of sufficient consequence for a novel. He wrote one just the same.

*The Eighth Continent* contains three "tales," noncommittally strung together into a novel. The first is dominated by the trite Stefan and Caroline, who falls half in love with Stefan's Old World erudition and indefinable sadness. Fulfilling a sophomorically expressed ideal of altruism, Stefan disappears into Hungary during the 1956 uprising and is abruptly dropped from the narrative. Mourning little, Caroline transposes her affections (without plausible explanation) to Charlie, the American cipher. Their union is described in livid prose that is probably intended to be suggestive but sounds coy: "Wide-eyed, Caroline sank into

snowy billows of eiderdown. Arched as a longbow, wheeling, she drew the perfect angle and drew him skyrocketing to discovery." The pair being old-fashioned and god-fearing, they marry and, offstage, bear two children, Richard and Meredith, who appear in cameos only to provide the main characters with faux-naïf straight lines such as (about the corrupt new kids on the block) "They make fun of us because we go to church and say our prayers at night."

Marriage brings Charlie and Caroline into the second "tale," the best of the three, since it focuses on what Gould presumably knows best—the Foreign Service. In Calcutta, the McKays spend most of their time among backbiting colleagues, ruined children, and Indian society figures who would be entertaining if they were allowed more of a chance to speak. Settling in at post, Gould writes more engagingly, as he describes his own version of evil personified, his ambitious young colleague Tony Greer and Greer's beautiful, jaded, and godless family. Both the adult Greers flirt with homosexuality, which is a recurrent emblem for Gould of dastardliness, and they walk around their house naked. Despite the heavy crepe of condemnation on the prose in this section, we begin to like the Greers, since at least they are not the ditchwater-dull McKays, for whom a stimulating conversation begins "Penny for your thoughts." But giving in to the Foreign Service urge not to settle down, Gould leaves the Greers behind and sends Charlie to his third "tale" on R&R in the Seychelles.

The third episode is meant to tie the others together with a ponderous moral rope. Laboring through the glutinous plot he has forced upon himself, Gould picks up the theme of a "gratuitous good act" enunciated by Stefan in the

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## BOOKS

first tale. The novel's pallid prose proves unable to conjure the air of supernatural evil and the suspension of disbelief required for this incoherent denouement. The tale ends among sloppy coincidences and a drowning—the probable source of the reference to the “eighth continent”—with all the narrative grace of an episode of the Batman TV series, when, having tied Batman to a sawmill's conveyor belt, the Penguin describes his *modus operandi* in great detail and leaves the hero alone to escape. Anyway, Charlie manages to find Stefan again then goes home to write the travel book he had always carried close to his heart. Or, perhaps he wrote a novel.

The Foreign Service life contains ample material for the focused analysis fiction affords: the relativity and sense of remove engendered by so wide experience, the manufactured, village-like communities flung up at foreign posts, the singularity of a child's

experience, the duplicity suggested by the routines of protocol. The Foreign Service could use a few good novels. Perhaps Gould will try again.

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

### Between the Lines

#### THE MEDIA AND FOREIGN POLICY

*Edited by Simon Serfaty, St. Martin's Press, 1990, \$45 hardcover*

#### Reviewed by Thomas McNamara

Here is an inside-the-beltway book, if there ever was one, with an “outside the beltway” section tacked on at the end as an afterthought. The book has little to do with reporting foreign news or informing public opinion. It is about influence: who has it, who doesn't, who should have it, and why.

The main focus is on the way the media influence the making of foreign policy. “Setting the agenda” is a catch phrase running through many of the essays, as 17 authors try to discern whether and to what extent the media

or the executive branch determines foreign policy and the interests of the United States as it attempts to carry out a coherent foreign policy.

Fortunately, the beltway homogeneity is diluted by the conflicting interests of the authors (journalists, academics, government officials). The result is a lively discussion of how the press should do its job in Washington and how the press and government should interact. The essays are thoughtful, well-written, and provocative.

Those who have only been journalists tend to argue against any constraints on the media. Neither are they inclined to strict accounting and self-examination of their chosen profession. Others are more willing to think about the unthinkable. Michael Ledeen suggests substantial self-censorship and restraint, and Robert Oakley argues for “guidelines,” at least for terrorist news.

