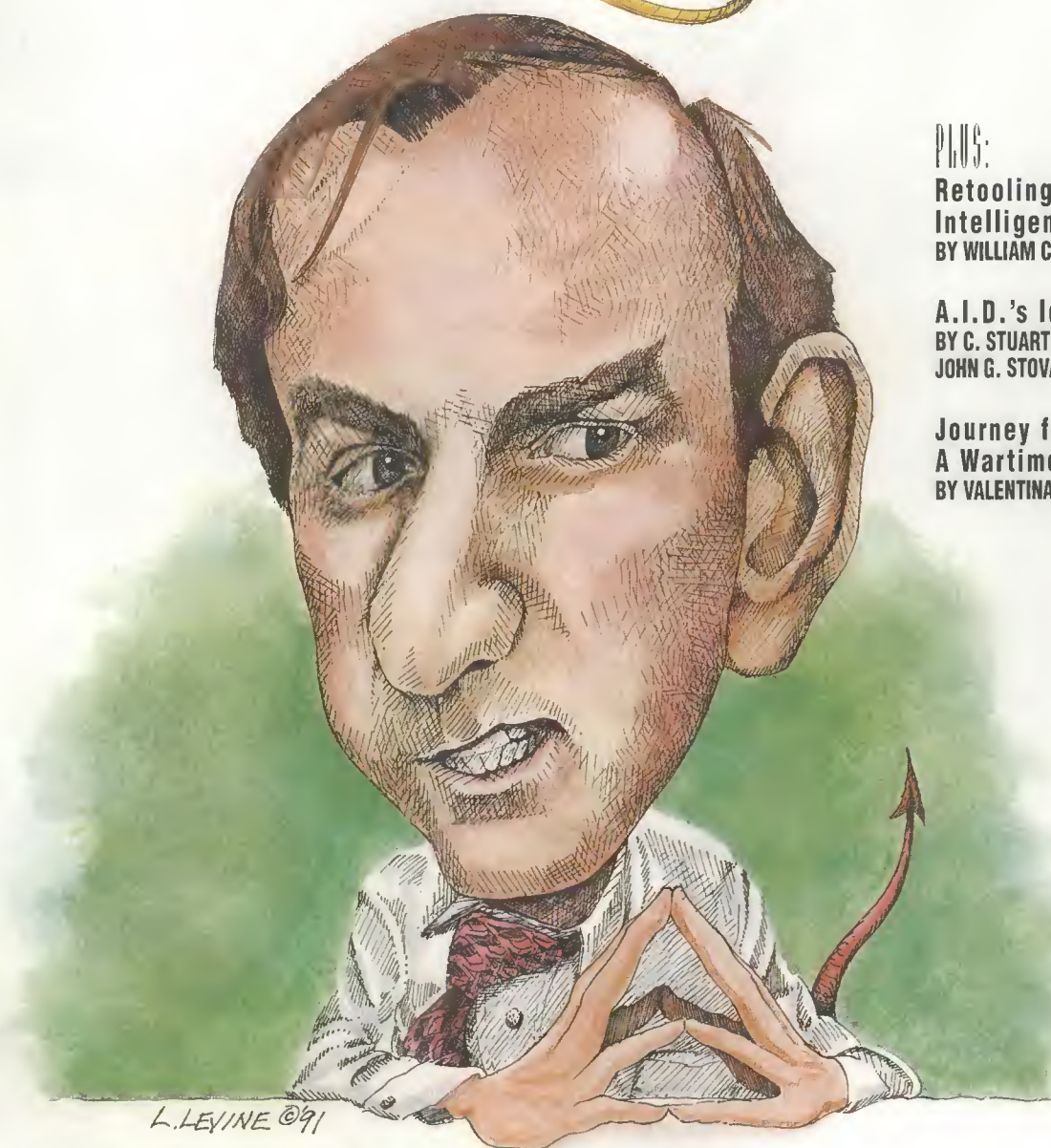


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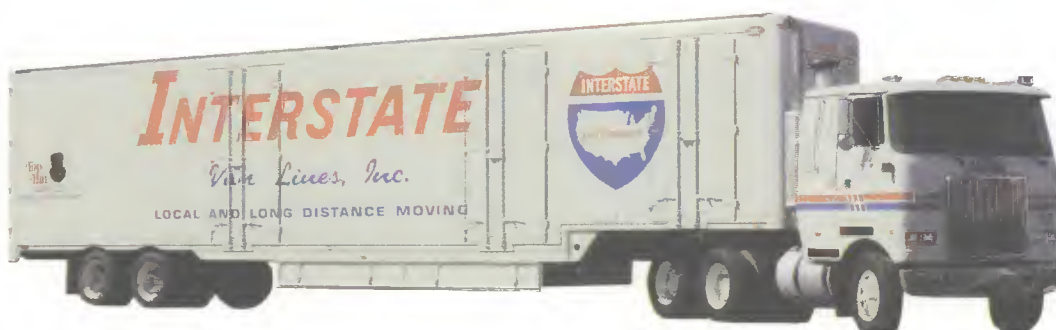
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AFSA VIEWS

ISO: A Moral Equivalent to (the Cold) War

The end of the Cold War has changed the life of the Foreign Service in ways that at first might not be apparent.

First, of course, and above all else, we must be proud and relieved that after a half-century of totalitarian threats, our political ideals and our economic principles have proven morally and practically superior. This represents a victory for the Free World and, most importantly, a victory for the United States of America. In World War II and in the Cold War which followed, America's leadership and sacrifice made the final difference. It is a victory to which the Foreign Service—as our principal civilian instrument of diplomacy—made an important contribution.

But our victory presents us with a problem, too: when my generation joined the Foreign Service, many of us believed that we were enlisting in a crusade on behalf of liberty. President Wilson's hope, "to make the world safe for democracy" seemed a noble and appropriate goal for our generation, too. We knew we faced a ruthless adversary in a conflict that was global and that was waged by means ranging from propaganda and subversion up to and including conventional warfare.

The ultimate, existential conflict between the Free World and communism gave consequence and an urgency to Foreign Service work everywhere. That sense of urgency was perhaps felt most sharply in the developing world, where the lines between the rival systems were still fluid. In the Middle East, for instance, we knew that a victory for Communism could strategically and economically tilt the balance of power against the United States and its allies. We also knew that a regional conflict could light a powder train leading to World War III. Knowing this made our jobs seem more vital to the United States. *It made it easier for us and for our families to bear the hardships and dangers of work in the region.* This has all changed, and we must ask ourselves, as Americans leave to serve their country in Zaire, Yugoslavia, Somalia, Liberia, Kuwait and the like, "How do we keep up our intensity and commitment after we've won the Super Bowl?"

In these new circumstances, our diplomacy needs *leadership* to define and communicate new goals; it needs *additional resources* to refurbish our over-taxed personnel system and improve our physical plant. *Cuts on behalf of the field should be taken from our relatively fat, top-heavy headquarters.* We also need to consider questions of *organization and changes in the American way of life.* Is the present organization of State/AID/USIA, for instance, the best for future times? (A.I.D. in particular, appears barnacle-ridden and in need of dry dock servicing.) And what does the Foreign Service offer to a married employee on his/her way to Khartoum, for instance, when that couple, like most others, needs two incomes to get by?

It's by answering such questions, by defining America's role in a new world order, and by giving the Foreign Service the means to promote our interests effectively, that the necessary moral equivalent can be found to the Cold War.

— HUME A. HORAN



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American Foreign Service Association 1992

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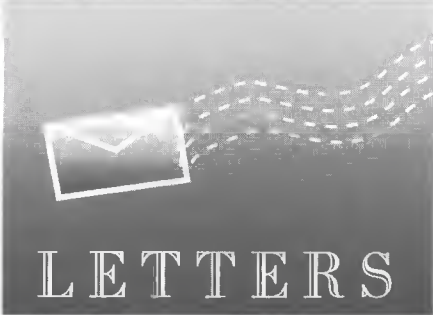
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LETTERS

BEYOND STATE

TO THE EDITOR:

To illustrate the topic "Fairness in the Foreign Service," the October *Journal* cover shows a scale. Both ends of the scale are emblazoned with the seal of the Department of State.

The few readers who will detect the cover's irony—an irony which neither the artist nor the editor anticipated—will be those who are not State Department FSOs. And who don't make the mistake of equating the Foreign Service with the Department of State.

There are many "fairness" issues in the Foreign Service. Foremost among them are the racial and gender issues on which the *Journal* so interestingly focuses in the October issue. But a fairness issue of great import to many of us involves the degree to which "fairness" exists when non-State FSOs compete for our profession's top positions in the field: those of ambassador and deputy chief of mission.

One current ambassador identifies "agency harassment" as being as detrimental to certain Foreign Service careers as racial and/or gender "harassment." In recommending a (female) USIS officer for a (generic) African DCM position, he was told repeatedly that USIA officers were, as a rule, not given consideration.

In the 1985 DCM course there was one woman, one racial/ethnic minority, and one USIA officer. . . . DCMs coming out of the public affairs specialty—the "cone" with USIA, if you will—are fewer today than then.

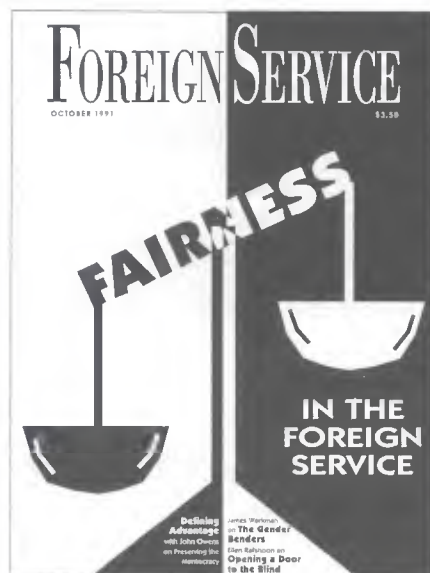
As chief of USIA's Training and Development Division, I was the single member of the Senior Foreign Service who was privileged to address every new State and USIA Junior Officer class. These impressive new FS career candidates had come through exactly the same Board of Examiners selection process. . . . Each individual's choice of

whether to commence his/her Foreign Service career with USIA or with State was entirely a personal decision: each could have chosen either.

In speaking before successive classes, I knew something that they didn't: that in each State Department class there were a number of individuals who would eventually become DCMs and ambassadors, while virtually every indi-

20 percent of State's counselors (FE-OC) are promoted to minister-counselor (FE-MC). The corresponding percentage for USIA counselors is less than 6 percent. But this is not because the USIA FSOs are intrinsically inferior. It is, instead because of an important issue of "fairness": whether competition for our top jobs is to be on the basis of quality. Quality irrespective of race, gender, or Foreign Service specialty.

C. Robert Dickerman
Public Affairs officer
USIS Copenhagen



vidual in the counterpart USIA classes would end their careers as embassy section chiefs.

Should prospective Foreign Service candidates be warned of this? No! No career service should want aspirants who are concerned only about what they might attain at the end of a career. Does it matter? Yes! It matters because a significant proportion of FSOs are now overlooked/denied/blocked/opposed when they are occasionally encouraged, against all odds, to seek the top leadership position. It matters because limiting access because of color, gender, or specialization within the Foreign Service hurts us all. It is contrary to the national interest. It also matters in terms of individual careers. Annually, about

PAST IMPERFECT

TO THE EDITOR:

As we consider the issue of fairness in the Foreign Service (*Journal*, October 1991), we ought to keep in mind how dismal our minority employment situation was as recently as the Kennedy Administration. In researching material for a book on Chester Bowles, who was undersecretary of State (equivalent to deputy secretary) under President Kennedy and Dean Rusk, I came across a letter he sent the White House early in the administration reporting that there were then only 15 blacks among 3,674 Foreign Service officers and just 65 among 3,501 Foreign Service specialists.

As a liberal who had done a great deal to promote the employment of minorities when he was wartime head of the Office of Price Administration and postwar governor of Connecticut, Bowles was abashed, though not altogether surprised, at these low figures. He told Kennedy he would work hard to improve the percentages. His dismissal from the department in November 1961, in what came to be called the Thanksgiving Massacre, cut short those efforts.

Howard B. Schaffer
Journal Editorial Board chairman
Washington, D.C.

ANIMOSITY TO WOMEN?

TO THE EDITOR:

While James Workman accuses me of hiding information from him in "The Gender Benders" (*Journal*, October), I would have welcomed—had he asked—the opportunity to explain to him the combinations and permutations of the 15-year-old *Palmer* suit. I would also have welcomed the opportunity to talk to him about employment discrimination and how it works and how those who care about it try to end it. Since he never gave me or any of us who have been involved in the *Palmer* suit those opportunities, I respond to his article in this letter.

Mr. Workman takes issue with the methodology by which the department scored the written Foreign Service examination in 1988 and 1990. That methodology was the result of a ruling of the Supreme Court that devices—like the Foreign Service examination—which exclude women or minorities at disproportionately high rates violate the Civil Rights Act unless the employer presents evidence that the devices actually measure the *qualifications* necessary to do the job.

The goal of the women's class action is a Foreign Service examination which measures qualifications to be Foreign Service officers. There was no evidence ever presented in the *Palmer* suit showing that the pre-1991 examination met the goal. The examination has been revised and the State Department administered an examination this fall which we all hope met that goal.

Since it took several years to revise the old examination, the department had to choose in the interim between giving an examination which did not exclude women disproportionately and not giving an examination at all. Although the examination was cancelled in 1989, the 1988 and 1990 examinations were scored by a methodology which ensured that the rate at which women failed the examination was not higher than the rate at which men failed it.

However, that interim methodology did not mean that unqualified women entered the Foreign Service. Since there was no evidence that the old Foreign Service examination mea-

sured qualifications needed to be a competent Foreign Service officer, the applicant's score on the examination provided no indication of whether he or she was qualified to be a Foreign Service officer. There was every possibility that an applicant with a high score could turn out to be first rate. While all of us involved in the lawsuit would have preferred a written examination that measured qualifications instead of the interim scoring methodology, there was no reason to believe that the interim methodology led to the appointment of unqualified women.

Mr. Workman goes on to challenge the consent decree (a court-approved settlement agreement) which sets out the relief for the findings of discrimination in initial cone assignments, job assignments, Superior Honor Awards, and potential ratings. Contrary to his assertion, that decree contains no quotas, secret or otherwise (the decree is far from a "sweeping, private agreement;" it is a public document, and I am more than willing to provide a copy to anyone who calls me at 202-682-2100). It contains a series of injunctions that require equal, not favorable, treatment of men and women in the areas in which discrimination was found.

The decree also establishes remedies for the individual women who were affected by discrimination in the past, primarily during the period from 1976, when the suit was filed, to 1983. After those women filed claims regarding, for example, their assignment to the consular cone or a stretch assignment they were denied, the parties discussed their claims and agreed that those women with strong claims would be granted relief. The relief is closely tailored to the discrimination. For example, an officer who had a strong claim regarding her initial cone assignment has been provided with the opportunity to change cones . . . Contrary to Mr. Workman's assertion that "there was no limit on the women who may qualify," the number of women who are eligible for these individual remedies is established by the consent decree.

There is nothing in the consent decree regarding promotions. The issue of whether the department has discriminated in promotions is still pending before the court. There is also

nothing in the decree regarding ambassadorial appointments. While I applaud the department's efforts to make those who represent the United States as ambassadors more reflective of the people of the United States, those efforts are not mandated by the *Palmer* suit.

In short, Mr. Workman's article is replete with error and misunderstanding. More importantly, it is replete with hostility. In a country where women and minorities still face pervasive discrimination in employment, it is unfortunate, in my opinion, that efforts to end that discrimination are met with increasing animosity. As I look at the workplace in this country, I simply do not see that affirmative action and quotas have led to the placement of unqualified women and minorities in positions in which they do not belong. Instead, I see a workplace that remains stratified according to race and sex. Those who do not see that have their eyes closed. Those who see that and do not care have their hearts closed.

Monica Wagner

Counsel to plaintiffs in *Alison Palmer et al. v. James A. Baker III and Marguerite Cooper et al. v. James A. Baker III*

UNJUSTIFIED REVIEW

TO THE EDITOR:

I am writing concerning Philip Gould's recently published novel, *The Eighth Continent: Tales of the Foreign Service*, reviewed in the *Journal*, November 1991.

I confess a personal interest. Philip Gould was the USIS information officer in Calcutta during the time I served there as branch public affairs officer. We are longtime friends. Last September, when I offered to write a review of the book, the editor said that as a friend, I might not be completely objective in my appraisal. I accepted her decision as having a certain validity. So, what happened?

The editor herself wrote a review that disparages the book in a condescending, snide manner—a review that I consider almost totally unjustified. In my opinion, the book makes enjoyable reading. It is written with imagination and narrative skill. It moves quickly, has excellent suspense, and reveals the author's first-hand knowledge of Eu-

rope and Asia. Certainly, I can attest the Philip Gould has painted an authentic picture of Calcutta, the setting for the major tale in the book.

I write this with the hope that a number of Foreign Service readers will get a copy of the book and judge for themselves its merits or demerits.

Duncan Scott
Reston, Virginia

HARSH REVIEW

TO THE EDITOR:

Your editor smote Philip Gould too harshly. With sharper editing and more focus on the world he knows, Gould might produce a very fine novel.

True, Gould erred in trying to make a hero of Stefan, who represented a displaced world that Gould never knew. He would have done better by building his story around the character in his second tale, Hud Perry, with whom he obviously empathized. Every Foreign Service officer will feel the truth in Hud, an intelligent, dedicated public servant who does not get the rewards he deserves.

To me, the middle segment of the novel, centering on Calcutta, had great poignancy. Some of the Indians—like the princely Maharajah of Chittipore—were marvelously suggestive. Having met them, the reader wants to see more of them.

One problem is that Gould's thin, impressionistic, and unexplained reference to selection-out and the extraordinary personal sacrifices required of a professional diplomat during Gould's Foreign Service years may confuse the general reader. The great Foreign Service novel that will appeal to the public would translate these curious phenomena into human terms.

But my principal complaint against the review is that it might deter a writer who should be encouraged. We need a powerful novel that could help Americans to understand what makes the Foreign Service tick.

John J. Harter
Washington, D.C.

THOUGHTFUL REVIEW

TO THE EDITOR:

I appreciate the thoughtful review

of my book, *The American Consul*, in the November *Journal*. One matter should, however, be corrected. I was referred to as the director of a Foreign Service oral history project at Georgetown University. The full title of my program is the Association for Diplomatic Studies Foreign Affairs Oral History Program. It does have an office at Georgetown, while the parent organization, the Association, is located in the FSI building.

Charles Stuart Kennedy
Washington, D.C.

HUMAN RIGHTS HISTORY

TO THE EDITOR:

For the record, neither Michael Novak's interview (*Journal*, September) nor Greg Thielman's letter

"coordinator for human rights and humanitarian affairs" in the department, reports on human rights in individual aid-recipient countries became mandatory with the FY '77 aid program. . . .