Not surprising is the delicacy with which some otherwise hard-hitting journalists deal with the often abysmal defects of the Washington media. An enlightening exception is a straightforward essay, one of the best in the book,

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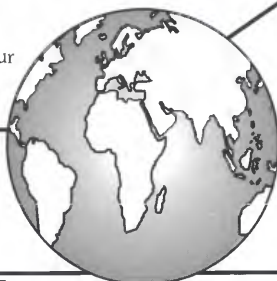
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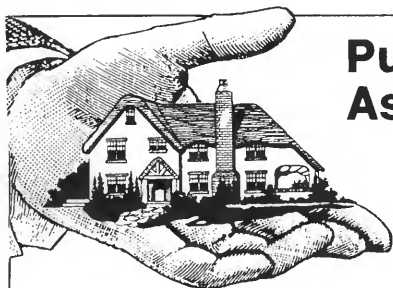
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by Daniel Gergin, whose detailing of the "teledemocracy" media raises chilling doubts about the future of American journalism—and of a news-educated populace. Another exception is Richard Burt's critique of his fellow journalists. Gergin and Burt have been on both sides of the government-media frontier, an advantage that shows in this kind of book.

What these essays give short shrift to (with some exceptions) is the important matter of the role and responsibility of the journalist to report the news accurately and with nuance. There is ample indication that "pack," "herd," "parachute," "adversary," and "confrontational" journalism is seriously corrupting news reporting to the American public. CNN's *Headline News*, *USA Today*, local *Eyewitness News*, etc. are only the worst examples of a generalized decline in foreign news reporting. No longer does the press inform the public as well as it should, and that, in a democracy, undermines rational, coherent foreign policy formulation and decision.

It is this basic fault that underlies much of the confusion in Washington and in the nation about what is going on in the world, where our true interests lie, what the issues are. Telling the story is what American journalists used to do best; it is time they got back to it. As Marvin Kalb says in his contribution, they used to be "scholars in trenchcoats" who would carefully consider and research what they wrote, putting it in perspective. But not any more. There is no time to stop and think. And unthinking skepticism and criticism is destructive, not constructive.

Philip Geyelin acknowledges that the frenzy of today's journalism can lead to distortion, exaggeration, sensationalism, and simply missing the point. But then he drops that subject to worry about "agenda" setting. If the media would get back to basics, conveying information, we would probably find that an arcane debate about who sets the "agenda" would not loom so large. ■

*Thomas McNamara, former U.S. ambassador to Colombia, currently serves at the National Security Council.*

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*Despatch from U.S. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Peru, Isaac P. Christiancy, to Secretary of State William Evarts, 1881*



## UNDER SIEGE IN LIMA

*Isaac Christiancy was American envoy and minister to Peru when the War of the Pacific broke out in 1879. Peru was drawn by its alliance with Bolivia into a war against Chile. Chile emerged victorious on all fronts. This despatch recounts the capture of Lima by Chilean forces. Chilean forces still occupied Lima when Christiancy departed post in mid-1881. A peace treaty was not signed until 1883.*

Lima, January 22, 1881

Sir:

Lima was quietly surrendered to the Chilean forces on the 17th instant. I wished and intended to have given you a detailed account of the events and causes which have led to this result. But on the 15th instant, at 2 o'clock p.m., I went with the whole diplomatic corps to Miraflores, some 5 miles (in a direct line) from Lima, to receive from President Pierola his answer to the terms offered by the Chilean general, Baguedano, through the committee of our diplomatic corps. We found Pierola and his staff at breakfast in a large house at Miraflores, and some of his officers were just coming out from the table, when a single heavy gun was heard, and in less than a minute the battle opened along the whole lines, and at a distance of but about 80 rods south of us, the shot, even from the small arms, pattering thick and fast upon the buildings around us, and the air being filled with flying shells exploding all around us. It is not yet fully known who fired the first gun, but it is, I think, quite evident that both the Chilean commander and Pierola were equally taken

by surprise, and the probability is that it was the unauthorized act of some subaltern officer.

The diplomatic corps fled to the rear towards Lima for their lives and got somewhat scattered, some of them reaching the railroad train (which had taken us out, . . . and some, like myself, endeavoring to strike the railroad ahead of the train, being cut off by walls and ditches, were compelled to walk a devious course back to Lima.

I was one of the latter unfortunate class, was under the shells of the Chilean fleet and army, falling thick around me, for two hours before I could get out of range, climbing smooth perpendicular walls between fields and around chacras and old buildings, wading water-courses, and traveling some 8 miles to get 4 miles ahead, until my muscular powers were thoroughly exhausted; finding on my return some 600 to 700 refugees, women and children, in the legation, who had sought asylum there, and before 9 o'clock at night over 1,200 which increased next day and night to over 1,500 of all nationalities, and all this while more than half the time I was unable to stand upon my feet from the fatigue.

I have just got rid of the refugees, but the strain upon my muscular powers has been such that even yet I cannot walk or stand for half the time, and yet I am constantly besieged with complaints from Americans, Swiss, and Colombians against depredations upon their persons or property from the Chilean soldiery, which I endeavor to get redressed as well as I can.

I will only say here that, from all the reports I hear from every quarter, the Chileans killed all the Peruvian

wounded they found upon the field. They deliberately burned Chorillos, after all necessity for such outrages had ended. They did the same with Barranca and Miraflores; and since all the fighting has been over they burned sugar plantations with standing cane upon them. They have robbed, as I am informed, some haciendas belonging to Colombian citizens, under the protection of this legation, and I fear, also, some belongings to Americans.

The Chileans have, as yet, behaved remarkably well in Lima, and thus far respected their promise to protect life and property; and I must do their officers the justice to say, I think they intend to enforce order in the city and to treat the inhabitants kindly.

Pierola, who constitutes the only recognized government of Peru, was last heard of at Canta, some 50 miles northeast of Lima. He is at present supposed to intend to arouse the interior to arms. But he has no money or arms, and, I think, would have acted more wisely if he had remained here. The Chileans, I feel quite sure, would have treated him kindly, and recognized him as the only government with which they could treat for peace. I think they would be glad to have him return for that purpose. I am quite unable to write to you further to-day, as I am scarcely able to be out of bed.

I have, &c.

I.P. CHRISTIANCY



## Governing Board retreat: A plan of action

by Hume Horan  
President

In the new foreign affairs scene, communism has gone the way of the Holy Roman Empire, and increasingly, issues can't be addressed by military power. Current issues include economic development, ethnic and religious assertiveness, population growth, intellectual property, narcotics, refugees, science and technology, and the impact of America's example and ideals on foreign political insti-

tutions. What should AFSA's response to these new issues be?

Your new AFSA board held a retreat at the Xerox Conference Center in Leesburg, Virginia, from September 6-8 to discuss our role in the new world order. Attendance was impressive: 18 of 20 board members attended. We agreed that, as a professional organization, AFSA could credibly and independently point out general directions for department policy. And acting as a labor union, AFSA can

protect and advance the specific interests of our members. We can serve as a conscience for the service. We can admonish. We can nag.

### A challenge

The overwhelming new demands being made on State, A.I.D., and USIA require a different sort of response than the old exhortation "to manage our resources better and get more mileage out of what we have." The elastic in our resources waistband is already stretched taut. There is no more give. Can one expect an administration facing a \$500 billion deficit in 1991 substantially to increase outlays in foreign affairs? Under the circumstances could one suggest that some savings, some synergy (awful word) could be achieved by reexamining the current structure of our foreign affairs agencies? For instance, was it sensible to have one Foreign Service Act, but three or more entirely separate foreign affairs agencies? Could these agencies, by working more closely together, do a better job more efficiently, and carry greater weight at home and abroad?

### The USIA Challenge

Your AFSA board stands for "Continuity and Outreach." It seemed to the board that outreach should start with the United States Information Agency (USIA). Since the mid-1970s, Foreign Service people in USIA have been represented by a different union. How illogical this seemed—the agency that was

### New AFSA board holds retreat



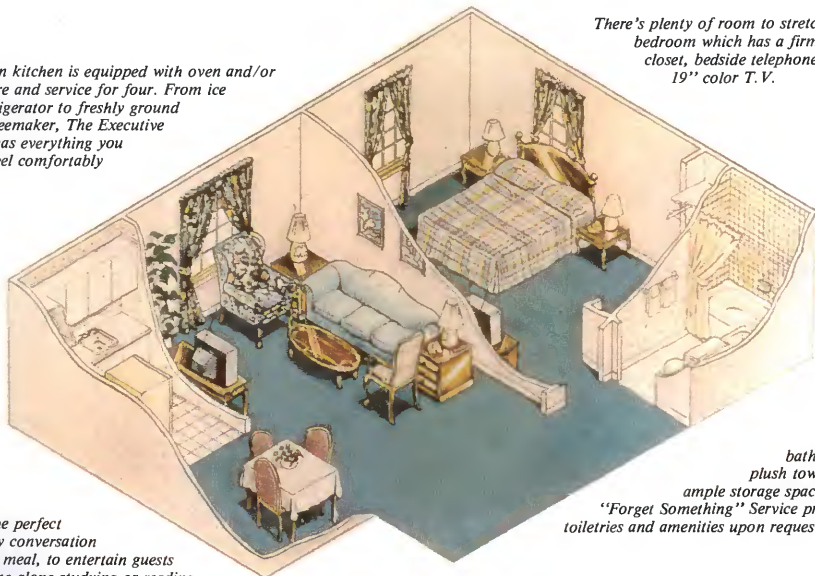
Scenes from the AFSA board retreat: President Hume Horan and State Vice President Bill Kirby (top left); board members Pat Byrne, David Schneider, and Barbara Reieux listen to a presentation (top right); the AFSA board gathers for a photo at the end of the weekend sessions.