Representative Fraser was the real instigator of the push in Congress and the prime mover in the House during this early period, going back to the FY '74 Security Assistance Act, which was the first to voice the "sense of Congress" that, except in extraordinary circumstances, military assistance should be cut off or reduced for any country engaged in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights. The new FY '77 legislation eliminated the "sense of Congress" language and made cut-off mandatory. Meanwhile, Represent-

In the Senate during this period, Humphrey was keeping pretty much in the background, letting Cranston, McGovern and Jacob Javits take the lead. "Scoop" Jackson seemed to be primarily concerned with human rights practices behind the iron curtain.

(*Journal*, November) goes back far enough regarding Congress and the department's human rights reports. The first such reports to see the light of day were on six countries, pried out of the department in 1976 by the House subcommittee on human rights, chaired by Representative Don Fraser (D-MN). These, along with reports on seven other countries requested by Senator Alan Cranston, created quite a stir, particularly in Iran and the Philippines, included in the original six.

Reports on human rights in individual aid-recipient countries had actually been readied for presentation almost a year before as part of the FY '76 foreign assistance request. But individual country studies were shelved at the last moment in favor of a worldwide report, characterized by Senator Humphrey as "about as bland as swallowing a bucket of sawdust."

Under Humphrey's new legislation, which also created the position of

tative Tom Harkin had extended all this to include economic assistance as well, provided such assistance was not going directly to the needy.

In the Senate during this period, Humphrey was keeping pretty much in the background, letting Cranston, McGovern and Jacob Javits take the lead. "Scoop" Jackson seemed to be primarily concerned with human rights practices behind the iron curtain.

James M. Wilson Jr.
Bethesda, Maryland ■

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DEADLOCK BROKEN

THE WASHINGTON POST, NOVEMBER 29, 1991
BY AL KAMEN

Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) has settled a long-running feud with the State Department that stalled for a record-breaking 17 months the nomination of George Fleming Jones to be ambassador to Guyana.

The feud began during a Helms visit to Chile in 1986, when Jones was deputy chief of mission in the U.S. Embassy. A Helms aide was accused of leaking U.S. intelligence information to the government of former President Gen. Augusto Pinochet, whom Helms supported, resulting in an investigation of the aide.



and since retired from the Foreign Service, and another former department official.

EVERYONE'S FRIEND

THE WASHINGTON POST MAGAZINE, NOVEMBER 24, 1991

BY JEFFREY A. FRANK

When George Bush named [Robert] Strauss [as ambassador to Moscow] in

"I acquired an abiding respect for the Foreign Service officers of the United States, and I still regard them as the most professional and least appreciated body of diplomats in the world. The way they were ignored, treated, and mistreated by most of the presidents and some of the secretaries of State . . . was, and still is, a political disgrace. I can think of nothing that has contributed more to the misconduct of American foreign affairs than the tendency to appoint inexperienced secretaries of State, bypass the Foreign Service, and try to operate foreign policy out of the White House."

James Reston, in *Deadline*, A Memoir, published by Random House

Helms demanded that the State Department show him secret cable traffic regarding the visit. The State Department showed him all but two cables, which were internal memoranda, and which the department said would not be turned over.

That is where matters stood as recently as 10 weeks ago, sources said. Then Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger suddenly showed up in Helms's office and showed him the memoranda, saying he had reviewed them and saw no substantive or intelligence-related reason to withhold them. Both memos criticized Helms and an aide. But they were not written by Jones and had nothing to do with him. They were written by Jones's former boss, Harry Barnes Jr., then ambassador to Chile

June, the appointment was called brilliant and peculiar, inspired and outrageous. "A master stroke," is how one veteran Democrat put it.

[At the funeral services for three men killed during the failed coup, Strauss propelled himself to Gorbachev's side and asked to deliver a message.] Gorbachev said, "You will speak right after I speak." Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger, who urged Strauss to take the job last spring, said that Strauss called him soon after his ascent to the funeral podium. Said Eagleburger, "It's the kind of thing no career officer would ever have had enough gumption, guts, and enough common sense to do."

Inside Spaso House today, . . . everything has lately been scrubbed clean. Some of that happened because Strauss

complained vigorously [to Eagleburger]. "The residence here looks like a combination of a Texas whorehouse and a pigsty." To which Eagleburger replied, "I've never been in either one."

. . . His compulsive friendliness has been noted throughout the embassy compound, which is universally regarded as a dreadful place to work. . . Embassy employees have reactions that range from sullen to angry when they speak about life in the compound, where even the telephone service is a source of great frustration. "These walls," said one mid-level employee, "create an incredible barrier. They're our own Kremlin. It's the American Kremlin."

It's important to remember, [Strauss] says, that the embassy "was an island unto itself a few months ago, and in a hostile area a few years ago." But he also wants to change things—"not bring in relaxed security, but get rid of foolish rules."

When the embassy people and their families show up for a reception at Spaso House, Strauss works the room like a vote-seeking pol, delighted that so many have turned out to eat and drink on his tab. . . It is, in a large part, the secret of his success.

PRAISED

THE WASHINGTON POST, NOVEMBER 12, 1991
BY JOHN M. GOSKO

The name Thomas Reeves Pickering doesn't spark instant recognition. . . It is no secret in diplomatic circles that [Secretary of State] Baker and Pickering are not each other's favorite people and that Baker has lobbied, apparently successfully, for President Bush to ease Pickering out of the UN post next year by offering him a prestigious ambassadorship elsewhere.

At the United Nations, Pickering is viewed by many diplomats and international civil servants as probably the most successful of the 19 people who have represented the United States at the United Nations since 1946.

He might not make the policies pursued by the United States in the world body. But as the agent and advocate for the world's only remaining superpower, he is viewed by many at the United Nations as crucial to UN efforts to play a more meaningful role in

international affairs. Such efforts include, for starters, the biggest peace-keeping operation in UN history to help end Cambodia's bloody war. The United Nations has also just mediated an agreement for ending another protracted civil war, in El Salvador. It is looking for ways to resolve the Greek-Turkish dispute over Cyprus and, more generally, to control the kind of ethnic strife that threatens to tear apart countries like Yugoslavia.

According to many here, Pickering has played a big part in getting each of these initiatives off the ground. . .

Pickering's chance to show what the United Nations can do began on August 2, 1990, when Iraq invaded Kuwait. . . . Prodded and cajoled by Pickering, the [Security] Council became the springboard of the international campaign to force Iraq out of Kuwait. . . . It was a task that consumed most of Pickering's efforts right up to the early hours of February 28, when Iraq notified the United Nations that it was ready to accept the resolutions. . . .

No one dreamed that the Gulf crisis would rekindle hopes that the world body would . . . be the basis for collective security and settlement of regional disputes. [Pickering] slowly welded the "perm five" ambassadors into what is perhaps the most exclusive club in the diplomatic world. . . . The permanent five's resulting ability to hammer out agreements and then sell them to the larger Security Council membership became most evident during the Gulf crisis. Of the 12 council resolutions that provided the basis for the U.S.-led military action, all but one originated among the five senior council members.

Pickering is regarded by his colleagues here as a man who believes that diplomacy is best practiced in private. . . . As a professional diplomat, Pickering has served many presidents and secretaries in his 33-year career. That has included back-to-back stints in two of the most difficult ambassadorial assignments of the 1980s: El Salvador and Israel. It was [Secretary of State] George Shultz who persuaded President Reagan to send [to El Salvador] "the cream of America's career diplomats."

ACCUSED

THE NEW YORK TIMES, NOVEMBER 18, 1991
BY JANE PERLEZ

[Kenyan] Foreign Minister, Wilson Ndolo Aya, called in [American] Ambassador Smith Hempstone for a private dressing down. He said afterward at a news conference . . . "I have told the U.S. ambassador that the Kenyan government is unhappy with his personal behavior, that he is an arrogant man with contempt for Africans, his attitude is that of a slave owner, and he has no respect even for the head of state."

Mr. Hempstone, a political appointee named by Bush, told reporters, "I don't know if supporting human rights and multiparty democracy makes me a racist or not. But it's a little hard when both sides of the equation [the government and the opposition] are black."

Relations between the United States and Kenya have soured as Mr. Hempstone and officials in Washington have criticized President Daniel arap Moi for his refusal to relax his insistence on a one-party state.

CLEARED

THE WASHINGTON POST, NOVEMBER 14, 1991
BY AL KAMEN

The White House yesterday cleared A.I.D. Administrator Ronald W. Roskens of allegations of ethics violations, saying it found only one violation that it concluded was "inadvertent and unknowing."

White House counsel C. Boyden Gray, in an 18-page report, directly contradicted an investigation by the A.I.D. inspector general's office that concluded Roskens violated federal law and ethics codes in accepting money from outside organizations. . . .

The report, however, is unlikely to be the last word on the matter. The GAO has launched a parallel investigation at the request of the House Government Operations Committee. . . .

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THE WASHINGTON TIMES, NOVEMBER 12, 1991
BY JIM DRINKARD, AP

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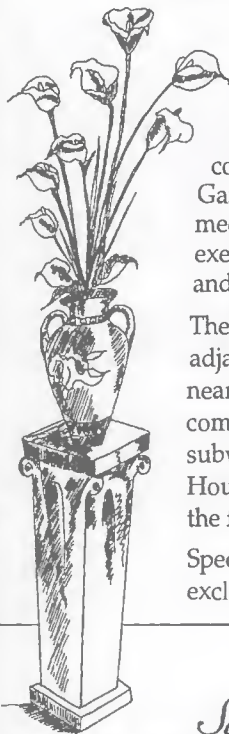
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ing parking fines, New York City officials are going after diplomatic deadbeats with a green light from the State Department.

Employees at consulates and UN missions have run up \$6.3 million in unpaid parking tickets over the last three years, rivaling the nearly \$7 million the District of Columbia is seeking to collect. As in Washington, New York City records show the scofflaws are led by the Soviet Union and include a heavy proportion of U.S. foreign aid recipients and wealthy oil states.

The policy of writing off diplomatic parking fines as uncollectible dates back at least a decade. . . . The State Department is now helping the District of Columbia collect unpaid parking fines. In April the State Department will begin issuing the distinctive red, white, and blue [license] plates for one year instead of three. That means countries that fail to pay parking fines can have their tags revoked.

SADDENED

THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY, NOVEMBER 1991

The following letter by Hume Horan, president of AFSA, is in response to a September article by Harry Crosby.

Crosby has it partly right. The Foreign Service has all the demerits of a hierarchical and highly competitive federal, or for that matter, private, organization: instances of foolish pretension, risk-aversion, and a lack of self-assertion in the face of power. . .

But, on the other hand, we haven't stood completely still. . . . Junior officers should now be processed from exam to recruitment in about an academic year. They will receive their "cone" assignments only after four years and thus can look the Service over before requesting a specialty. Senior officers, starting in 1993, will have to speak at least one world language to be promoted to the Senior Foreign Service.

My conclusion about Crosby's article, however, is not so much that I disagree with it but that I am saddened by it. I wish he would have more fun in his assignments; above all, I wish he had met (as I did) colleagues and bosses whom he profoundly admired and who could serve as examples of what he wanted to be when he grew up: a senior officer, too. ■



50 YEARS AGO

State Department, December 7, 1941

By Jane Wilson

Published in the *Journal*, January 1942

December 7, 1941. A 17th Street shopwindow across from the State Department displayed a tinsel Christmas sign: "Peace on Earth." The nearby streets, usually deserted on a crisp bright Sunday, were packed with parked cars.

Inside the department a line stood waiting to sign the entrance time-register book, and there was activity in the checker-board corridors, with persistent banging of the slotted doors. Then pandemonium broke loose down the corridor—running footsteps, excited voices: *Japan has declared war on the United States and Great Britain!*

The outer office of the Division of Current Information presented a picture of feverish work. Every typewriter was going. On the press table were only two releases with Sunday's date line, relating to the secretary's interviews with Japanese representatives. But no one glanced at them; they were stale news—one hour old. Reporters were running in and out. Through the open door in the division could be glimpsed grim official activity. 6 p.m. There were four pages of signa-

tures in the department entrance register since early afternoon. It was dark outside.

"Extra," shouted an urchin, "Read all about the war."

December 9. A partial blackout in the department was ordered by the Public Buildings Administration. The order came at 4:45 p.m., and by 5 o'clock all shades in the building were tightly lowered. The Capitol dome was placed on blackout status for the first time since the World War. Floodlights and red beacon signals on the Washington Monument, however, were permitted to stay on at the request of the commercial airlines, but arrangements were made to extinguish these lights immediately after the first warning of attack. Preparations were also made to completely black out the White House.

There was a demand for German translators in the department, as all messages from the Berlin Embassy were coming through by open cable in German—orders of the German government.

December 11. The anticlimactic notifications of German and Italian declarations of war against the United States reached the State Department at 9:25 a.m. and 9:30 a.m. respectively. ■

FOREIGN SERVICE QUIZ

Questions from the Third General Foreign Service Examination of 1941 (selected from the Journal, January 1942.) Answers appear on page 2 of the pull-out section.

True or false:

1. The sun is never seen directly overhead from any point in Australia.
2. Ascending winds produce precipitation.
3. The Nile at Cairo is higher in October than in June.
4. Russian is more closely related to Turkish than to German.
5. No regime established in France since the French Revolution has survived an unsuccessful European war.

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Training Soviet Managers

BY JERROLD KEILSON

Financial aid, food subsidies, debt relief: these are stopgap solutions for what immediately ails the Soviet Union. But in their efforts to move from a command to a market economy and to democratize their political system, the Soviets need longer-term help. Management training provides an important stepping stone to a new economic system. This is not simply a matter of teaching people to read a balance sheet or financial statement. Managers of ex-

isting enterprises and nascent entrepreneurs must be shown new ways of thinking about business, individual initiative, and society. What is called for is a thorough transformation of their way of thinking.

The Delphi International Group, a Washington, D.C.-based international education, training, and exchange organization, has conducted management and technical training programs for Soviet, Eastern European, and Chinese managers for more than five years.

Since June 1991 we have been designing management training programs for groups of up to 20 senior Russian managers who come to the United States for two to three weeks as part of a longer training package conducted by the International Business School in Moscow. Participants represent primary industries, such as timber, oil, mining, and shipbuilding. The programs consist of two segments: an opening series of lectures and discussions introducing managers to principles of free-market



Russian shipbuilding executives visit the headquarters of Bender Shipbuilding Company, Mobile, Alabama.

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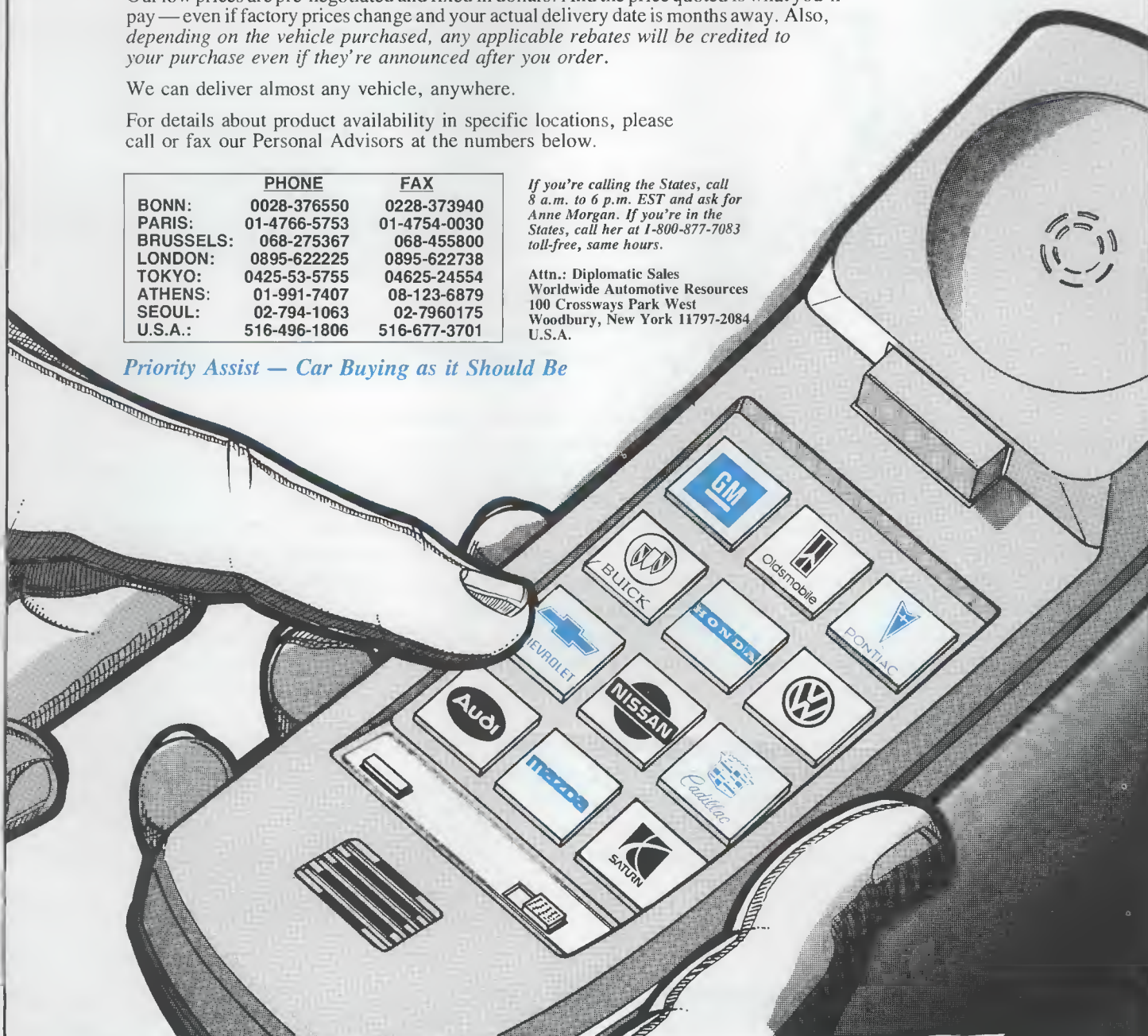
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economies—including financial management, capital formation, strategic planning, corporate organizational structures, human resource management, and marketing and sales—and visits to companies in the same field to discuss operations, market conditions, business possibilities, and to see firsthand how U.S. corporations operate. The program is structured to introduce the participants to new possibilities for running their businesses.

To date, approximately 120 senior managers have come to the United States to participate in this training program. While it is still too early to observe concrete results, changes in attitude and perception are obvious. At the beginning of each program the participants are most interested in knowing how the U.S. government sets prices and production quotas and limits the number of companies manufacturing a particular product. By the end of the program they understand that those decisions are made by independent entrepreneurs and businesses, who look to the market for guidance. By the end of the program they have learned that many American companies specialize in what they manufacture and that relationships between large companies and their suppliers is important to everyone's profitability. They also observe the relationship between people and their money, by talking to investors and entrepreneurs and visiting the New York Stock Exchange. They begin to recognize that there is a relationship between how well one works and the rewards he or she receives. They begin to understand why entrepreneurs expect large financial rewards for the risks they are prepared to take.