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purveying the most explosive concepts in foreign affairs was represented by a domestically oriented labor union! If we were to make a plausible claim to represent foreign affairs professionals, we had to reincorporate the Foreign Service people of USIA. Accordingly, the board decided to give highest priority to the USIA election challenge. If successful, after elections in the spring of 1992, AFSA will become the exclusive bargaining representative for USIA. *We seek the support of USIA colleagues.* USIA's vice-president on the AFSA board, Bud Hensgen, USIA Board Representative Lauren Hale, and numerous others are organizing the AFSA effort.

### Other issues

Other issues were discussed. Some were general, such as a pro-

posed "AFSA Mission Statement," and how to encourage and contribute to management's EEO effort. Would it be desirable, for instance, for each department principal to appear at his or her alma mater to talk to minority students about a Foreign Service career? Perhaps such an effort would add credibility to the work of the Board of Examiners.

Other issues were more specific and practical: Were the new housing regulations and the "pair-cities" travel regulations too restrictive? Was management properly handling career development for Foreign Service Specialists, such as secretaries, as well as Facilities Maintenance and Information Management specialists? Why was USIA not included in the department phone directory? How should the

Foreign Service address the necessity that the modern family—even a Foreign Service family—needs two wage earners? What was the department doing about day care? Or about pending actions on decisions by the Grievance Board?

### Keep in touch

The board hopes that our retreat will stimulate reaction and comment from our AFSA membership. We want to be your professional organization, and we want the *Foreign Service Journal* to be your *New England Journal of Medicine*. We'll let you know about progress on issues mentioned in this report. But let us hear from you. With your advice and support we hope we can serve you better.

## A.I.D. Vice President

### The inspector general's vendetta

by Priscilla Del Bosque

A.I.D. has come under fire in recent weeks, charged with rampant employee misconduct. A September 26 *Washington Post* editorial, "Getting Aid to A.I.D.," drew on a report by Inspector General Herbert Beckington to assert that too many A.I.D. employees have been charged with crimes. "... [T]here is a disturbing quality to life at A.I.D. that obviously distracts from the agency's mission," the *Washington Post* said, and employee morale and A.I.D.'s credibility are taking a beating.

The Beckington report contained serious inaccuracies, which are damaging the agency's reputation. A.I.D. Counselor Kenneth Sherper has made a careful analysis of the IG's statistics on A.I.D. employee misconduct. He concludes that the IG, under the direction of Inspector General Beckington, has painted alarmist and sensational pictures based on

erroneous and misleading presentation of the facts. This does not surprise A.I.D. employees who have had close contact with the IG.

In fact, the number of administrative misconduct actions has decreased by more than 50 percent since 1987. Furthermore, the modest rate of proven criminal misconduct by A.I.D. employees is not very different from that of other foreign affairs agencies, even though these have far fewer funds to manage.

It is true that a very few A.I.D. officers have abused their public trust, which is deplorable. But we in the Foreign Service know that most A.I.D. employees are highly competent, dedicated professionals working under difficult circumstances to see to it that U.S. foreign assistance is used for authorized purposes to further foreign policy goals.

It will be tempting for Administrator Roskens to say, "This didn't happen on my watch" or "We are improving systems with a reorganization." Such a response would not

only constitute unmerited criticism of respected former administrators, such as Peter McPherson and the late Alan Woods, but would also

### Set the agenda!

*All members are invited to AFSA's Annual Meeting, to be held on December 5 at 4:30 p.m. at the Foreign Service Club. Wine and cheese will be provided.*

*Come give us your ideas, criticisms, hopes, and complaints. Set the agenda for 1992. All are welcome.*

lend undue credence to the distorted picture that Beckington paints of A.I.D. and its employees.

There are problems at A.I.D., not the least of which is that it has so many mandates and masters, coupled with merciless overseas staffing cuts. But it is not clear, as the *Washington Post* editorial con-

cludes, that A.I.D.'s image problem will end only if senior management moves decisively to address those "problems that everyone agrees exist." Beckington is part of A.I.D.'s problem—a part that Roskens cannot resolve.

All A.I.D. employees recognize the legitimate role of an IG. But

we don't want to have to defend ourselves against unwarranted, malicious smears.

## From the Vice President

### Toward fair and predictable careers

by William A. Kirby  
State Vice President

The department has finally turned its attention to the task of strengthening the specialist corps and enhancing specialist careers. AFSA fully supports this important process. Unfortunately, management's initial efforts leave a lot to be desired—as communicators, systems managers, and others are well aware. For the new Facilities Maintenance and Information Management specialties, we have at least gotten things on track so that there will be no implementation without AFSA input. Two things to which AFSA will be paying particular attention: equal ac-

cess to new career opportunities, and consistency of basic procedures among the various programs. To help us toward that end, let us hear from you as these new programs develop.

#### Secretaries' concerns

The new secretarial career path agreement is a most welcome development, but documents by themselves cannot address all the concerns of secretaries. Far more important is that secretaries be viewed as equal members of the team in every office and section—as colleagues in the fullest sense. The enhancement of secretarial careers is a task facing everyone in the service—and we can all do better.

A few secretaries are uncomfortable with the time-in-class (TIC) provision of the new agreement. That's understandable; it's new to

secretaries, if not to the Foreign Service at large. There are two ways to view the TIC. One is as a device that requires a few individuals to retire a few years before they would otherwise do so. The other is as a means to create more promotion opportunities for many than would otherwise exist. I am confident that by the time this provision comes into effect—and we negotiated a delay until 1997—nearly everyone will see it in the more positive light.

#### AFSA needs your input

**Communications.** In any large organization, the vast majority of problems can be traced to a breakdown in communications. State is no different; AFSA is constantly involved in disputes in which management has communicated ineffectively with employees. So let's try to help solve the problem. Has your post or bureau found a way to ensure that everyone sees department notices on a timely basis? If so, what's the secret? If not, what would you suggest?

**Housing.** Now that new overseas arrivals have begun to settle in, what has been the experience at your post with the new housing regulations? We intend to reopen this issue with management, but we need facts. If you have suggestions, please be specific.

**Contract (City-Pair) Air Fares.** This is also still a live issue, but we need to hear about your experiences. Brief, chronological accounts will be most useful, combined, if you wish, with specific suggestions for improvement.

### Getting four tigers by the tail

Some 140 businesspeople and 47 panelists and speakers spent a day examining how trade relations can be strengthened between the United States and the "four tigers" of Asia, at a conference co-sponsored by AFSA and the Korea Economic Institute. Held in the Willard Hotel in Washington, the conference brought together representatives of Singapore Airlines, the Coordination Council for North American Affairs, and the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce, among others.

Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN) saluted the Foreign Service for sponsoring the conference on Asia's rising industrial powers—Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and South Korea. Minister of State Shirley Kuo, chairman of the Council for Economic Planning and Development in the Republic of China, was among the panelists. Ambassador Carla A. Hills, United States trade representative, summed up all the efforts of the day by stating, "The groups assembled here today can play a vital role in strengthening this [Four Tigers of Asia and the United States] partnership by heightening public awareness."

Julie Smithline

## Dim hopes for Yugoslavia

By Richard S. Thompson  
Coordinator, Professional Issues

U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia Warren Zimmermann sees little leverage for the United States to move the parties in conflict toward a negotiated solution. In a speech to a capacity Foreign Service Club audience on September 20, the ambassador provided a lucid but pessimistic analysis of the crisis.

Zimmermann called nationalism the most important issue in Yugoslavia—not democracy or liberty for the republics. He named Serbian nationalism as the most damaging of all and pointed to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic as particularly dangerous. Croatian nationalism in 1990 brought to power the extremist Franco Tudjman, who, although somewhat more democratic than Milosevic, has failed to protect the Serbian minority in Croatia. Zimmermann characterized the third major group, Slovenians, as less fractious but simply wanting to leave Yugoslavia.

Zimmermann pointed to several differences between Yugoslavia and other nations of the former Soviet bloc. First, the difference between democracy and communism is blurred in Yugoslavia where communism has always been more benign with a democratic strain, and almost every politician is a Communist or former Communist. Second, Yugoslavia is a voluntary union, not an empire created by force. In Yugoslavia, there is no real party or leader at the center, and no



Ambassador Warren Zimmermann

KGB, leaving only the army as a federal institution. Pressures for radical reforms are more apt to come from the center, with the republics more retrogressive. In the Soviet Union, the major democratic leader—Boris Yeltsin—leads the major ethnic group, whereas in Yugoslavia the major ethnic group is led by a dictator. In Yugoslavia, anti-Communists are not necessarily democrats, and one cannot assume the destruction of the center is the way to democratic and economic progress.