Different responsibilities

Program participants find that the basic technology used by American companies is similar to that used by their own enterprises. But management concerns differ substantially. Russian managers must provide a range of basic services to their workers, such as housing, medical care, education, and recreation facilities, none of which concerns American business owners. Russians find that U.S. companies have a different range of responsibilities: managing and motivating people, de-

veloping a role in the community, and monitoring environmental impact, for example.

The information and insight gained during these exchanges among managers and the practical training component of the program are critical to the successful transformation of the Russian economy. They provide concrete skills and techniques that can be implemented immediately to manage enterprises more effectively. Often it is the small innovation that has the most impact. For instance, Russian managers are just beginning to recognize the importance of human resources management and employee motivation. Techniques such as regular evaluations, bonuses, and friendly competition among teams within a factory are all relatively easy to adapt to Russian conditions.

Practical training also is effective when the training population is composed of managers with more than 20 years of technical and managerial experience, as is frequently the case with Russian managers. While younger people may learn faster, they frequently do not have a context of work experience in which to place the information they receive. Also, older trainees often have the authority to implement change, while younger trainees do not. The practical training focuses on exchange of information—participants describe their own work experiences to counterparts at U.S. businesses, focusing on practical solutions to real problems.

Keeping the audience in mind

U.S. business culture and government permit a freedom of action seldom found elsewhere, and a training program should take these differences into account. For example, Delphi arranged for a group of shipbuilders to visit a small shipbuilding firm that was started by an entrepreneur who had always loved boats. The Russians were amazed that the American could simply decide to do something and then do it. They left the day-long meeting impressed with the boats he built but also convinced that they could not apply anything he had described about seeking venture capital or niche marketing.

On another occasion I spoke to a group of Russian managers about the role the U.S. government plays in busi-

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ness. I had just finished explaining the American businessperson's desire to keep government out of business activities as much as possible, when one of the participants raised his hand. "Can you tell me please how the government determines what prices the industry should charge for their products?" he asked.

"The government does not play a role in that," I replied. "Pricing is a corporate decision governed primarily by conditions."

"Oh. Well, how does the government set production levels?"

"The government does not set production levels at all. Companies produce what they believe they can sell in the market at a reasonable price."

"Well, how does the government decide who will start a new business?"

"The government does not play a role," I responded. "All these decisions are made by individuals, acting individually."

My Russian interlocutor heard clearly what I was saying about the role of government in business decisionmaking, but he could not comprehend a system where government involvement was not wanted.

Goodwill and good business

Training does not mean simply giving our expertise away to foreigners who will one day become our competitors. American companies reap both tangible and intangible benefits. First, the programs generate phenomenal goodwill, resulting in new business opportunities. We have seen this take place in some of the Eastern European management training programs we conducted for U.S. corporations. One manager of a Czech power plant was so taken with his experience in the United States that he organized two seminars in his company where he preached the values of market economics and praised the American firm that had made his training possible. Close to 700 people heard him laud his experience, the American company, and its products.

Second, we are better off exposing people to how business is conducted in the United States than leaving it to our foreign competitors. The countries of Eastern Europe have no viable model to copy and are looking for alternatives.

Business conduct in the United States is different from that in Europe and Japan. For example, we have different expectations of government regulations, of financial management, and labor-management relations. If U.S. corporations want to compete successfully with European and Japanese firms in the new markets of Eastern Europe, they should devote resources to educating their collaborators on how American business works and on its quality standards. Both these issues are easily addressed during corporate-sponsored training programs.

Light official touch

These programs do not require heavy U.S. government involvement. While the financial resources of government agencies such as the Agency for International Development will be helpful, a company can begin its own program with a relatively small investment, and expect significant payback in the short term. For example, a training program that Delphi recently arranged for a private corporation with business interests in Eastern Europe resulted in new sales worth four times the cost of training. This demonstrates that corporate expenditures for training are a cost-effective way not only to create a name and image but to increase sales.

The Bush Administration can take the initiative to promote private sector participation in management training programs. Creating a private-public partnership to offer management training, either through A.I.D. or another agency, can combine private self-interest and public policy interest to utilize limited resources better. A consortium of private companies that fund direct expenses of participants they themselves nominate, combined with A.I.D. funds for administrative and programmatic expenses, is an innovative approach to quickly providing desperately needed management training.

Government agencies and structures are in place to start a program quickly. A.I.D., the Peace Corps, and the United States Information Agency all provide educational and training programs. However, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union differ from typical Third World countries. Most managers have been running large enterprises for many

years. They have a body of experience and an approach to doing things that can not be discounted or ignored. In addition, they require a specific set of skills in revamping an economic structure in a way that has not been done before. It is for this reason that agencies such as A.I.D. should look beyond their traditional approaches to address the needs of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Sinking in

Another key factor in a successful training program is reinforcement of the new approach. All too often the trainee returns to an environment that does not support innovation. Training programs should include mechanisms for follow-up and reinforcement training. It is at this point that a role for the foreign affairs agencies becomes more apparent. The administration could encourage the creation of small business development centers throughout Eastern Europe, Russia, and the republics. These centers will provide resources and training for companies as they grow. They can serve as a focal point for creating a network of entrepreneurs, which will provide the support and continuity that change attitudes and make training effective.

Finally, we should make these nascent capitalists aware that a market system no longer implies an "every man for himself" mentality. Corporations have responsibilities to the communities in which they are located. As good corporate citizens, they must participate in charitable activities. They must be aware of the environmental impact of their businesses. An understanding of the ethical base from which companies operate must be part of a successful training effort.

As Western leaders struggle with the plethora of proposals available to them, they should keep in mind the adage, "If you give a man a fish he eats for a day. If you teach him to fish he eats for a lifetime." Practical business management training will give Russians, Poles, Hungarians, and other emerging democrats the tools to feed themselves. ■

Jerrold Keilson, a former Foreign Service officer, is executive director of The Delphi International Group.

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THE INSUBORDINATE PEACEMAKER Nicholas Trist and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

ROBERT W. DREXLER



Only once in our history has a president of the United States assigned a diplomat to accompany an American army into combat so that a peace treaty could be concluded on the battlefield. The peace mission succeeded, but both the president and his envoy met with personal defeat.

This happened during the war with Mexico in 1847, when President James Polk sent Nicholas P. Trist, the chief clerk of the Department of State, to join General Winfield Scott's forces, which were fighting their way into Mexico from Vera Cruz. Scott inflicted devastating defeats on the Mexicans and seized their capital city, but he was unable to bring the war to a conclusion through combat. It was Trist who won the peace, nine months after his arrival, by finally persuading the Mexicans to sign the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, ceding 500,000 square miles of territory to the United States.

To accomplish this, however, Trist had willfully disobeyed an order he had received two months earlier from Polk to break off the peace talks and return to Washington because of Mexican intransigence. Trist also had craftily negotiated the treaty on the basis of his original instructions, even though he knew that President Polk had since toughened his administration's demands on Mexico. Astonished and infuriated when a courier unexpectedly delivered the signed treaty, Polk called Trist "arrogant, impudent, insulting, and destitute of honor." Secretary of State James Buchanan, who wanted to annex more of Mexico, urged rejection of the treaty, but growing congressional and public opposition to the war forced Polk to proceed with its ratification. Trist, though, lost his job at the State Department, was denied salary due him, and for the next

20 years languished in poverty and obscurity.

Out of touch?

American historians are divided in their judgment of Trist. Some have concluded that he was idealistic, others have echoed Polk's criticisms, and a few have even charged that we could have acquired more Mexican territory (especially Baja California) had Trist not been inept and insubordinate. He himself tried to justify his actions in Mexico in a long, argumentative, and sometimes scornful letter to Buchanan. Trist maintained that Polk had lost touch with reality in Mexico, that nothing could have compelled the Mexicans to yield more, that the need for peace was imperative, and that the signed treaty achieved all the objectives of his assignment. Trist also feared that a prolonged war would play into the hands of Ameri-

can extremists who wanted to annex all of Mexico: he was convinced that an attempt to amalgamate two such different nations would be disastrous. Trist outlined his views in a written message to Congress, but, strangely, he showed no inclination to return to Washington to defend his work at the time of the treaty ratification debate in the Senate. Polk later had to have him placed under military arrest to get him out of Mexico.

After returning home, Trist struggled hard to earn a living, most of the time as a paymaster for a railroad company. He wrote and said no more publicly about his mission to Mexico, but the correspondence of his wife, Virginia, makes clear that he long remained bitter and resentful.

Virginia had been Thomas Jefferson's favorite granddaughter. She and Trist fell in love when he was a guest at Monticello, and after their marriage Trist served as Jefferson's private secretary and executor of his estate. Later, Trist became personal assistant to James Madison when the retired president succeeded Jefferson as rector of the University of Virginia. These connections led to Trist's appointment to the Department of State, and he was often detailed from there to the White House to serve as private secretary to Andrew Jackson. Subsequently, Trist was named consul in Havana, and when Polk was elected president, Jackson persuaded him to name Trist chief clerk of the State Department, which was then the second-ranking position.

The diplomat's confession

Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson became Trist's idols, and their influence on his character and intellect governed Trist's actions as envoy in Mexico more decisively than his instructions from



Nicholas Trist

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Polk. In choosing Trist for the peace mission, Polk, who was determined to keep tight rein on government, presumed that he had selected a loyal, dutiful, dependable, and faceless bureaucrat. When the president realized his mistake, it was too late. Just how greatly he had misjudged Trist is evident from one of Virginia Trist's letters that I uncovered at the Library of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in a collection of Trist family papers that had not previously been thought to contain material on the treaty negotiations. In that letter, she related to a friend a confession her husband had made when he described to her how his mission to Mexico had ended:

"Just as they were about to sign the treaty in the 'sanctuary' to which they had repaired for the purpose, one of the Mexicans, Don Bernardo Couto, remarked to [Trist], 'This must be a proud moment for you; no less proud for you than it is humiliating for us.' To this Mr. Trist replied, 'We are making peace, let that be the only thought.' But, said he to us in relating it, 'Could those Mexicans have seen into my heart at that moment, they

would have known that my feelings of shame as an American were far stronger than theirs would be as Mexicans. For, though it would not have done for me to say so there, that was a thing which every right minded American would be ashamed of, and I was ashamed of it, most cordially and intensely ashamed of it.

"This had been my feeling at all our conferences and especially at moments when I felt it necessary to insist upon things which they were averse to. Had my course at such moments been governed by my conscience as a man, and my sense of justice as an individual American, I should have yielded in every instance. Nothing prevented my doing so but the conviction that the treaty would then be one which there would be no chance for the acceptance of by our government.

"My object throughout was, not to obtain all I could, but, on the contrary, to make the treaty as little exacting as possible from Mexico, as was compatible with its being accepted at home. In this I was governed by two considerations: one was the iniquity of the war, as an abuse of power on our part;

the other was that the more disadvantageous the treaty was to Mexico, the stronger would be the ground of opposition to it in the Mexican Congress by the party who had boasted of its ability to frustrate any peace measures."

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was catastrophic for Mexico, but the Mexican negotiators recognized that Trist had saved their nation from an even worse fate. Thanks to him, the American movement to take "all of Mexico" was doomed. When the treaty was submitted to the Mexican Congress for ratification, Trist's Mexican counterpart paid tribute to Trist's "noble character" and said that "of him there remains in Mexico none but grateful and honoring recollections." The revelations contained in Virginia Trist's letter make clear that the Mexican tribute to her husband was justified. ■

*Robert W. Drexler, who retired from the Foreign Service in 1987, is author of a biography of Nicholas Trist, **Guilty of Making Peace**, published in 1991 by University Press of America.*



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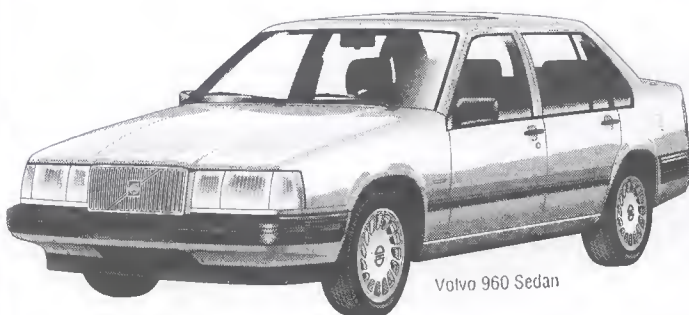
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**After the Cold War,
what do we do with our spies?**

BY WILLIAM COLBY

Editor's Note: The following article was adapted from remarks by former Director of Central Intelligence William Colby at the Foreign Service Club on June 25, 1991. It has been edited for length.

Where does intelligence go in the New World Order? I'll leave it to someone else to define the New World Order in specific terms. But there's an old syllogism that CIA was important to the Cold War, the Cold War is over, and, therefore, let's ban CIA. The latest to come up with that particular theory is Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan. I twitted him about it one time when I met him. I said, "You know, Senator, that's what we did after World War I. We disbanded our intelligence. Then we found out that we needed it. And that's what we did after World War II. We disbanded the Office of Strategic Services, and then we found out that we needed them. Let's not do it again."

I don't think we are going to do it again, but obviously we are going to make changes in intelligence in the years to come, because the subjects of our concern as a nation are going to be quite different. Clearly, the Cold War is over. The Soviet forces, in a very short time, will be 800 kilometers further east than they have been in Central Europe.

So clearly, the threat that we've lived under for the last 40 years, of a launch of the Soviet forces into Western Europe, arriving at the channel in something like 12 days unless we met them with our flexible response of nuclear weapons, is a thing of the past, and it *does* require us to rethink what we are all about and what concerns our intelligence people should be working on. [Former Director of Central Intelligence William H.] Webster, of course, makes the point that it's hard to build up assets, and you don't want to disband them. But clearly there will be a different kind of intelligence work required.

I think the best example is the Soviet Union, because at a time when you had a monolithic Stalinism, then a peek by some agent inside that great monolith, to show you a little piece of it, gave you some assurance that what you saw was probably characteristic of the whole, because the whole would have been more or less run the same way. Today you don't peek inside the monolith; the monolith's spread all over Moscow. The information about what they're doing is not in some secret plan of [Mikhail] Gorbachev's or [Boris] Yeltsin's; it's right out there in the press, in the discussions, in the analyses, in the debates, in the struggles, in the political groups that are advocating, in the various newspapers that come up, and all the rest. The job, then, is not a job of penetration into the Soviet political forces at this point; it's a job of interpretation, which is why Bill Donovan, my longtime predecessor, had the concept that has become Central Intelligence: at the center of the intelligence machine lies the analyst, and he is the fellow to whom all the information goes so that he can review it and think about it and determine what it means.

Day of the analyst

During the colder days of the Cold War, the operators like myself kind of dominated the agency, but we see here in the appointment of Bob Gates to be the new director the final arrival of the analyst to the center of the intelligence machine. He came up through the analytical career, he is an analyst, and his deputy, Bob Kerr, is also an analyst. So the intelligence profession, then, has pushed the analyst into the central position, and I, for one, think that's a very good development. It brings with it total responsibility for review of all the material, rather than picking and choosing little secret reports to use as the basis for decision-making at the national level and at the policy level.

We are still going to have enemies, of course. There are people who consider us the great Satan and threaten our citizens. There are terrorists. There are drug lords. There are people who would steal our technology. There are a variety of other enemies we will have to face. There are regional, ethnic, religious zealots who would hurt us, and we are going to have to know about those. Some of those are not knowable by reading the press. Some of those are not knowable by some brave James Bond. They're knowable only by some fellow member of that sneaky little group that is planning a raid on some American installation in some part of the world. We are going to have to develop the capability of reaching out to some of those individuals, dealing with them, despite the blood on their hands occasionally, because they can give us information that's important to the protection of our citizens and our embassies, which is a matter of concern to all of us these days.

That means that the clandestine art will still continue, although the stress may be less on learning Russian and more on learning Arabic or Farsi or something of that nature. During the days of the Cold War, we put our whole priority on the major threat our country faced, i.e., the Soviet forces and the nuclear missiles aimed at this country 30 minutes away. Granted, I think that was an appropriate priority at that time. Today, with that priority dropping, the other priorities can correspondingly increase.

A more modest scope

I'm not going to advocate, however, that we need the same size of intelligence effort or intelligence budget, because, clearly, a lot of our intelligence budget over these past years has been aimed at that main target, the hugely expensive photographic and electronic satellite systems that whirl around the world to give us detailed coverage of far distant parts of the Soviet Union. Yes, we will still want to retain some of these. Some of them will still be useful to serve as a cross-check on the inspections that we're allowed to make under the verification regime and so forth, but we certainly don't have to have the frequency of them, or perhaps the number of them, and there is substantial money to be saved.

Clearly, we're going to depend more and more upon the overt reporting services of the State Department, of

the press, and of all the other kinds of information that comes out of what used to be a denied area. As confidence-building grows, as the press spreads its participation throughout the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, there will be less demand for that secret agent to be over there to tell us something that's happened.

That doesn't mean that we may not want to have a few such secret agents as a hedge against what can happen in the future. The press can be excluded from an area, and at that point we might want to have a secret officer still there. The Soviets did that for years in their illegals whom they sent over here just to sink into the community, be normal members of the society, but still retain the capability of communicating with the Soviet Union if all other communications between us stopped. I think we're going to have the same requirement, a few such eyes and ears, possibly lasting through a later freeze we might need. Certainly we don't need that many of them, but we will need a few.

Countering technology spies

We will also have a demand for a new kind of intelligence in much higher degree than we have today, because if you look ahead to the years coming, the generals aren't going to be the leading figures in this New World Order. The leading figures are going to be the bankers and the businessmen. Those are the people we're going to have as competitors. Some of those people around the world are going to be stealing our secrets, and we're going to need some counterintelligence . . . not of weapon systems, but of advanced technology, of patented technology, perhaps, even if it isn't secret . . .

I think we also will have an analytical function of analyzing some of the major economic and even social problems that will dominate the world to come—the overpopulation problems, the urbanization problems, the ethnic problems in various areas, the energy problems, the environmental problems. All of these will be matters of great importance to our government. In great part, these will not be the subject of secret collection, but they will be the subject of intelligence analysis as to what those problems mean, where they're going, and what kind of a response our government should be thinking of engaging in to meet those.

I don't say that the CIA, then, becomes the encyclopedia of all information; it will be one member of the intelligence community. The State Department . . . [t]he Defense Department, and even the Energy Department and the Treasury are members of the intelligence community, in the sense that they each have a staff that deals with intelligence questions from the point of view of their particular departments. I think that will continue, but that intelligence analytical function will still be there as part of the problem.