Zimmermann stated that the U.S. policy of support for the unity of Yugoslavia is based on the belief, so far borne out by experience, that any breakup would lead to massive violence. A smaller country in which the Serbs have a much larger role will create conflict with other nationalities. If Croatia were recognized by a large majority of nations, the Serbs, he maintained, would escalate the war in order to protect the 600,000 Serbs living in Croatia.

The prospects are poor for a settlement acceptable to all parties, Zimmermann said. The European Community has the best prospect of resolving the situation because Yugoslavians want to become part of Europe. Zimmermann described a ceasefire as the first step, followed by recognition of present

Croatian borders, removal of the army from its internal security function, and autonomy for the Serbs in Croatia.

In the long run, Zimmermann stated, the only solution is more democracy. It may take several elections to get people to focus on the real issues of the economy and jobs. A long-term solution would involve maximum autonomy for the republics, with some economic and monetary union. The West has little leverage, and a peacekeeping force is possible only if all parties agree. An attempt to redraw borders would be complex and destabilizing, without providing a solution.

Zimmermann concluded that the fighting may continue for a long time before a peaceful settlement is achieved. He believes that some sort of union, perhaps confederal, is likely to emerge because what unites Yugoslavs is still greater than what separates them.

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that the expected 4.2 percent cost of living adjustment (COLA) applies only to FSOs in grades 1 through 8? Senior Foreign Service/Senior Executive officers can look forward to a higher COLA, which has yet to be determined.

## Recognize outstanding achievement: Call for AFSA award nominations

A strong Foreign Service is based on a tradition of excellence. Plan now to submit nominations of worthy colleagues for the prestigious AFSA awards.

Nominations may be submitted on the form being mailed to all AFSA members, or typed following the format below. They should be returned by pouch or interoffice mail to Awards Committee, AFSA, Room 3644 NS, Department of State or mailed to AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington DC 20037, no later than January 31, 1991. Questions should be directed to Richard Thompson, coordinator for professional issues, tel. 202/338-4045.

In addition to the awards described below, a number of \$1,000 Matilda Sinclair Awards are conferred for achievement in the study of hard languages. Most Sinclair nominations are submitted through FSI, but nominations from the field are encouraged. Further information is available from the School of Language Studies or AFSA's coordinator for professional issues.

### *The awards*

Three awards are for Foreign Service officers who have "exhibited extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent."

**The Christian A. Herter Award** is for members of the Senior Foreign Service and includes \$1,000 cash.

**The William R. Rivkin Award** is for mid-career officers (FS 1-3) and includes \$1,000 cash.

**The W. Averell Harriman Award** is for junior officers (FS 4-6) and includes \$2,500 cash.

**The Delavan Award** is for an individual or group of Foreign Service secretaries who have made a significant contribution to post or office effectiveness and morale beyond the framework of their job responsibilities. This additional contribution might include some or all of the following elements:

- \* Unusual initiative and leadership in contributing to improved management and morale.
- \* Intellectual courage and/or integrity.

\* Outstanding contributions to improving the morale and professionalism of the Foreign Service secretarial corps.

\* A positive and helpful attitude in all matters, on and off the job, which improves post or office efficiency and morale.

\* Serving as a role model for other secretaries.

\* Contributions to the American community through involvement in community activities, for example those of a social, charitable or cultural nature.

\* Contributions to better relations with the local community, the host government, other embassies, or the private American sector. This award includes \$2,500 cash.

**The Avis Bohlen Award** is presented by Mrs. W. Averell Harriman in memory of Avis Bohlen (wife of the late Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen) to a member of the family of a Foreign Service employee whose relations with the American and foreign communities at a Foreign Service post have done the most to advance the interests of the United States. This award includes \$2,500 cash.

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## News Briefs

### *Secretaries' differential pay*

AFSA met with management on October 2 for the first of the negotiations of differential pay for secretaries serving in communicator positions. Management has proposed a 5 percent differential for both back-up and primary communicators. AFSA has counter proposed 10 percent for back-ups and 15 percent for primaries, and we have asked that the payment of the differential be retroactive to January 1, 1991.

### *Change in travel regulations*

A new regulation issued July 17, 1991 could affect the cost of R&R travel. If you plan to take R&R in the United States, calculation of the reconstruction cost of such travel can no longer be based on the fare to your post's designated R&R point. The calculation must be based on the fare to the nearest port of entry in the United States, even though that fare may be lower than that to the designated R&R point. For example, personnel in Trinidad taking R&R in the United States must base their reconstructive cost calculations on the fare to Miami rather than Costa Rica.