I don't see any major change in the relationship between intelligence and . . . Congress. I think the committee system up there works quite satisfactorily. Sure, we don't always agree, but neither [does the Foreign

New Areas for Intelligence

The following is taken from a question-and-answer session at the Foreign Service Club with Ambassador Colby, after his talk on intelligence needs.

Human rights are obviously rising as a matter of American concern. Human rights are not something that most governments advertise that they're violating; they're inclined to keep those as fairly quiet affairs. We have a lot of non-governmental organizations that are very courageous and trying to find out as much as they can about these, but as this becomes a major policy concern for our government, I can easily see our government turning to the intelligence people and saying, "What do you know about this? What kinds of activities are those police forces doing over there that they won't tell us about? We want to know. We want to know specifics, names, people, that sort of thing."

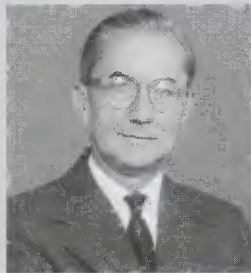
Technology transfer will still be with us. Our laws won't open up entirely, and we will be concerned over too much and illegal flow [as well as] the proliferation of weapons. . . . You can't negotiate if you don't know what they have, so you're going to have to develop specific knowledge about weapons so you can negotiate further reductions and then verify, both by the verification machinery and then by the cross-check of some independent intelligence The North Koreans are still protesting, "Oh, no, nothing going on here. Nobody here but us chickens, boss." All the others that have them, or are reputed to have them, are keeping them very silent. We need the specific facts by which to berate those governments, ask them to do something about it, or we will take some appropriate diplomatic actions or sanctions or whatever.

There is need for that kind of technological [intelligence]—identifying plants that may be producing nuclear materials. You can probably do that better from the sky than from the ground We have devices to identify testing of nuclear weapons, and we'll continue that kind of coverage. . . . Besides, it shows us a lot about

earthquakes, so it has a separate function.

Covert action

Will there be covert action? That's always a matter of great concern and fascination. I say, "Maybe." Obviously it is not as necessary as it was when every local dispute in some country around the world involved either further



Colby

power to the Soviet Union or further power to the United States. Therefore, any local problem became a microcosm of a Cold War confrontation. Some of those we are settling—Angola, Afghanistan to a degree—some of the others are not as intense as they were. But can that kind of a problem come up again? Not with respect to the Soviet Union, perhaps, but perhaps to some Islamic fundamentalist who wants to extend his sway over other countries. In those

situations, it may be desirable—*may* be desirable—to provide some covert support to people resisting that kind of extension of that kind of fundamental zealotism. I think that we will have to look at the world and decide on an individual case.

I am impressed at the two major reviews made of covert action by our Congress in the last years, the Church Committee in 1976 and the Iran Contra Committee. Both came to the conclusion that we should not bar our country from covert action; we might have a need for it. . . . [M]aybe we would want to help somebody replace an Ildi Amin. I don't call for any great missionary effort to create perfect democracy in every country, and I don't think that would be the right way to use covert action, either, but you can see the occasional situation where it might be important, if the Saddam Husseins once again threaten their neighbors, maybe some force to replace them with what I call the traditional form of change of government in Iraq might be appropriate. Not assassination—by us—but support to some groups.

You know, there's an interesting story about this.

(continued on page 24)

Service] with the Foreign Relations Committee. But nonetheless, we have the techniques by which we can work out our differences, discuss them, and we can share power under our Constitution with the proper representatives of our people. Granted, we do it with the committees alone and not with the House or the Senate as a whole, but those committees are demanding about the specifics of the intelligence activities.

So what do I say? More of the same? No, not more of the same. Substantial change in targets. Elimination? No. Saving money? Yes. I think there are lots of things that will be challenging for us as intelligence objectives in the future. So Langley will still remain. It will be busier than

ever, I'm sure. I tell young people that I think the function of intelligence in the next 10 or 20 years will be at least as challenging, if not more so, than it has been for the last 30 or 40 years, because those challenges of understanding this complex world around us are still going to be very much with us Americans, and in this New World Order, clearly the United States is going to play a leading role. It's going to need the intelligence, in all the senses of that word, that's necessary to carry that off. ■

Ambassador William Colby, former director of Central Intelligence, is currently with Donovan, Leisure, Rogovin, Hugel & Schiller in Washington, D.C.

Apparently before the military operation in Panama, the proposal was made that the CIA try to stir up some group of colonels to replace him. The concern was raised, and this went up to the Congress, "Suppose he is killed in the course of this process? Will we be accused of having been involved in his assassination?" And the idea was turned back and decided not to be done. Instead, we sent 24,000 troops there, we killed several hundred Panamanians and 40 or so Americans, and accomplished his capture, not his death. Was that the right decision? You can put up a pretty good argument on either side.

I think the decision was probably correct, because if we had engaged in that operation and he had been killed, I think you'd still be hearing about it, about America's assassination of Noriega, whereas by sending in the troops on a regular military level, we just fell into that traditional American role in Central America, let's face it. There's nothing new. I think the emotional aspect of it is considerably less than it might have been otherwise.

Too many cooks in the Gulf

Question: One kind of fragmentation you've just spoken about. There's another kind that General Schwarzkopf complained about during the [Persian] Gulf War. He felt he was getting too many intelligence estimates from too many different agencies. What is your assessment of the Gulf War, and what can we do about coordinating our intelligence even better?

Colby: I think the Gulf War turned out to be quite a success on all sides, obviously on the military side. But apparently—and I get this out of the papers—the question in the few days before the actual attack by Saddam Hussein was whether he was engaged in a bluff or whether he intended to go in. Apparently the CIA assessment was that he intended to go in. Now, you say that sounds right. Why didn't we do something about it? Well, interesting fact of the way you run the world today, that both President [Hosni] Mubarak [of Egypt] and King Hussein [of Jordan] had specific assurances from Sadaam that he was not going in, and they passed those assurances on to President Bush. He gave that some weight.

Now, I'm well aware that after any event, it's easy to find one report that says it was going to happen. It's hard, before the event, to distinguish that one from the 99 others that say some variation of what's going to happen. So I'm not saying that here was great prescience by the CIA. It turned out to be right, but, nonetheless, I understand the way these things work, and presidents do listen to kings and other presidents.

But intelligence in the war, I think the tactical intelligence was spectacular. Obviously our smart devices—and I don't just mean the bombs; I mean the viewers and the satellites and the aircraft and all that sort of thing—allowed our leaders to know exactly

what was happening on the ground and kept the enemy blind. That was an enormous tactical advantage to our side.

General Schwarzkopf is absolutely right. There are too many reports floating around in all directions. That's my answer to the question of whether you should consolidate all intelligence. The day you consolidated them, the Army would set up a research bureau, because they need that function under their own command. Any commander out in the field needs his own intelligence staff to go through all this cacophony around them and try to make the decision that seems best for him.

I've always supported the idea of a DIA [Defense Intelligence Agency] and the various other intelligence agencies. The INR (Bureau of Intelligence and Research), for example, does a specific job for the Department of State that probably would not be done as well by somebody else. . . .

I don't know the specifics of what Schwarzkopf's complaining about. Every tactical commander is going to complain that he doesn't have enough intelligence, even if he had more than everybody ever had in the history of the world. He's still going to complain that he doesn't have enough, because he doesn't have everything. If you had a perfect crystal ball which gave you a perfect picture of what's going to happen in the future, then you'd go around and take some action to make the future come out better than that crystal ball displayed. Then the crystal ball would turn out to be wrong, but wrong for the right reason. That really is the function of intelligence, to alert you to the problems, to cause you to take some action to make the future come out better, and to prove that the intelligence turned out to be wrong.

The great vacuum cleaner

Question: You've spoken about the DIA and the CIA and the rest of the intelligence community. I wonder if you have any comments about any new functions or roles for the NSA [National Security Agency] in this New World Order.

Colby: The NSA is a great vacuum cleaner. They can sweep up stuff all over the world. They are under certain restraints, obviously, to protect the rights of American citizens against being intruded upon, and some of that is self-discipline, but it's applied very rigorously within them. I think you may be in a situation where you don't need as big a radar station, perhaps, guarding against Soviet aircraft which don't exist. You know, that sort of thing that you will be able to do away with, or maybe you won't have to build the newest gizmo because the older one will do just as well for the time being. We're still going to have an NSA. I think it's an institution.

Secretary [Henry Lewis] Stimson, in his famous remark, closed up the State Department's codebreaking room, black chamber, with the remark that "gentlemen

don't read each other's mail." Well, the secretary discovered a very few years later that the world is not populated solely by gentlemen or even ladies.

Battling drugs

Question: You haven't said anything about drugs.

Colby: You raise a fascinating subject, that whole problem of the law enforcement. No, the drug lords are obviously one of our enemies in the years to come. We are going to have to focus on them. But the legal problems of focusing intelligence on a drug lord are fairly complicated, because you get him into court and then he says that you were violating his constitutional rights, and you end up not being able to try him. So the coordination between intelligence and law enforcement has to be very close indeed, so that the intelligence doesn't mess up the case it's trying to help make.

That's not to say that intelligence shouldn't have anything to do with it; it should, because there are things that it can report on and contribute to. But as I say, it has to be run very carefully between the two agencies so that the enforcement is not vitiated by whatever happened in terms of an illegal bug abroad, for example, something like that, where you think you could do what you wanted to in another country, and you find out you can't. You think you could do more or less what you wanted to. You know you can't do it against Americans in another country. You've got to go get a warrant in a special court to put a bug on an American abroad. But that doesn't say you have to get a warrant from them to put a bug on a foreigner. If the foreigner is a drug lord and you get certain information by that bug, and you then prosecute him and it comes out that you had the bug on him, how do our courts handle that? You get in a very messy situation in a hurry.

If your enemy is threatening to devastate your house, you're going to take some rather violent action to protect it. If your enemy no longer is threatening to devastate your house, you'll be a little nicer to him. I think that that's the phenomenon we're going to see . . . [T]he test of whether we deal with some foreign intelligence service is going to be a little more, "Do you really want to be caught dealing with that slob?" Rather than, "Oh, boy, he's on our side. He's our slob." [W]e can afford to be more demanding in the performance of our colleagues.

That's a job that ambassadors will increasingly have in their hands. I have always been a strong advocate of strong ambassadorial authority. I used to tell my friends in the Far East divisions that their first job is to recruit their ambassador and to make sure that he felt that he was in charge of policy. He didn't have to know the names of the agents, because he'd share it with his deputy and then there would be a new deputy the next month, then a new ambassador, and in five years you'd have 15 people aware of the names of your agents. You couldn't. But you can certainly let him control the policy, and he

should. It's the best thing for the CIA station that the ambassador is in charge of policy, because he's the responsible fellow. What is our relationship with this local intelligence service? Is it friendly? Are they decent people? Are they indecent people? Should we shy away from them? I think an ambassador will have a role in that decision, and properly so.

Economic spies

Question: Would you comment a little bit further on the intelligence role *vis-à-vis* economic competition? There has certainly been a lot of discussion about "Who are they and who are us?" If IBM of Japan and a research lab at MIT were competing for the same technology, how would the intelligence community define the national interest?

Colby: What the intelligence community may try to do is disentangle who is doing what to whom, who owns what, what kinds of projects are under way, as an analytical device. I don't see much need for secret collection, and certainly you won't have any in the United States or against an American company. You won't be collecting on an American company. I don't see us using the satellites to count Toyotas. There are other ways to find out how many Toyotas there are. But the analytical function may still be there to determine whether there is a trend that seems to be going in the wrong direction. There will be a lot of other participants in that analytical game, in the Commerce Department and all the rest.

The intelligence dividend

Question: Could you give us any idea of the order of magnitude of savings that could be attained with some of the reduction in arms intelligence activities at least against the Soviet Union?

Colby: I won't say intelligence, but if you'll notice the Stockholm reports that in the world as a whole, in the last several years, we humans have spent \$1 trillion each year on military forces and weapons, and about 30 percent by the Soviets, about 30 percent by the Americans, and about 20 percent by our NATO and Warsaw Pact allies. That's \$800 billion a year has gone into essentially the Cold War. The Cold War's over.

Is there a peace dividend? There certainly will be. What is the size of it? I would say roughly half. We sent 15 percent of our armed forces to the Gulf. Now, say we had half the size. The administration is planning a cut of a quarter of our forces. They're still going to spend a lot of money on some silly devices like the SDI, but that's another problem. But the fact is, if you had half the force and you had to send 30 percent on a mission like that, you could do it.

The intelligence one is very hard for me to answer. I don't know what the composition of it is today, but I would say a substantial reduction is possible, and that means several billions of dollars. ■

THE SPECTACULAR RISE AND IGNOMINIOUS FALL OF ELLIOTT ABRAMS

BY JIM ANDERSON

On November 15, in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Elliott Abrams, 43, the assistant secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs from 1985 to 1989, was sentenced to two years' probation, 100 hours of community service, and a fine of \$50 after earlier pleading guilty to two misdemeanor counts of withholding information from Congress. Under the terms of the plea bargain, he may not appeal.

The sins of Elliott Abrams sound venial—"withholding information from Congress." If that crime were to be generally prosecuted, it would drive a stake into the heart of the State Department. Literally applied, it would mean that the upper levels of the Foreign Service would be a den of recidivist criminals, since withholding some information from lawmakers and others is one of the basic rules in the very serious game routinely played between the State Department and the rest of the world. In fact, the carefully negotiated misdemeanor charges to which Abrams pleaded guilty on October 7 are themselves an example of withholding information.



aka 'Kenilworth'

Abrams was indicted on the basis of two statements (there were others which were as egregious and which were not prosecuted) because he gave answers which he knew to be false to congressional oversight committees in response to direct questions. In other real life situations involving spouses and employers that is customarily called lying.

In the first count, Abrams was asked before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee about a newspaper article reporting that an elaborate system of supplying and financing the Nicaraguan contras using foreign government contributions had been established by the U.S. government. Abrams answered, "We do not encourage people to do this .

... we don't have conversations, we don't tell them to do this, we don't ask them to do it."

The newspaper report was essentially accurate. At the time, the Reagan Administration was publicly arranging elaborate contra fundraisers to get money from wealthy American supporters, as well as secretly getting funds from foreign governments. As Abrams, who was head of

the Restricted Interagency Group (RIG) in charge of contra operations, knew, the administration had already solicited and was receiving \$2 million per month from the Saudis, as well as money from the government of Taiwan. Abrams called it "the tin-cup operation."

But the funds were insufficient. A principal reason was that the contras were being vastly overcharged by CIA-approved arms dealers, such as Richard Secord. Also, private fundraising entrepreneurs approved by the White House were taking rapacious commissions off the top, including \$25,000 charged for each fleeting cameo appearance by President Reagan at the fundraisers.

To make up the shortfall, Abrams was delegated by Secretary of State George Shultz to seek a \$10 million contribution for the contras from an affluent, disinterested country that did not receive American foreign assistance.

Oil-rich Brunei in Southeast Asia was a natural, but it would have been unseemly for Shultz himself to make the fund raising pitch in the course of his 1986 visit to Brunei. So he asked Abrams to do it. Under the cover name of "Kenilworth," Abrams went to London in August 1986 for the specific purpose of making the request for the money from a representative of the sultan. There was no doubt about the assignment, the donor, or the recipient, and there was no doubt that Abrams knew about the previous foreign contributions. Abrams got the money, but, in a comic microcosm of the whole bungled affair, it was sent to the wrong Swiss numbered bank account. His denial that he knew anything about fundraising from foreign countries was one example of "withholding information."

According to the second criminal count, two months after his London trip to solicit the \$10 million from Brunei, Abrams and other witnesses were asked before the House Select Committee if they knew if any foreign government was helping to supply the contras. Clair George, in charge of Latin American operations for the CIA, replied, "No, sir, we have no intelligence of that."

Abrams chimed in with a direct statement disputing the story of the Saudi contribution. Asked about "other governments as well," Abrams, aka "Kenilworth," bags just unpacked from London, answered, "Yes, it is false."

A form of blackmail

Clair George and Elliott Abrams sat at the same witness table at the same time and gave essentially the same deceptive answers. Clair George was charged with 10 counts, including the felony of perjury, while Abrams was charged only with the two misdemeanor charges. The difference is that George decided to fight the charges while Abrams pleaded guilty, promising to cooperate

with the independent counsel, Lawrence Walsh. In effect, Walsh gave Abrams a break so that he would help deliver Clair George and another CIA indictee, Alan Fiers. They are yet to be tried and their cases will probably wind up the whole investigation.

One of Abrams' supporters, Otto Reich, an ambassador to Venezuela while Abrams was assistant secretary, calls that "a form of blackmail." As Abrams knows as a Harvard-trained attorney and political activist who rode the neo-conservative wave (including the part about being tough on crime), that is the way the American judicial system works. A guilty plea is an admission of culpability as well as a means of avoiding a ruinously expensive legal defense and saving the government time and money. It is a system worked out by lawyers. Thus ended the spectacular public career of a bright, energetic,

ambitious intellectual—the youngest assistant secretary of State in history—a career that began under such mentors as Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick. Articulate and attractive, with just a touch of arrogance, he became a fixture on ABC's "Nightline" and relished the *mano-a-mano* debates on PBS with Sandinista supporters.

'We screwed up'

My first encounter with Abrams came when he was an activist and effective head of the Human Rights Bureau. I was State Department correspondent for United Press International and I had been tipped

that the Reagan Administration had issued an export permit for the sale of several hundred cattle prods to South Korea, then under a martial law government. Since there is no cattle industry in South Korea, it was likely that the instruments, which give a painful but non-lethal shock, were meant for humans, either as crowd control or more likely as "prompters" in police interrogations. After two days of mushy, noncommittal responses from the State Department Press Office, I told Abrams's office that I was going with the story without a State Department response.

He asked me to come up to his office immediately. As he greeted me, in his hand was one of the cattle prods—black, twice the length of a flashlight, with its copper diodes visible. He said, "We screwed up." He explained how the State Department bureaus had missed the clues in the export license application (and gave me a tip for another story on how an earlier application from the South African police force for cattle prods was missed when the sale was falsely described as "flashlights"). I did the story, but it treated the cattle prod sale as an anomaly in the human rights policy of the Reagan State Depart-

Abrams was delegated by Secretary of State George Shultz to seek a \$10 million contribution for the contras from an affluent, disinterested country that did not receive American foreign assistance. Oil-rich Brunei in Southeast Asia was a natural, but it would have been unseemly for Shultz himself to make the fund-raising pitch in the course of his 1986 visit to Brunei. So he asked Abrams to do it.

ment run by Abrams. That wouldn't have happened with the State Department's traditional way of dealing with unpleasant news.

Tragic blind spot

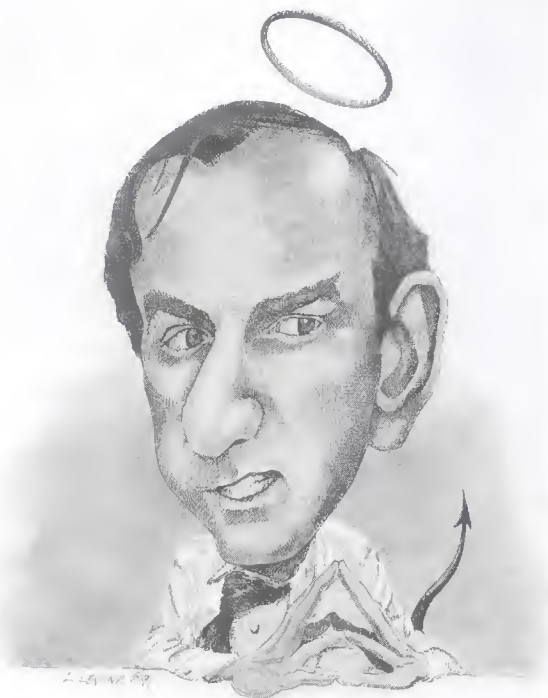
Central America was Abrams's focus, but it was also his blind spot. Aryeh Neier, a human rights activist, has written that "deception was at the core of Abrams's performance" in the Human Rights Bureau as well as in Inter-American Affairs (ARA) and that he tried to conceal or ignore egregious right-wing abuses in Latin America, including right-wing death squad killings in Guatemala, because they were ideologically inconvenient to reveal. But State Department officials who do not identify with Abrams and his techniques in Central America say that he was active and effective in defending human rights in other parts of the world, including other parts of Latin America. One of those FSOs discovered that Abrams remains a kind of national hero in Uganda, because he was the first American official to give international exposure to the abuses of Idi Amin.

As described by some of his former subordinates, the Central American episode was an obsession and a tragedy in Abrams's career. Although it created the military standoff that set the stage for the deal leading to the later removal from power of the Sandinistas, it absorbed his intelligence and energies, which could have done much good if directed to other problems in the hemisphere. But Otto Reich, who was also former head of the notorious Office of Public Policy, says, "You had a president who drew the battle lines in Central America. As an assistant secretary of State you don't tell the president, 'No thanks, I'd rather go to Chile and talk about grapes.' Abrams delegated that stuff to his deputies, mainly Bob Gelbard." Another former aide disagrees with Reich's analysis. He says almost wistfully, "I wish I could have made Elliott think about Mexico."

Good cop, bad cop

Some of his defenders in the State Department argue that Abrams's actions, whatever their shortcomings, led to the advent of democracy in Nicaragua and "that was part of winning the 'Superbowl' over communism globally." But others who worked in the same bureau say that the real switch came after Reagan (and Abrams) and the other hardliners had left office. They say it was James

Baker's old-time, state-house politics that put together the 1989 "bipartisan" package on Nicaragua, in which the chairmen of key congressional committees agreed to deliver Congress, as long as Baker played straight with them on eliminating military aid to the contras. The deal between the administration and Congress, made privately but revealed publicly, worked where the secret war had failed. It is impossible to know whether Baker's wheeling and dealing—the good cop—could have succeeded without Abrams—the bad cop—to soften up the various sides first.



Abrams was clearly not the author of the cowboy style of conducting policy that permitted the Iran-contra affair to continue unimpeded. To analyze Abrams's role, it is useful to drop the Iran element of the equation; nobody has suggested that the State Department—Abrams or anybody else—had any role in the sale of weapons to the Iranians in what amounted to a misbegotten swap of arms for hostages. The available evidence is to the contrary. When Secretary of State George Shultz or Under Secretary Michael Armacost or U.S. ambassadors abroad got wind of such dealings, they tried to blow the whistle and were either ignored, lied to by the White House, or overruled by President Reagan.

On the question of the contra funding, both legal and illegal, Reagan fostered a permissive, even supportive atmosphere ("I am a contra, too") with his repeated appearances at fundraisers. That was transmitted down through the government, including to Secretary of State George Shultz, at a time when lethal aid to the contras was forbidden by the Boland amendment.

Shultz under siege

Shultz, a onetime professor of economics and member of the board of General Motors, understands very well the principle of the fungibility of money. If money is given the contras for "boots, beans, and bandages," that liberates other contra funds for landmines and ammunition, which creates the need for more bandages. Shultz disagreed with Reagan on many issues, including disarmament, but, as he told Don Oberdorfer, who reported it in his new book, *The Turn*, Shultz believed that it was not his job to second-guess a strongly held policy declared by a president elected to a second term by an overwhelming majority of American voters.

One can question that, but it must be recalled that it was a time of lonely siege for Shultz. He was fighting daily battles with Donald Regan in the White House, Caspar Weinberger in the Pentagon, and William Casey at the CIA on foreign policy issues, plus taking a controversial stand in opposition to the president on lie-detector tests for government employees. Shultz was a wary, wounded veteran, unprotected by his president and under constant fire, saving his remaining political ammunition for what he thought was the main battle, defusing and finally winning the Cold War with the Soviet Union. Under fire, Shultz knowingly and reluctantly participated in the distortion of the American system when he explicitly ordered Abrams to go to London to get the secret contra support money from Brunei. He deliberately avoided knowing too much about an operation that smelled bad to him, and he evaded some of his responsibility and the administration infighting by turning the job over to Abrams, who served as Good Soldier and Lightning Rod. Was Abrams taking the fall for the secretary of State, who wanted to be otherwise occupied and remain apart from the Central American mess? The consensus appears to be yes.

Even though Shultz has remained an admirer of Abrams, it was clear that Abrams lied to him and Congress about the U.S. connection with the CIA airplane that was shot down over Nicaragua and about Ollie North's activities. (Shultz later praised Abrams as "a very able, energetic, fine person . . . he is good, really good.") Since both have left office, Shultz has invited Abrams to speak to his class at Stanford University, where Abrams was his houseguest.) Asked once whether he had elicited money from "Israel or any other Mideastern country," Abrams concealed the Brunei operation because, as he later explained correctly, Brunei is not a Middle Eastern country. Then, caught in that nicety, he was asked if it was true that unless the senators asked precisely the right question, they weren't going to get the right answer. Abrams answered, "That's exactly a correct description." In November 1986 Abrams sparred with Senator Thomas Eagleton about his previous evasions in answers to committees. Abrams allowed that he might have strayed in some of his earlier answers. Eagleton stormed, "Under oath, my friend, that's perjury." Abrams responded, "You've heard my testimony." Eagleton: "I've heard it, and I want to puke."

On October 3, 1986, a C-123 Caribou transport, on a CIA mission to airdrop supplies to the contras, was shot down over Nicaragua. Only Eugene Hasenfus, an airdrop specialist in the back of the airplane who had the foresight to wear a parachute, survived. He was captured by the Sandinistas and identified himself as a CIA employee. Abrams assured Shultz that no U.S. agency had been involved in the flights, and Shultz went public with that false assurance, saying, on the basis of Abrams's account, that the plane had been "hired by private people." As Theodore Draper says in *A Very Thin Line*, Abrams was the chief figure in the Hasenfus episode

damage control. His greatest defect, as Draper writes, "was that he grossly overestimated his own cleverness." As chairman of the RIG, Abrams knew about the flights and the U.S. government involvement in them and, following the lead of President Reagan, said there was no U.S. involvement. That was a lie so gross, so patent, and so insulting that many people, some of them in Congress and others in the press, began to go to work on the case. That was the unraveling of the whole affair.

Fast lane

Perhaps not coincidentally, Abrams' spectacular trajectory (three assistant secretary of State positions before the age of 40, indicted at 43) came at a time when other bright young men were soaring and crashing, during the go-go Reagan years. In the financial markets and banks, people like Michael Milken soared to the stars and then went to jail and others followed. If there was a common denominator, it would be a certain risk-taking mentality, a *laissez-faire* permissiveness toward breaking the rules (and laws) in favor of the Greater Truth, (whether it was a free-market profit or defeating communism in Central America). The rewards for success, whether financial or psychic, were immense, the watchdogs were sleepy, and the penalties for failure appeared to be infrequent and trivial.

It is possible to see aspiring young Reaganauts such as Abrams and Lieutenant Colonel North in some lines written by Lord Byron when the poet was looking for a worthy foreign cause to support:

*"To do good to mankind is the chivalrous plan.
And is always as nobly required:
Then battle for freedom wherever you can,
And, if not shot or hanged, you'll get knighted."*

In terms of Central America and a political career, the true believers intended to do good but also expected to do well by themselves in the process. In one group photograph taken after the U.S. ambassador to Managua had been declared *persona non grata* by the Sandinistas and denounced as a "robot," 14 subordinates of Abrams appear wearing T-shirts proudly proclaiming themselves as "robots." Five of them later became ambassadors and several still serve in high ranks.

Even before Abrams arrived at ARA in July 1985 to replace Langhorne Motley (who was seen to be insufficiently enthusiastic about the war in Central America), the State Department's Bureau of Inter-American Affairs had been divided over the political demands coming from the White House over Central America.

At the State Department, the internal symbol of the perfervid foreign policy demanded by the White House was the Office of Public Policy, known in its latter days by its department abbreviation as LPD (Latin Public Diplomacy) (or, as it was sneeringly described by career Foreign Service officers, "That-loose-cannon-LPD"). Its offices on the fourth floor of the State Department looked like a combat post, with contra flags, slogans, helmets, and people eager to arrange interviews with gentle-

looking, English-speaking Miskito Indians to talk about their persecution by the Sandinistas. On the bumper of the car of one of LPD's employees in the State Department basement garage just after the Grenada invasion in 1982 were the words, "Nicaragua Next." LPD's duplicating machines were non-stop assembly lines for press kits, complete with what was said to be "overhead" intelligence photography, of 10,000-foot runways in Nicaraguan jungles obviously designed for MiG fighter-bombers, which somehow never landed. LPD was a one-stop convenience store for willing reporters who could pick up all sorts of questionable scoops, including the assertion that the more radical elements of the Palestine Liberation Organization were running the Communist campaign to subvert democracy in Central America.

Abrams himself, however, was openly contemptuous of such techniques and, soon after his arrival in the Latin American bureau, he effectively closed down LPD by taking over its functions.

Pro and contra

It is still an issue of controversy among those who worked with Abrams whether he represented a dangerous politicization of the foreign policy system. There does seem to be a consensus among those willing to talk about it, that the damage, if any, was not permanent or severe. One FSO says, "That's what the Foreign Service does: We carry out the policies laid down by people who were elected to office."

The dispute is over the degree. There is no question that the careers of two senior FSOs, John Ferch, former ambassador to Honduras, and Frank McNeil, a deputy in INR, were lopped off when they collided head-on with Abrams and the administration's Central American policy. Both left their Foreign Service careers behind, McNeil with a parting blast at Abrams (March 1989 *Journal*) accusing him of McCarthyism, blighting the career of internal critics of his policies, and cooking the books on intelligence figures involving the Sandinista incursions into Honduras. Abrams replied that McNeil was an embittered man because he was vetoed by Abrams for the ambassadorship to Peru. Ferch, now with the CIA, also had some angry parting words about Abrams's politicization. Abrams, in turn, said that Ferch was fired for incompetent management of the embassy in Tegucigalpa. (Ferch's response appears in the May 1989 *Journal*.)

Did this have a chilling effect on the colleagues of Ferch and McNeil? A handful of anonymous interviewees thought there was a temporary impact, but, since Central American policy had already become such a political hot potato, career FSOs seem to have

had a professional common sense approach: keep away from it.

More insidious, perhaps, was the manner in which a secretly carried out policy—and the deceptions it necessarily entails—tend to create institutional attitudes that put concealment all in a day's work.

North, in his trial in District Court, explained to Judge Gerhard Gesell that it was not so much a matter of lying but of "giving less than full answers . . . you present the truth as it best expresses your behavior." To the operators of the contra funding operation, telling the truth to a leak-prone Congress was risky, if not to your career, then to the people out there on the

front lines whose lives were in peril. As author Ann Wroe says, "The thinking was military and the compartments very small." Abrams, as director of the RIG committee that ran the contras, enlisted the State Department in this compartmentalized world of military thinking, but he had good reason to believe that he was doing so with the tacit permission of his superiors, including the president and the secretary of State.

One FSO who worked with Abrams, but not with the contra operation, said, "You assume that these things are going on, and you deliberately don't inquire. We understand that foreign policy is carried out by overt and covert means, and you just hope that your [CIA] station chief is not doing anything illegal."

Tight-lipped

Was the whole Iran-contra affair and Abrams's role merely a one-time aberration, or does he represent a new way of doing business in the State Department? The consensus appears to be that the effect of Abrams and Reaganism was transitory.

As a reporter who has covered the State Department for some 20 years, however, I have never seen information so directed as it is now. I cannot say if the flow of information is also restricted, but I am told by frustrated friends who work there that it is.

As the Abrams case shows, there was a policy of routinely concealing the truth from Congress and the people, when convenient. When thought necessary, it was permissible to lie. If nothing else, that has created a sense of mistrust and ill-will between the executive branch and Congress and a sometimes unhealthy degree of cynicism on the part of the press. That cannot help the conduct of foreign policy. ■

Jim Anderson, a correspondent with Deutsche Presse-Agentur, is a frequent contributor to the Journal. He has covered the State Department for 20 years.

AFSA considers challenge to AFGE

AFSA's USIA Standing Committee has been meeting to consider whether to challenge AFGE in an election open to all USIA Foreign Service members.

At the request of the Standing Committee, AFSA Vice President for USIA Bud Hensgen and Representative Lauren Hale have sent all members of the USIA Foreign Service bargaining unit a petition asking that an election be called to determine who will represent the USIA Foreign Service. The election would be scheduled some time after June 1992.

Since AFSA is not the exclusive bargaining unit of the USIA Foreign Service, USIA management representatives have made it clear that they cannot meet with the AFSA Standing Committee to discuss any issues, either professional or bargaining. The AFSA/USIA Standing Committee, in discussing USIA's programs and its future, has organized working groups to address some of the issues involved.

- **USIA and the future of international broadcasting.** This group, coordinated by Guy Farmer, drafted a letter to the President's Task Force on Broadcasting stating that USIA should remain the focal point of U.S. government international broadcasting. AFSA President Hume Horan has written a similar letter to the task force.

- **USIA and support for democratic initiatives.** This group, coordinated by Joe Johnson, is considering how USIA can develop ways to ensure its proper role in sup-

porting democratic initiatives abroad.

- **USIA's image on Capitol Hill.**

Lynn Cassel and Sheila Austrian are coordinating this group, which is working informally with the USIA Office of Congressional Liaison to have more USIA FS members meet with their congressional representatives when they are in Washington.

- **Membership.** This group is coordinated by Anne Stenzel.

- **Bargaining unit issues,** coordinated by Susan Hovanec and George Sholz.

USIA Foreign Service personnel also serve on AFSA committees with members of other agencies. Cynthia Farrell-Johnson is on the AFSA Education Committee and Kathy Brion serves on the Awards Committee. Joe Johnson and Hans Tuch are on the *Foreign Service Journal* Editorial Board.

Long-term care insurance offered

by *Teresita Schaffer*
Insurance Board Chairman

After extensive research, the AFSA Insurance Trustees have selected a long-term care (nursing home) insurance product for recommendation to AFSA's membership. If you either have or are considering long-term care coverage, you will want to take advantage of this new program, which will be offered by AFSA beginning in early 1992.

Numerous consumer organizations, including Consumer's Union, have warned of deceptive practices in the sale of this particular form of insurance. The AFSA program will eliminate the need to deal with various insurance agents. The insurance company selected has the highest rating (A+ Superior) with more than \$900 million in assets. It is endorsed by the American Health Care Association and has been selling this product since 1974. No other insurance company offers this experience and stability.

Coverage will be available for members and spouses, as well as parents and parents-in-law, ages 55 through 79. No prior hospitalization is required for benefits to begin. Premiums do not increase with age and are waived after 90 days of confinement. Coverage is guaranteed renewable and has an automatic benefit increase option available; and yes, Alzheimer's disease is covered. The same benefits are payable for all levels of nursing home care: skilled, intermediate, or custodial. Benefits are not reduced for custodial care, and there is no requirement that skilled care be provided first. Benefits will be paid as long as there exists a level of functional incapacity that makes a continued nursing home stay appropriate and reasonable until the benefit level has been reached.

Also of great importance, unlike many policies, the AFSA long-term care policy will have no coordination of benefits feature. If other benefits are available to you, they will not reduce the benefits under the proposed insurance program. Pre-existing conditions will be covered. Finally, you do not have to actually receive and present bills to be reimbursed under the AFSA long-term care insurance policy. It is an indemnification contract, paying the full daily benefits whether or not the actual expenses are incurred. If you need additional information, call 1-800-242-8221 (AFSA desk) during EST business hours.

Grievances: new time limits

by **Chris Perine**
Member Services Director

Effective November 1, 1991, the time limits for filing materials in a case before the Foreign Service Grievance Board have changed. The new schedule allows the grievant 30 days following the date of his or her original submission to provide additional information to the board in support of the grievance. The agency then has 30 days from the time of the grievant's supplemental filing, if any, to provide its position. Finally, the grievant has 15 additional days to file a rebuttal to the agency's submission. The new time limits shorten the Record of Proceedings (R.O.P.) from 90 to 75 days.

These changes resulted from a series of roundtable discussions among the interested parties, including AFSA. The hope is that the new time limits will keep the process on a more timely and predictable track. In the past, parties in a grievance could file submissions at any time during the 90-day R.O.P. Often, parties would file documents near the end of the R.O.P., hindering the opportunity for substantive responses and creating an administrative problem for the board.

The time limits apply to submissions to the Grievance Board only. Grievances filed at the agency level are unaffected. Anyone considering filing a grievance should contact AFSA's Member Services Department for a complete explanation of the new time limits.

Answers to the Foreign Service Quiz

(Questions appear on page 11.)

1. False
2. True
3. True
4. False
5. True

Travel policy problems

by **Warren Tryon**
Member Services Representative

After this summer's busy travel season, AFSA received a number of complaints about the department's contract travel policy. Under this policy, employees must fly on contracted American carriers or pay the difference between the full fare and the contracted fare. Those employees stationed at posts not served by an American carrier must fly to the appropriate (not necessarily the nearest) contracted travel point.

An overriding concern expressed by many employees is the level of service provided by contract airlines. Many believe that airlines provide a lower level of service to government employees traveling on contract fares. This perception is particularly evident on the long international flights required of many Foreign Service employees.

AFSA sent out an ALDAC cable requesting comments from employees. We have received a number of responses from the field. Many employees complained that their particular post, usually one not served by an

American carrier, lacked information and facilities necessary to make travel plans.

One employee stated that because there was no airline or travel agent at post who could issue contract fare tickets, he was issued only a one-way ticket to Washington and had to complete his itinerary in Washington.