### *Format for Nominations*

*Part I.* Biographic Data: name and identification of nominee (grade, agency, position or relationship to a member of the Foreign Service)

*Part II.* Name and identification of nominator and description of association with the nominee (limit 250 words)

*Part III.* Justification for nomination (500-700 words): summary of reasons for nomination. The narrative should discuss the performance and qualities which qualify the nominee for the award, including specific examples of the nominee's accomplishments that meet the criteria.

## FS Scholarships Available

Many scholarships are available to the dependents of Foreign Service personnel, both through AFSA and from other institutions. Following is a list of these awards.

### **AFSA Scholarships in cooperation with AAFSW and DACOR:**

Applications are available for dependents of career American Foreign Service personnel who have been or are currently stationed abroad. Three types of awards are available.

- The AFSA/AAFWS Merit Awards are for graduating high school students and are based on academic excellence. Up to 20 awards of \$750 each and 12 honorable mention awards of \$100 each are given in May.

- AFSA financial aid grants are for full-time undergraduate study in the United States and are based on financial need. Grants range from \$500 to \$2,500 for individuals, with a \$5,000 limit for families.

- The DACOR Bacon House Foundation Heyward G. Hill Scholarship Program is intended for undergraduate students committed to fields related to foreign affairs for their junior or senior year; awards range up to \$2,500. For applications and information, contact the AFSA Scholarship Programs office, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 202/338-4045. **Deadline for completion and return of applications is February 15, 1992.**

### **Other Scholarships:**

The following scholarships are also available to dependents of Foreign Service Personnel. Applicants should write for complete information to the schools, colleges, and universities.

#### *Secondary Schools*

**The American School in Switzerland (TASIS), and TASIS England:** \$1,000 tuition reductions are offered at the TASIS schools in

Switzerland and Great Britain to all sons and daughters in grades 7-12 of State Department personnel stationed overseas. Additional financial aid may be offered on the basis of need. For more information contact: Yvette Rogers or Mary Russman, TASIS U.S. Admissions Office, 326 East 69th Street, New York, NY 10021. Telephone: 212/570-1066. Telex: 971912, Fax: 212/249-3097.

**Castilleja School:** Scholarships based on demonstrated financial need are available to girls registered at Castilleja School for admission to grades 7 to 12. For complete information write to Jill Lee, director of admissions and financial aid, Castilleja School, 1310 Bryant St., Palo Alto, CA 94301 415/328-3160.

**Dana Hall School:** The Congdon Prize Scholarship is awarded on a competitive basis to two entering sophomore boarding students. In addition to the \$2,500 prize, each winner is eligible for financial aid up to full tuition when warranted by need. Applications must be completed by February 1. Inquiries should be addressed to: Olive B. Long, director of admissions, Dana Hall School, Wellesley, MA 02181 617/235-3010.

**The Foxcroft School:** A partial scholarship is offered for a qualifying daughter of a Foreign Service officer. Additional financial aid is available based on need. Application deadline is May 1 for the 1992-93 academic year. For further information contact Rebecca B. Gilmore, director of admissions, Foxcroft School, Middleburg, VA 22117 703/687-5555.

**Grier School:** A \$1,500 reduction in tuition is available to daughters of Foreign Service personnel. Additionally, girls may compete for scholarship support on the basis of demonstrated financial need and all-round abilities. For information please contact: Admissions director, The Grier School, Tyrone, PA 16686 814/684-3000.

**Miss Hall's School:** A \$2,500 reduction is available for the daughters of Foreign Service personnel in grades 9 through 12. For further information, contact Patrick C. McInerney, director for admissions, Miss Hall's School, Pittsfield, MA 01201 (413) 443-6401.

**Middlesex School:** A scholarship is offered on the basis of proven financial need for grades 9 through 12 to the son or daughter of a Foreign Service family. For information write to Debbie Dewing, assistant director of admissions, Middlesex School, 1400 Lowell Road, Concord, MA 01742 508/369-2550.

**Northfield/Mount Hermon School:** A \$2,000 reduction in tuition is offered for new students who are sons and daughters of State Department personnel stationed overseas who attend grades 9 through 12. \$1,000 is offered to returning students. Additional financial aid is available on the basis of need. At present, students from 45 states and 64 countries are enrolled. For further information contact Virginia deVeer, director of admissions. Northfield/Mount Hermon School, Northfield, MA 01360 413/498-3000.

**The Phelps School:** A \$1,200 scholarship is provided to any son of career Foreign Service personnel. The scholarship is available for grades 7-12. For information, contact Norman Phelps, headmaster, The Phelps School, Malvern, PA 19355 215/644-1754.