Another employee, transferring to an onward assignment after home leave and consultations, complained that the contract fare regulations caused her to spend many hours changing her route in order to cut costs.

Other employees stated that they experienced significant financial hardships utilizing contract fares for R&R travel because they had to pay for overnight stopovers without any reimbursement from the department in order to catch flights on American carriers.

Clearly many employees have found the current regulations extremely burdensome. AFSA is continuing to receive responses to our cable and we encourage employees to provide us with their own comments about the contract fare policy.

AFSA protests use of audit letters

by **Mark W. Smith**
Legal Assistant

AFSA has charged A.I.D. with an unfair labor practice over the agency's unilateral use of audit representation letters. These letters constitute a change in conditions of employment, and, since July, AFSA has protested their use by the A.I.D. Inspector General's Office. The letters contain broad statements accepting responsibility for information given during an audit. Although employees may refuse to sign them, a refusal can be noted in the audit report and will prevent positive comments from being made.

At present, employees are not given adequate instruction in the meaning of the letters. Interim advice from the A.I.D. general counsel's office has convinced many employees not to sign. Not all employees receive A.I.D. advice, however, and they may not be aware of what liability they could face by signing.

AFSA filed an unfair labor practice charge on August 6. The Foreign Service Labor Relations Board upheld it, issuing its complaint on October 31. A hearing is now scheduled for February 5, 1992, before an administrative law judge. Through negotiations AFSA will fight for clarification of liability, the right to attorney representation, and other procedural safeguards.

Group disability insurance offered

by **Teresita Schaffer**
Insurance Board Chairman

The American Foreign Service Association is once again offering Group Disability Income insurance with simplified acceptance provisions. This low-cost plan is only one of the many benefits available through your AFSA membership.

All AFSA members and/or their spouses may apply if they are under age 60, have been actively working full-time (at least 30 hours per week) for the past 90 days, and have not been hospitalized in the past six months. The deadline for this Special Enrollment Period is June 1, 1992.

Members will receive a monthly benefit of their choice of \$400 or

\$1,000 every month for up to five full years when disabled by a covered accident and up to one full year when disabled by a covered illness. Payments start on the 31st day of disability to tie-in with any sick leave pay that might be received from an employer.

This coverage pays in addition to any other insurance, including Social Security, Worker's Compensation and any other group plans. And, if for any reason the member is not completely satisfied with the policy, it may be returned within 30 days for a complete refund.

The AFSA Group Disability Income Plan is extremely economical due to the mass-purchasing power of the AFSA membership. And, according to IRS ruling, all benefits are totally free from taxation.

You will be receiving complete information regarding the AFSA Group Disability Income Plan through the mail soon. If you have any questions, please contact the Insurance Administrator: Albert H. Wohlers & Co., AFSA GROUP INSURANCE PLANS, 1440 N. Northwest Highway, Park Ridge, Illinois 60068-1400. Or call 1-800-323-2106.

JF-1 FORM

Who should file disclosure forms?

by **Edwin Gania**
Law Clerk

Some AFSA members have been asked to file a Confidential Statement of Employment and Financial Interests (Form J-1) even though they are not required to file the Executive Branch Financial Disclosure Report (Form SF-278). The J-1 entails disclosure of one's financial interests, creditors, and outside activities. It is properly required of only those individuals who are at mid-level or above and have responsibility for or take government action with regard to one of the following: Contracting or procurement; administering or monitoring grants or subsidies; regulating or auditing a private or other non-federal enterprise; or activities which impact the economic interests of a non-federal enterprise.

Nonetheless, it has come to the attention of AFSA that some members have been asked to file even though they do not meet these requirements. Those who do not promptly file are subject to disciplinary action.

There is an appeals procedure available if you do not agree with your supervisor's determination of your need to file. As always, contact AFSA with your questions or concerns.

newsbriefs

DS OVERTIME PAY

Thanks to an amendment to the 1992 Treasury authorization bill, Diplomatic Security agents now qualify for premium pay under the Federal Employees Pay Comparability Act (FEPCA). AFSA lobbied to bring about this change, one that overturns the State Department's narrow interpretation of FEPCA. DS agents will now be treated similarly, in this respect, to other federal law enforcement agents.

DAY CARE CENTER DEPENDS ON RENOVATION

The future of the State Department-funded child care center proposed for Columbia Plaza is dependent on significant renovations to the ailing building. At a recent meeting of Child Development, Inc., a non-profit organization created to monitor and eventually run the planned center, a department official stated that management is awaiting appropriation by Congress in order to proceed with a substantial renovation plan for the building. According to the department, funding for the \$32 million renovation project has been authorized; all that remains is for Congress to appropriate the expenditure. Although Columbia Plaza is currently privately owned, the department will receive a very favorable lease agreement, along with the option to buy the building in the future, should the government-funded renovation project be completed.

EXPORT PROMOTION SYMPOSIUM

AFSA will sponsor an all-day symposium on Export Promotion at the Department of State on Thursday, February 6, 1992.

Panels at the symposium will discuss:

- Improving U.S. export promotion and strengthening public and private sector cooperation.
- Enhancing U.S. export programs.
- Getting reliable information on export opportunities.
- Using resources efficiently to promote exports.

The registration fee is \$190 for those who sign up before January 17, 1992, and \$250 for all others. For further information or a brochure on the symposium, please call the AFSA Outreach Department at (202) 338-4055.

from the A.I.D. vice president

Below is the text of a letter written by A.I.D. Vice President Priscilla Del Bosque in response to an article in the October issue of Government Executive.

"Rejiggering AID's Archaic Bureaucracy" rightly pointed out some serious problems facing the Agency for International Development today. It is ironic, however, that when the men and women of this agency—recognized as the best development corps in the world—should be getting a pat on the back for their enormous contributions to the dramatic changes taking place throughout the world, they are instead the object of unwarranted criticism.

With the demise of communism and the triumph of free enterprise, the United States has unprecedented opportunities to better the chances for global prosperity, economic cooper-

ation, democracy and peace. Never have conditions been so favorable for helping developing countries achieve sustainable growth and better living conditions for their peoples.

There is something wrong in AID's top management. Instead of recognizing and taking pride in the accomplishments of A.I.D. professionals, there is doubt. Instead of resolve and determination to fulfill our country's mission in this historical moment of change, there is uncertainty. Instead of reflecting on the success of our work, there is talk of dismantling A.I.D.

... The challenge is to transmit to the American public a greater understanding and appreciation of the importance of development work and the benefits that development brings to the United States. This requires strong leadership to assert A.I.D.'s ac-

complishments and to set the pace for using A.I.D.'s extensive experience and field knowledge more forcefully and effectively for the mutual benefit of the United States and the developing world.

... When the outgoing deputy administrator of the agency said [in the article] this is the "worst bureaucracy" he has worked with in 25 years of government, you should have asked, "And what have you done, Mr. Edelman . . . to improve the management of the organization?" And when the administrator stated that he has no strong opinions on the survival of A.I.D. as an independent agency, you should have wondered, "Who is providing leadership and vision for A.I.D., if not the administrator?"

Your article told part of the story; next time, ask a few more questions.

New named AFSA scholarships announced

by Gail Volk
Director of Scholarships
and Development

The new chairman of AFSA's Committee on Education, Robert H. Miller, has announced the establishment of a new perpetual and two new annual scholarships for the 1992-93 academic year. Miller, who last served as ambassador to the Ivory Coast and then as vice-president of the National Defense University and as ambassador-in-residence at George Washington University, is replacing Jack W. Lydman.

40th Perpetual Scholarship

In honor of the generosity of donors to the suit against the makers of the film, "Missing," the residual funds of which were transmitted to the Scholarship Fund by Ambassador Nathaniel Davis, AFSA acknowledges a new perpetual scholarship. AFSA's 40th perpetual scholarship joins other scholarships named in honor of such distinguished contributors as John Whitehead, George Shultz, and Ernest Siracusa.

The Jack W. Lydman Scholarship

The Jack W. Lydman Scholarship comes from a generous contribution made by Ambassador Lydman when he retired as chair of the AFSA Committee on Education in September 1991. Ambassador Lydman graduated from Bard College in 1942 and then worked as a research analyst for the War Department. Leaving for the Department of State in 1946, he began a long career in the Foreign Service, culminating in his appointment as ambassador to Malaysia in 1969. Since retiring from the Foreign Service in 1974, he has served as a visiting fellow of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation at Princeton and a member of the Board of Trustees of Bard College. He holds several offices at DACOR (Diplomatic and Consular Officers Retired) and is a director of the National Humane Society and a member of the Asia Society's Advisory Council. Ambassador Lydman's contribution to the AFSA Scholarship Program shows his stated concern "for the continuity of the Foreign Service and the welfare of the Foreign Service family."

The Robert L. Yost Scholarship

The Robert L. Yost Memorial Scholarship is established through a generous contribution made by June Yost, the wife of the late Robert Lloyd Yost. Ambassador Yost was a 1942 graduate of UCLA and served in the military before beginning his Foreign Service career. His final posting was as ambassador to the Dominican Republic. Upon his retirement, he continued to work as a consultant for international groups in California, and successfully reconstituted the AFSA retiree chapter in Northern California. Ambassador Yost passed away on May 29, 1990.

Our special thanks to those who have given to these scholarship funds. A gift of \$1,000 or more will name a scholarship in the year it is given while a gift of \$10,000 or more will qualify the donor to name a scholarship in perpetuity.

The deadline for scholarship applications is February 15. For details see page 60.

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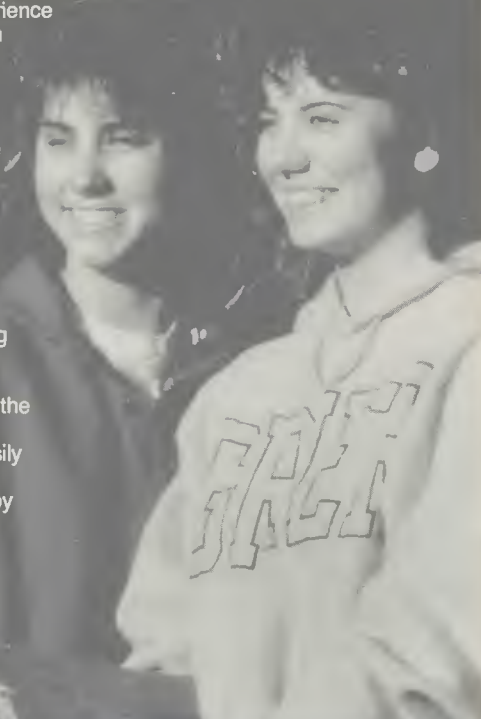
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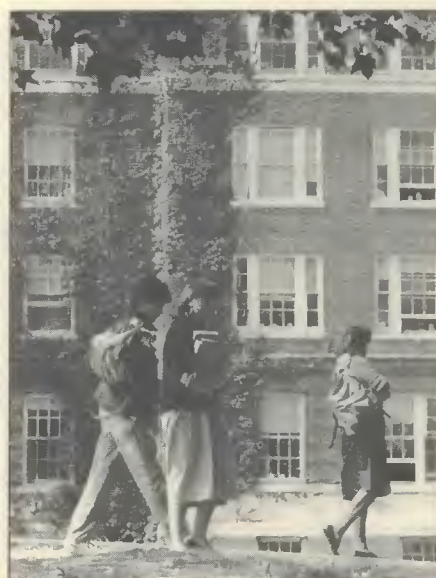
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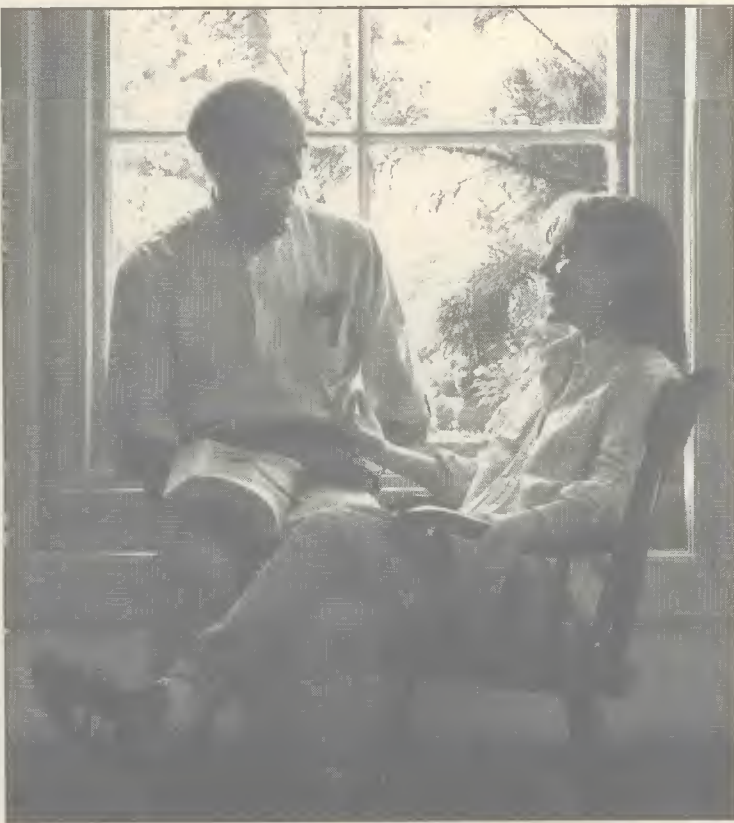
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A.I.D.'s identity CRISIS

Some strange and troubling things are going on with this country's foreign aid program, and they have nothing to do with the charges of mismanagement and fraud that seem to preoccupy the media. The administration and the Congress have failed to address effectively the development challenges of poor countries at a time when the need is urgent and solutions are at hand. Now, more than ever before, accelerated development in the less developed countries of the world will serve the interests of this country and will promote world peace, security, and prosperity.

"What happens to the Agency for International Development will affect the shaping of foreign aid policies," AFSA A.I.D. Vice President Priscilla Del Bosque recently wrote. "The agency's fate will also affect the outcome of today's unprecedented opportunities throughout the world for lasting economic and democratic change. If A.I.D. is unable to meet these challenges successfully, the very survival of the agency is at stake. . . . The fundamental problems facing the agency today can be summed up in two words: leadership crisis. The agency is unable to assert forcefully and effectively an agenda for development."

Why is it that A.I.D., until recently considered the preeminent international development agency, now finds itself on the defensive in a national debate about foreign assistance priorities? Why is A.I.D. going off in directions that give too much attention to short-term programs and priorities not in the interest of long-term economic development? And why, according to Lane Holdcroft, a retired Senior Foreign Service Officer who inter-

BY

C. STUART CALLISON

AND

JOHN G. STOVALL

viewed 50 mid-level and senior A.I.D. staffers, is morale among career professionals "extraordinarily low," in an agency where most of them once considered the work exciting, challenging, and rewarding? But the paramount question is about A.I.D.'s ability to grasp present opportunities and to inspire American leadership in the post Cold War "world order."

Several study groups have recently called for foreign aid reforms. One particularly prestigious group was commissioned by the Board for International Food and Agricultural Development and Economic Cooperation (BIFADEC) and chaired by G. Edward Schuh. The task force recommended major changes in the U.S. approach to foreign assistance (see box, page 33). But, although A.I.D. was one of the task force's sponsors and Administrator Ronald Roskens offered his personal encouragement, the group's recommendations so far have had little effect on A.I.D. policy or programs.

Why the lack of enthusiasm from the agency primarily responsible for fostering development in poor countries around the world? The answer, we believe, can be found in a shifting rationale for foreign assistance, lack of clarity in the A.I.D. mission, the still evolving vision of a new world order, and the lack of appreciation among top management of opportunities for unprecedented progress in development.

Replacing containment

The rationale for foreign assistance has been shifting for some time, as Cold War containment policy has eroded. David Steinberg, a former A.I.D. official, maintains that the administration already has a new rationale to replace containment, and it is based on serving U.S. commercial interests in the Third World. "What is new in the Bush plan," he says in the *Christian Science Monitor*, "is an effort to assist directly American businesses that compete in certain world markets." A policy based on this rationale would engender, for example, large capital projects and aid tied to the use of U.S. products.

The debate about a new rationale is ongoing, and there are other, less contentious components, such as assistance to emerging democracies and dealing with environmental degradation. Vernon Ruttan, a longtime observer of A.I.D., is pessimistic that a replacement for the "Communist containment" rationale will be found in the near future. In a 1991 article in *Challenge*, he concludes that, "... the continuing fatigue and disorientation in the U.S. bilateral effort will not be resolved by the

typical Washington remedy—reorganizing A.I.D."

An extensive reorganization exercise designed to streamline A.I.D.'s management was undertaken by Administrator Roskens in 1990. It promises to simplify the

project design and approval process, shorten the procurement process, improve the employee incentive structure, and focus attention more on "results"—on achieving specific development objectives in each country. These reforms are commendable, but they

do not deal with the more fundamental concerns of establishing clear agency objectives, of rationalizing priorities and choices among different objectives (many of which are imposed by the Congress), or of developing sound strategies for solving development problems.

Hearts and minds

The struggle for the soul of A.I.D. has been going on for some time. Congress attempted to capture it with the 1973 Foreign Assistance Act, known as the Basic Human Needs (BHN) mandate or "New Directions," redirecting development assistance to the poor majority in developing countries. But in the later 1970s, Congress and the Carter Administration began to shift resources away from BHN toward security interests. The Reagan Administration accelerated the shift toward security interests and stressed the private sector as the key to development.

Soon after Ronald Roskens was sworn in as administrator in March 1990, he tried to clarify the mission of the agency. The starting points were five major foreign policy challenges Secretary of State James Baker cited at Roskens' swearing-in ceremony. These became known as "Baker's Charge":

- 1) Consolidate the worldwide trend toward democracy;
- 2) Build strong, free-market economies;
- 3) Help the (regional) peacemakers;
- 4) Address transnational threats—environmental degradation, drug trafficking, and terrorism; and
- 5) Strengthen international ties . . . to ensure that the positive world trends we see will continue . . . [We] must respond to needs in the developing world.

A committee of top A.I.D. staff was asked to draft an agency mission statement based on Baker's Charge, and many development professionals were dismayed to learn that the early drafts omitted any mention of development itself or of human capacity building. Baker's fifth point had become simply "disaster relief." To his credit, Roskens circulated a draft for comment and, after much



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Voice in the Wilderness

At a conference on Capitol Hill in June 1991, the Task Force on Development Assistance and Cooperation unveiled a report that recommended major changes in the current U.S. approach to foreign assistance. The task force, commissioned by the Board for International Food and Agricultural Development and Economic Cooperation (BIFADEC), called for the United States to recognize a new rationale for foreign aid based on a more realistic assessment of U.S. self-interest.

This blue-ribbon task force, one of several study groups calling for similar foreign aid reforms, challenges A.I.D. to shift from its increasing emphasis on providing financial support to developing countries, which the United States can ill afford, to more collaborative development and sharing of knowledge and investments in human capital.