**Phillips Academy:** The Charles and Jane Stelle Memorial Scholarship is awarded to the son or daughter of Foreign Service personnel. The award is based on financial need. For more information, write to Jeannie F. Disette, dean of admissions, or Clement Morell, director of financial aid, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts 01810 508/749-4000.

**St. Albans School:** The Phillip Hayes Funkhouser Memorial Scholarship provides aid to an academi-

cally qualified student in grades 4-12. The award is based on proven financial need and is offered to the son of a Foreign Service family. Write to A. Wayne Gordon, scholarship committee, St. Albans School, Mount St. Alban, Washington, D.C. 20016 202/537-6414.

**St. Andrew's School:** The Norris S. Haselton Scholarships are awarded to sons and daughters in grades 9-12 of career Foreign Service families. For further information write the director of admissions, St. Andrew's School, Middletown, DE 19709 302/378-9511.

**Vermont Academy:** An Edward R. Cheney Memorial Scholarship is awarded to a son or daughter of Foreign Service personnel in grades 9-12. A minority-designated

scholarship is also available. For information write: Director of admissions, Vermont Academy, Saxtons River, VT 05154 802/869-2121.

#### Colleges

**Dartmouth College:** The S. Pinkney Tuck Scholarship is a need-based award for students at Dartmouth College who are the children or grandchildren of Foreign Service personnel. Address inquiries to the director of financial aid, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH 03755 603/646-1110.

**Vassar College:** The Polly Richardson Lukens Memorial Scholarship is awarded to children of Foreign service personnel. Another scholarship, awarded by an anonymous donor, is granted to the child of an American Foreign Service officer. Both awards are based on fi-

nancial need. Apply to the director of financial aid, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, NY 12601 914/437-5320.

**Yale University:** Children of American Foreign Service officers will be considered for a need-based scholarship made possible by the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert H. Kinney. Recipients must demonstrate financial need. Contact: Director of Financial Aid, Box 2170 Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520 203/432-0360.

#### AFSA Views (continued)

DAS's (one has seven) that any fair selection system would fill at least one of these positions with a woman.

These cases might be seen as exceptions that prove the rule, the "rule" being that jobs in an ideal service should be assigned purely and objectively on the basis of objectively determined merit and service need. But to what degree are exceptions permissible or even desirable? In a service that is not yet "ideal" there will be instances where personnel's "invisible hand" will not distribute jobs fairly among those who merit them. It's then that management must decide how much and where to intervene. It's also management's *duty*—the duty of leadership—clearly and frankly to state why it is acting as it is, and to seek the support and understanding of Foreign Service people.

In a world where no personnel policies can yet be perfect, there is no single "AFSA rule." Rather than adopt a single hard and fast rule, AFSA would urge that contending principles (each having some merit) be openly and vigorously weighed and discussed. The process might will involve friction, some posturing and acrimony. Real personal interests, after all, are involved. But the final result of such a process would be policies that are better accepted by a more understanding Foreign Service.

Hume Horan

## Legislative News

### Authorization bills clear conference

by Rick Weiss  
Congressional Liaison

The State Authorization Bill for 1992-93 cleared conference in October with the following items impacting on the Foreign Service:

- Establishes a new geographic bureau, the South Asian Bureau;
- Re-establishes a commission to study personnel questions in the department (The Thomas Commission);
- Provides for local compensation plans for U.S. citizens abroad;
- Increases compensation for loss of personal property;
- Re-authorizes child-care facilities at selected posts;
- Re-authorizes the voluntary leave-bank program;
- Increases the amount of storage of household effects;
- Allows Foreign Service personnel to choose either the EEO or the grievance procedures;
- Provides for chief of mission salary adjustments and the reassign-

ment and retirement of presidential appointees;

- Authorizes a study of DSS agents and their need for increased arrest authority;
- Provides for embassy property acquisitions in Eastern Europe. A.I.D.

The Foreign Aid Authorization bill has also cleared conference. It provides for further management reform and lists eight areas of concern: streamlining the project development process, increasing A.I.D.'s decentralization, reducing the number of projects and increasing their duration, decreasing recruiting costs, expanding overseas tours and streamlining mid-level management, streamlining the contract process, improving coordination of economic assistance, and reviewing multi-donor coordination.

It requires the president to report to Congress on the feasibility of reducing foreign economic assistance, on improving the coordination of assistance, and improving the management of assistance programs, including several specific options for reorganization.

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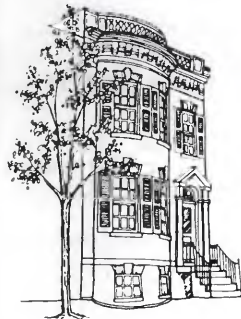


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