The priorities it recommends diverge significantly from present trends in A.I.D. The task force would emphasize long-term activities, such as building human capital, developing agricultural technology, strengthening market and service-oriented institutions, promoting family planning, improving equity and broader access to productive resources and services, and encouraging environmentally sustainable development. These activities should be undertaken in collaboration with host country counterparts, relying on indigenous institutional capacity rather than on expensive expatriate technical assistance teams.

The task force would have A.I.D. place low priority on large capital infrastructure expenditures, mixed credits, tied aid, and other subsidies to U.S. private enterprise, and deemphasize costly financial assistance with short-term impacts, such as cash transfers for balance of payments and budgetary support. Although both capital infrastructure and commercial investments are immensely important, the report notes that the international capital market can now provide for such investment needs in developing countries pursuing sound economic policies and maintaining a favorable investment policy. Private capital markets cannot, however, support essential investments in

education, health services, family planning, environmental protection, research and technology development, and other public sector activities that do not generate profits.

The United States has a distinct comparative advantage in most forms of human capacity development, such as education, health, research, training, and institution-building, and not in the provision of capital assistance, which requires large sums of money for each project. The American comparative advantage is especially strong in all aspects of agriculture, including research, education, cooperatives, and agribusiness development. In view of this and of the continued importance of agricultural development in most developing countries, the task force is sharply critical of A.I.D. for downgrading the development and dissemination of more productive and sustainable agricultural technology in its plans and programs.

The report agrees with A.I.D. and the World Bank that policy reform and structural adjustment programs are frequently necessary for successful economic growth and that A.I.D. should not waste resources in countries where bad policies seriously inhibit their productive use. However, it considers building the indigenous capacity to design, interpret, and implement reform and adjustment programs, not large capital transfers, to be the foundation for the programs' success. It also agrees with the importance of promoting private sector development but argues that, once the legal and policy environments are supportive, the most productive investments A.I.D. can make toward this end are those that build human capacities and effective educational, research, health, and other essential economic and social service institutions.

Although A.I.D. was one of the sponsors of the task force and it received personal encouragement from the A.I.D. administrator, the report and its recommendations have so far had little impact on agency policy. In a University of Minnesota staff paper on A.I.D. and the universities, Brian Jordahl and Vernon Ruttan noted that "The response of A.I.D. personnel revealed their indifference to the report."

—C. Stuart Callison and John G. Stovall

internal debate, the final A.I.D. Mission Statement issued in September 1990 added a "concern for individuals and the development of their economic and social well-being" and a statement that "A.I.D. assists nations . . . [to] improve the quality of human life and . . . expand the range of individual opportunities by reducing poverty, ignorance, and malnutrition."

The concerned staff thought they had won a victory, but it proved premature. The last sentence quoted was conspicuously omitted from the administrator's statement in the *A.I.D. FY 1992 Congressional Presentation* (submitted in February 1991), which quotes most of the rest of the Mission Statement. In the Bush Administration rewrite of the Foreign Assistance Act, submitted to Congress in April 1991, building human capacity is listed as a form of humanitarian assistance rather than either a productive investment or an ultimate development goal, and the reduction of poverty is a "humanitarian assistance need" rather than a central purpose of development.

Trickle down or filter up?

Part of the internal disagreement is about whether economic growth is an end in itself or a means to raising incomes of the poor. Taking its cue from Baker's Charge, present A.I.D. leadership has given even greater emphasis to economic growth, long considered one of the main purposes of foreign assistance, while improvement in human capacity has been relegated to a form of humanitarian assistance.

Economic growth is a means—and a very important one, without which people-oriented goals cannot be achieved and sustained—but it is not an end in itself. The pattern of growth and the distribution of its benefits are important considerations. In contrast, greater indigenous human capacity is not only an ultimate development goal that economic growth must sustain, it is also a critical element in sustaining economic growth. Without increasing human capacity, it is impossible to break the vicious cycle of poverty and succeed at development.

Some in A.I.D. have zealously pursued market-oriented growth *per se*. During the tenure of the late Alan Woods as A.I.D. administrator, his chief of staff main-

tained that public sector expenditures on health and education were "consumption" activities to be discouraged. Private sector delivery of social services was the preferred alternative.

Tied aid

Key agency officials have sought support from the U.S. business community by proposing and promoting greater use of large infrastructure programs tied to U.S. procurement and other forms of "tied aid and mixed credits." This would subsidize selected U.S. exports abroad. Until now, such assistance has been generally discouraged as a matter of policy, because it is inconsistent with the long-standing U.S. position favoring free trade, although it has long been permitted in specific situations to counter similar support by foreign governments to their exporters.

In testimony before the House Foreign Operations Subcommittee in March 1990, a senior A.I.D. policy official proposed a major reallocation of funds to support programs of this nature, stating that, "The most important contribution the United States makes to economic progress in developing countries is its own economic growth. U.S. economic growth has generated increased markets for developing country exports." He said, "U.S. economic assistance must become part of the U.S. effort to compete

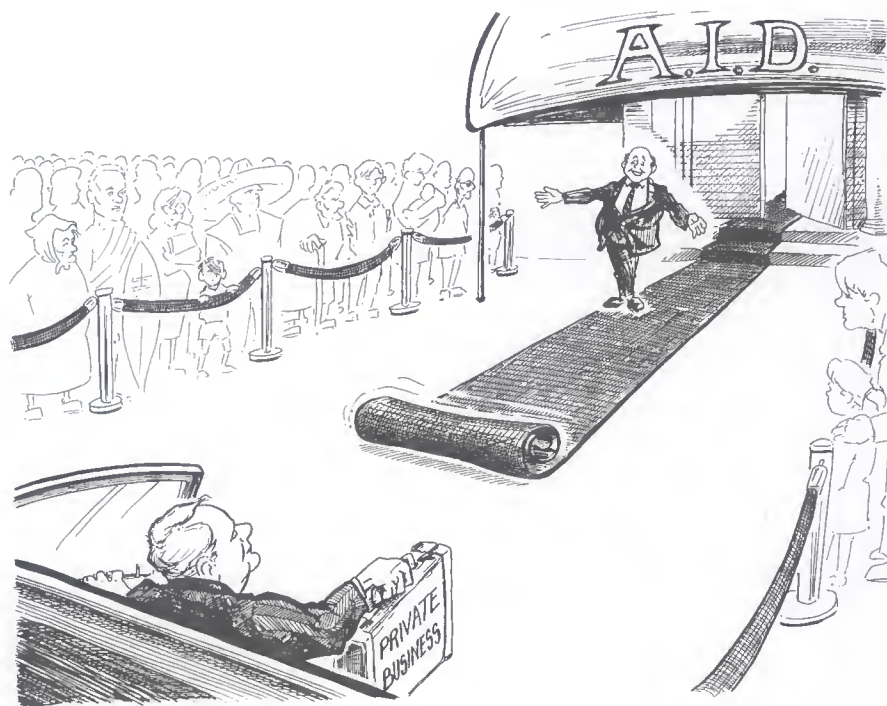


ILLUSTRATION BY GANS FAGAN

in the global market." This position is difficult to reconcile with the fact that the U.S. economy has been growing for decades without much positive effect on the poorer and more distant developing countries. Furthermore, subsidies to private U.S. firms encourage misallocation of resources toward commercial activities that are not to our own comparative advantage and cannot be sustained without further subsidies.

During the debate over revisions in the Foreign

Assistance Act in 1991, the administration formally opposed large-scale use of mixed credits and tied aid for capital projects. The administration maintained that such programs would conflict with the U.S. negotiating position in favor of freer trade and reduce flexibility to respond to political and security concerns. Letters from the Department of State to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, responding to a legislative initiative to this effect (sponsored by Democratic Senators Boren, Bentsen, Byrd, and Baucus and dubbed the "Killer B's" bill), agreed, however, that "U.S. bilateral assistance (should) be used to the maximum extent possible to support U.S. goods and services."

Despite the administration position against the "killer B's" bill, this initiative is still very much alive. It recently passed the Senate 99 to 0 as an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Authorization Bill (although it was later weakened in the conference committee). Furthermore, A.I.D. has requested congressional authority to use development assistance (DA) funds for an expanded capital infrastructure program tied to U.S. procurement and is considering a request for a fairly large sum to support a "Capital Projects Fund" in its FY 93 budget submission.

Lost opportunity

While the struggle for the soul of the agency goes on, the possibility of significantly reducing poverty and hunger through development is within our grasp. There is no longer much mystery about how to achieve sustained economic growth and development if the people and their leaders adopt the requisite policies and direct their own resources toward those ends.

Despite the poverty and income disparities of developing countries, the technology and institutional models exist that, when adapted to each country's particular conditions, can:

- Provide productive employment for most workers and raise family incomes above the poverty level
- Reduce hunger, ignorance, and preventable disease
- Promote democratic, pluralistic societies, and
- Enable each country to share global prosperity in a sustainable environment.

Experience has shown that these goals are attainable over time, even though the path to success is fraught with political difficulties. Several countries have mastered the basic requirements and are making rapid progress, but many others still lag far behind. The "new world order" can be accomplished without diminishing the income of any other country, as some fear. Indeed, the more other countries, using their own resources, can provide for their own basic needs and increase their household incomes above poverty levels, the more of our exports they will be able to buy. Poor people are also poor customers. Supportive human resource and institutional development (broadly defined to include the policy and regulatory environment) and broad-based, market-oriented, sustainable economic growth are essential means to achieving these goals. In most countries, measures to

reduce the rate of population growth and to enhance the productivity of agriculture, especially the production, processing, and distribution of food, are also important ingredients of success.

Doing good and doing well

In a world where 35,000 people, mostly children, die each day of hunger, malnutrition, and disease arising mostly from abject poverty, most people feel a sense of humanitarian urgency. The prize is more than a noble humanitarian goal, however, as important as that is. Democracy requires a well-informed and educated electorate, difficult to sustain out of poverty. Rapid population growth combined with poverty and declining per capita income puts inexorable pressure on the environment and natural resource base, the resulting degradation of which affects us all. Increasing demographic competition for static or declining sources of income leads to local and regional strife and is not conducive to political stability, world security, or the development of democratic institutions, not to mention profitable world trade.

In its *World Development Report 1990 on Poverty* the World Bank compiled impressive evidence that poverty can be ameliorated rapidly and in a politically sustainable way by pursuing a two-part strategy: "The first element is to promote the productive use of the poor's most abundant asset—labor. It calls for policies that harness market incentives, social and political institutions, infrastructure, and technology to that end. The second is to provide basic social services to the poor. Primary health care, family planning, nutrition, and primary education are especially important. The two elements are mutually reinforcing; one without the other is not sufficient."

Vernon Ruttan, reviewing the lessons learned from several decades of development assistance in both sector and macroeconomic policies and assistance programs, concludes that, "*The removal of distortions in monetary, fiscal, trade, commodity, and consumer policy does not produce development! Policy reform is, in some countries, a necessary condition for development. . . . But the real sources of economic growth are investments in human and physical capital and in productivity-enhancing technical and institutional change.*"

The evidence is strong that the way to real, sustainable, economic and social development is known and, while difficult, is achievable. It is the way to a "new world order" that would be far more than just a "pax Americana" or a "pax United Nationae" based on a multilateral military peacekeeping force and a reduction in nuclear armaments. But, while the administration and Congress wrangle over how to carve up the limited development assistance budget and other contentious issues, such as family planning, the golden opportunity seems to be slipping away.

Charting a course

The accomplishments of the administration in seeking peace and managing delicate relationships in the Middle

East, Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and elsewhere are most praiseworthy. What is yet to emerge, however, is a credible vision of what kind of future we are keeping the peace for and how to achieve it. That vision must involve the economic, political, and social development of indigenous human and institutional capacity, as well as the operating shells of democratic institutions, free market economies, and opportunities for trade. A.I.D. should be the leading American spokesman for this indigenous capacity development; it should be the substantive, working generator of the "new world order."

Such indigenous capacity-building requires, among other things, scientific manpower training and institution building, long-term scientific research and technological collaboration, and permanent links between U.S. and developing country scientific and higher education institutions. For development to succeed, developing country analysts must be able to determine priority investment strategies and to identify and manage key problems, constraints, and opportunities within each important sector. There are no "quick fixes" or short cuts. Significant progress will require years and, in some countries, perhaps a generation or two of new leaders. The BIFADEC Task Force recognizes the long-term nature of the challenge and provides a persuasive case for staying the course.

The ultimate question seems to be whether A.I.D. is to regain its leadership as a development agency. If it does, the agency can help guide the country by a dynamic vision of the new world it can help create. To be successful it must protect long-term investments in the human and institutional capacities of developing countries from more immediate political demands. On the other hand, if present trends continue, A.I.D. will use its financial resources primarily to support short-term foreign policy, political, and commercial objectives, thereby abdicating its developmental mandate. Some would argue that A.I.D. must do all of the above. But experience suggests that in practice, it is difficult, if not impossible, to prevent immediate policy needs from overwhelming long-term objectives. The stakes are high. They include A.I.D.'s contribution to shaping the future of the world. ■

C. Stuart Callison is deputy executive director of the A.I.D. Center for University Cooperation in Development; John G. Stovall is staff director of the Task Force on Development Assistance and Cooperation, Humphrey Institute, University of Minnesota. The views expressed herein are solely theirs and do not necessarily represent the official views of either organization.



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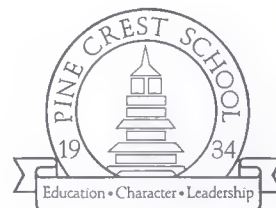
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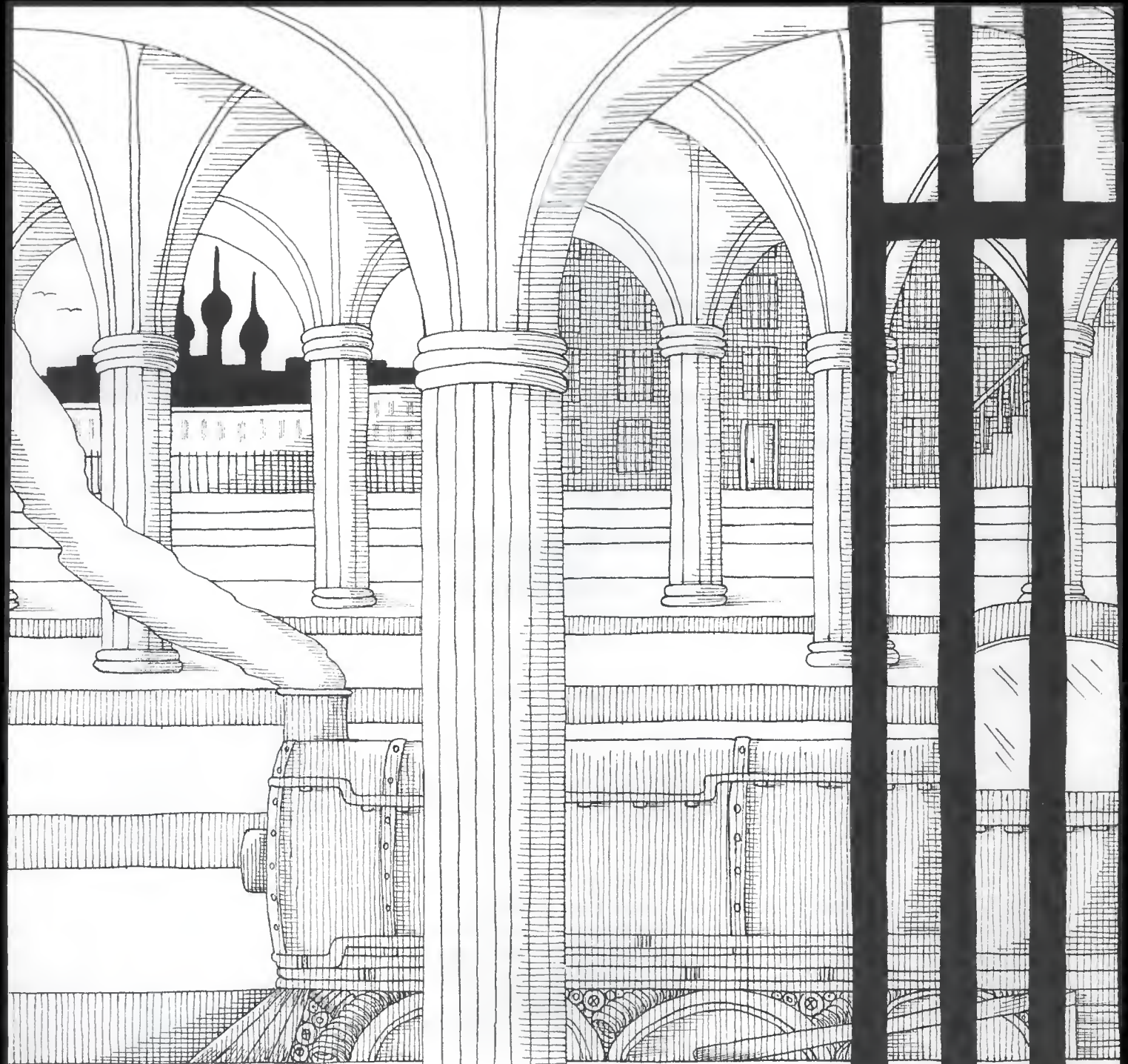
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Journey from Moscow

Y VALENTINA N. VARGO

There was a push on my back, and a heavy door slammed behind me. I looked around. The room had two windows with metal bars and was empty except for two benches and a wooden table—something like a picnic table. Through the windows, I heard the loudspeaker from the railroad station announcing, “The train for Vladivostok will leave Novosibirsk in 30 minutes.”

I could tell from the volume of the announcement that I was very close to the station where they had dragged me off the train. I was sure that if they let me go, I could still make it back before the train left. I started to bang on the door and cried out as loud as I could, “Let me out!” But there was no answer. I banged on the door again. I pounded, and I pounded, and I pounded. I pounded so hard that my knuckles started to bleed. But there was no response. Just total silence. It was as if I were all alone in the building.

The loudspeaker sounded again: “The train for Vladivostok will leave in 15 minutes.” That was it. I couldn’t make it. I was finished. I was hysterical. I pounded on the door with my bleeding knuckles, screaming, “Let me out, let me out! My God! Please!” But there was nothing, just silence.

My mind was racing. Why did they let me get on the train in Moscow, only to drag me away from my Joseph in Novosibirsk, in the middle of the Soviet Union? Oh, my God! What was happening to me? Had Joseph stayed to find me and save me? But how could he? He was in the American Navy. It was June 1941, and war had just broken out between Germany and the Soviet Union. Joseph had orders to leave the Soviet Union by way of Vladivostok, on the Pacific Ocean. There was no way he could stay to search for me.

And then I heard another announcement: “The train for Vladivostok is leaving Novosibirsk.” I heard the whistle of a departing train. It was the saddest sound I had ever heard. It seemed as though life itself was leaving me with that train. My beloved Joseph was on a train for Vladivostok, 2,000 miles to the east. My family was in Moscow, 2,000 miles to the west. Here I was all alone in Novosibirsk, in the hands of Stalin’s secret police, the KGB. I put my head on the table, and I cried and cried. I had nothing with which to wipe my tears, except my bleeding hands. I was only 23 years old, and this was my end.

Girl meets boy

I started to collect my thoughts and to remember that lovely spring day in May 1940, when I had first met Joseph. A friend of mine who worked at the American Embassy in Moscow had told me that a very kind American, named Joseph, with whom he worked at the

embassy, wanted to meet a nice Russian girl. He said the American spoke Russian, and he thought I would like him a lot. At first, I had said no. Soviet citizens weren’t allowed to associate with foreigners, and there was no way that I wanted to meet an American and get into all kinds of problems. But my friend continued to insist, and finally I agreed. A few days later he brought Joseph to my apartment, but I wouldn’t let them in, because my mother would have had a heart attack if she had known I was meeting a foreigner. Instead, the three of us went out, and Joseph took us all to a restaurant where we had a lovely dinner. I liked him at once. He was kind and sweet, and I could see that he liked me also. After dinner my friend left us, and Joseph and I walked for a long time along the bank of the Moscow River. We both had a wonderful time.

After that, we met often, but, since Joseph was an American, we had to play hide and seek with the KGB. We had a secret meeting place under a clock. Joseph would telephone me to meet him at a certain time, but we had arranged that we would always meet one hour later than the designated time. We knew the KGB was listening on the phone, and we thought that in this way we could fool them. But they weren’t fooled that easily.

Joseph, like many embassy personnel, had an apartment in the embassy building. When he took me back home at night, I would lie down on the floor of his car so the Soviet guards at the embassy entrance wouldn’t be able to see me. In this way we hoped that the guards wouldn’t signal the KGB agents, who always had their cars parked across the street. Sometimes this worked, but at times when we saw one of their cars following us, Joseph would step on the gas—his American Pontiac could easily outrun the KGB’s Soviet-made cars. After outdistancing our pursuers, Joseph would make a sharp

turn around a corner and quickly drop me off. I would hide in a doorway while Joseph kept on going. The KGB agents always followed his car, and I walked home. Sometimes, though, I had a very, very long walk.

At times, despite our best efforts to fool the KGB agents, they would manage to follow us very closely. They would even come to the entrance of my apartment building, but Joseph would block the doorway to give me time to run upstairs to reach my apartment. I would never turn on the lights in the apartment, because I could see them looking up from the street to see which window lit up. Of course the KGB knew very well who I was and who Joseph was, but they followed us anyway. I think they had different agents following us every night. It was the Soviet Union, and everybody had a quota. I think even KGB agents had a quota of information they had to get every night.

Despite our efforts to evade them, I had a terrible time with the KGB. My mother had been right. They did their best to frighten me. Sometimes I would be taken for questioning all night long. They told me they would send me to the coldest part of Siberia. They said my whole family would be sent to Siberia, and that it would all be my fault because I wouldn't stop seeing an American. They even told me that I could be shot. I knew they were serious. Everyone knew the KGB shot people, and I didn't doubt that they could shoot me whenever they wanted to. They forced me to quit my job as a draftsman with a government ministry; but Joseph found me a position in the Czechoslovakian embassy, teaching Russian to the ambassador's children.

Every day I expected to be arrested and sent to Siberia. I knew it had happened to some other Russian girls, but—thank the good Lord—I survived. Finally, after all the threats and harassment, I decided just to accept the fact that they could do whatever they wanted with me whenever they wanted. I knew I was taking a chance, but I couldn't help it. Joseph and I had fallen deeply in love with each other.

We wanted to marry, but we couldn't. Everybody in the embassy liked me, but there was a firm policy that Americans couldn't stay in the USSR after marrying a Soviet citizen. If we had married, Joseph would have had to leave Moscow immediately; and we did not want to be separated.

Love and war

Then came that dreadful morning in June 1941 when war broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union. I was with Joseph in his apartment when we got the news. A telephone call woke us up. Somebody called Joseph to tell him the Germans had crossed the Soviet border and war had been started. The next day Joseph got his orders



Valentino Vargo, 1941

We wanted to marry, but we couldn't. Everybody in the embassy liked me, but there was a firm policy that Americans couldn't stay in the USSR after marrying a Soviet citizen. If we had married, Joseph would have had to leave Moscow immediately, and we did not want to be separated.

to leave Moscow for Vladivostok. He would have to leave within two days. My God! We rushed to the nearest marriage bureau; but as soon as Joseph showed his American passport, they refused to marry us.

Every place gave us the same story: no one would marry us. And the next day Joseph had to leave for Vladivostok. What could we do? The following morning, we started all over again, trying to get married. But we had no luck. The American embassy was very sympathetic and couldn't have been more helpful. They told me I could travel with Joseph to Vladivostok as his common law wife and that they would get a ticket for me. We were very grateful, because I would never have been able to get

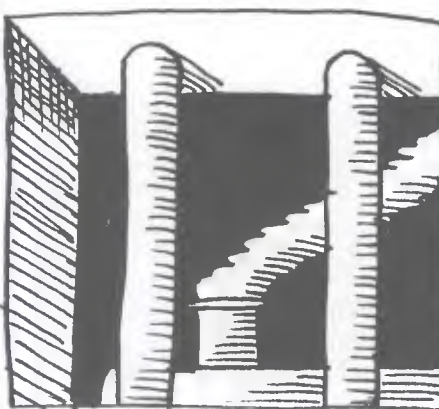
a ticket on my own. A Soviet citizen had to apply to the government for special permission to travel even 100 miles from Moscow, much less to Vladivostok. I knew there was no way they would give that permission to me—not after all the trouble I had had with the KGB. Without the embassy's help I would never have been able to leave Moscow, and Joseph and I would have been separated forever on that very day.

But before I could leave for Vladivostok I first had to get my clothes. They were at my stepfather's dacha—a summer cottage—in the country about 30 miles from Moscow, where my family was spending the summer. I had only a few hours to take an electric train there and back, and I was in a total panic. Every second was agony in that mad rush out to the country. Coming back was even worse. Waiting at the station for the return train to Moscow, I was in terror. If the train was late, I wouldn't be able to get back to Moscow in time for our departure for Vladivostok. Joseph couldn't wait for me. He had to leave—with me or without me. He had no choice.

What would happen to me? There I was, leaving my family, my friends, my whole life. I wanted to be with Joseph, to be his wife; but everything was hanging on that electric train's getting to Moscow in time to catch the train to Vladivostok. All the way from my mother's place I was in a panic. I prayed continuously—please, good Lord, don't let the train be late.

Finally, the train reached Moscow. The train for Vladivostok was leaving from a different station, about two miles away, and Joseph was waiting for me there. I had only about 30 minutes before the Vladivostok train would leave. There wasn't time for me to wait for a streetcar, so I started to run. I don't know where I got the strength to run so fast. I was so worried that my legs would fail me, and I that wouldn't make it.

But at last I reached the station, and Joseph was waiting for me, looking very worried and nervous. He ran



toward me and grabbed my suitcase, which was half open, with my undergarments hanging from it. The two of us ran to the train. About six or seven other Americans were also traveling to Vladivostok. They all knew me, and a loud, "Hurrah for Valentina!" sounded throughout the station as Joseph and I jumped onto the train. It was only a minute later that the train started to move.

I was laughing and crying at the same time. I was going with Joseph and was leaving everything behind for a totally unknown future. The train from Moscow to Vladivostok was a trip of about 16 days. Joseph and I had our own compartment. It was so wonderful. We were so happy, and that's when I got pregnant. Of course, I didn't know that at the time. I was the happiest person in the world.

No exit

After about seven days we reached Novosibirsk, a major city in the middle of the Soviet Union and a



Joseph and Valentina attend an embassy party in 1941. Joseph is at the lower right, Valentina at his shoulder.

scheduled stop for the train. Joseph and I went out on the platform to stretch our legs and buy something to eat. I bought some *piroshki*—Russian meat-filled pastry—which we had just started to enjoy, when all of a sudden two men approached us. They asked me if I was Valentina Osipova, which was my maiden name. I said yes. "We want to talk to you," they said. "All right," I told them, "This is my husband—you can talk to both of us." But they insisted that they wanted to talk to me alone, inside

the train. I didn't like that at all. I told Joseph that I was frightened and that I wanted him to stand right by the door to the railroad car. He told me that, of course, he would be right there, waiting for me.

I went through the train door with them. As soon as we were inside the train, they asked me where my suitcase was. I asked why. "Do as you are told, or else," they said. I got my suitcase, because I knew Joseph was waiting outside the train and that he would do something as soon as he saw them trying to take me off. But to my shock and astonishment, they did not take me out the door facing the platform. Instead, they unlocked the door on the other side of the train, facing away from the platform. They threw my suitcase out, and then they pushed me off the train onto the ground and dragged me across the rails.

A black car was waiting for us with an open door. They shoved me inside, and the car sped off. Joseph had no idea of what was happening. As far as he knew, I was still inside the train with the men.

They didn't take me far. The ride was very short, maybe about five minutes. That is why I could hear the station loudspeaker from the room they had pushed me into. When I heard the train leave the station, I knew Joseph had to be on it. He had no choice. He must have been panicked to see I had disappeared, but he had to go on to Vladivostok.

So there I was—all alone. I didn't know how long I was left in this empty room. I cried so hard and so long, that I was totally exhausted. So far as I knew, my life was over. I had gambled and I had lost, and I was only 23 years old.

'We are all innocent'

Eventually, I heard someone unlocking a door. Two woman guards came in; two soldiers were near the door. They ordered me to follow them. The soldiers were right behind me, with rifles and bayonets. I thought they were going to shoot me right there, but the female guards took me to a small room where they searched me thoroughly, leaving me absolutely naked. I asked them what they were looking for, but they didn't utter a word. They searched everything, even tearing out the lining in my coat.

When they had finished, they let me put my clothes back on except for anything that I could have used to hang myself, like a belt or garters. I knew they had searched my suitcase, because I saw they had my towel and soap. They gave the towel and soap back to me and told me to follow them, again, with armed guards behind me. We walked through long corridors with many heavy metal doors. At last we stopped in front of one of them. They unlocked it and pushed me in and closed the door

behind me. It was the most horrible sensation.

I knew it was still daylight, because I could see a ray of sunlight through a small opening near the ceiling. The rest of the room was totally dark; I couldn't see anything except that little ray of light.

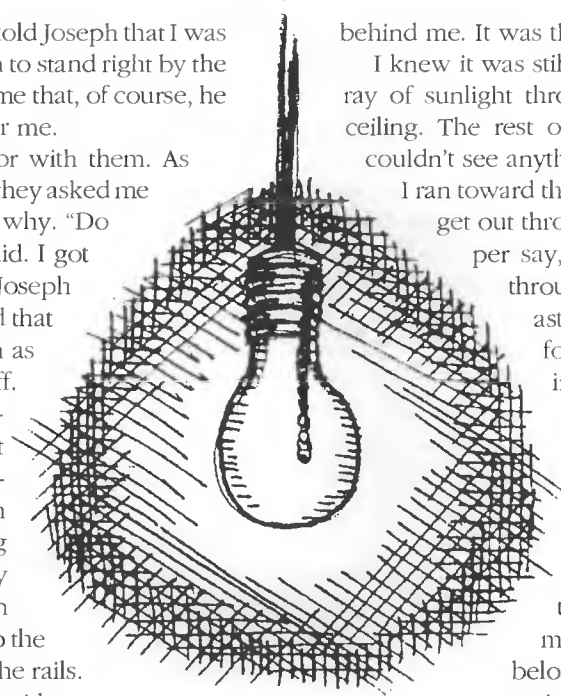
I ran toward the opening as if I could somehow get out through it. Suddenly I heard a whisper say, "My dear, you cannot get out through that little opening." I was astonished to hear someone else, for I had been certain I was alone in the room. But after my eyes adjusted to the darkness, to my amazement I saw two rows of beds—about 12 on each side. Each of them had a woman sitting on it, all of them totally silent. I wanted them to know that I wasn't a criminal, and immediately told them so. I didn't belong in that prison; I was an innocent victim. I hadn't done anything wrong

except to travel without official permission. Somebody, again in a whisper—they all whispered—told me, "Do you think we are guilty? We are all innocent victims."

I was totally exhausted. I asked one of the women if I could take a little rest on her bunk. She said, "You may, but they will not let you do it." I immediately found out what she meant. As soon as I had put my head on her bed, a peephole in the door slid open and a husky voice said, "Get up! This is not a hotel!" I asked one of the prisoners why the guards wouldn't let anyone rest. "Because," she told me, "that's how they torture people." She said the guards wouldn't let them rest in the daytime and wouldn't let them rest at night. She told me that was how they broke your will to resist accusation. Eventually, she said, everyone will sign a false confession.

I knew this was true, because I remembered that many, many years earlier that was what had happened to my mother. After the arrest and death of my father at the hands of the Communists, my mother had been taken to prison. The secret police knew she had some jewelry hidden in our apartment, and they wanted it. They took her to prison, where they kept her in solitary confinement. They gave her salty food to eat but no water to drink. They kept her awake day and night. Finally they had broken her, and she gave up everything.

I could tell it was getting late, because I could see the light disappear from the small opening. Shortly, a bright light went on—a naked light bulb so bright that it hurt my eyes. A slit at the bottom of the door opened, and small metal dishes were pushed through. One by one, the women came to the door to get their dinner—watery soup and a piece of black bread. I told the person who was shoving the plates through that I had no place to sleep. Eventually a straw mattress was thrown through the door on the floor. I was so tired that I wanted to fall on it immediately, but I wasn't allowed to lie down until



the light was turned off. As soon as it went out I fell asleep immediately, without a pillow, and fully dressed.

Interrogation

I had not slept more than an hour when the bright light came on again, waking everybody. The metal door opened up and a loud husky voice called out, "Everybody whose name starts with the letter 'A' get up." A woman got up, barely able to stand on her feet, and was led away by rifle-carrying guards. That's how it was all night long—bright lights going on and off, and women being taken away in alphabetic order. I then understood what the prisoners had meant when they had told me I would not be able to rest day or night. I was totally exhausted when my name finally came up. I was ordered out of the room and taken down a corridor with three armed men, one on each side of me and one walking behind me with a rifle and an open bayonet. Since they had taken away my garters when they first searched me, I had nothing to hold up my stockings. They kept falling down, but I was afraid to bend over to raise them because of that sharp bayonet right behind my back.

We eventually stopped at one of the doors. One of the guards opened it and shoved me inside. I found myself in a room with a uniformed military man sitting behind a large desk. A large revolver was next to him on the desk. I had to stand, for there was no chair for me. Behind him was a huge map of the Soviet Union. It was so enormous that it struck me as strange, but later I learned this was so he could point out all the places the KGB could send you to in Siberia. All of a sudden, he jumped up, started to walk around me, and began shouting at me. He shouted that I was a criminal who planned to escape the Soviet Union with an American. He told me that I had only one chance to save my life, and that was to sign a confession.

I became numb, and I did not care any longer. This was my end, and I knew it. At that point I made a decision and told the general I wouldn't sign anything, because they were going to shoot me anyway. He became furious. He pointed at the map, somewhere in the vicinity of the North Pole, and shouted that that was where he was going to send me. After he threatened and shouted at me for about an hour, I was sent back to my cell. The same thing happened all over again on each of the following three nights. I had come to understand what it meant to have your will broken. I didn't care any longer. They were going to shoot me—there was no question of that in my mind at all—but I did not want to give that horrid man the satisfaction of seeing me sign that ridiculous confession.

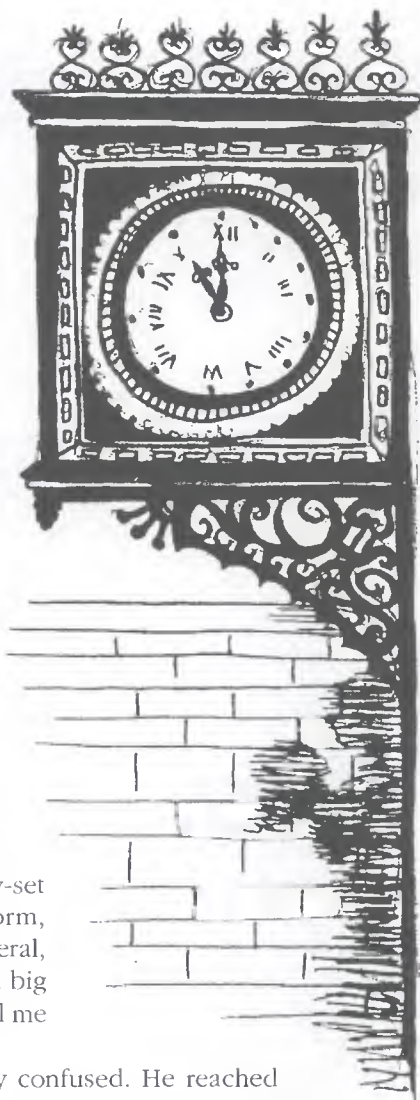
Singled out

On the fourth night, my name was called out earlier than before. I was taken out again by the armed guards with open bayonets, but at once I noticed they were taking me through a different corridor. Immediately,

horrible thoughts went through my mind. I was sure they had taken me out to shoot me. I had heard so many stories of how they shot people: they walked you down a narrow corridor and then shot you in the back of the head. And there I was, being walked down a narrow corridor with an armed man on either side of me and one in the back with a rifle pointing at me. So I knew that was it—this was the end. It was a terrible sensation, knowing you were about to be killed, and waiting for the bullet to hit your head. I remember feeling sad that no one would ever know what had happened to me or how I had died.

The soldiers made me turn into another corridor, and, to my great surprise, I saw that this corridor had a carpet on the floor. Even through my numbness, it struck me at once that I was not going to be shot there, for they certainly would not want to ruin that lovely carpet with my blood. Sure enough, one of the guards opened a door for me, and I entered a beautiful room full of attractive furniture—gilded clocks and other beautiful antiques. A heavy-set man in uniform, probably a general, was sitting at a big desk. He asked me to sit down.

I was totally confused. He reached across the desk and handed me a telegram, which he asked me to read. I was in such a state of shock, walking through that corridor and waiting to be shot, that I couldn't even read. I was almost paralyzed. But when I looked at the telegram in my hands, I saw Joseph's name at the bottom. I couldn't believe it. I became hysterical and almost fainted. ■



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BOOKS

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THE FALL OF THE SHAH

By Marvin Zonis, *The University of Chicago Press, 1991, \$29.95 hardcover*

Reviewed by Charles W. Naas

Students and scholars interested in Iran now have available an extensive bibliography by American and Iranian writers who have analyzed from diverse viewpoints the root causes and the course of the Iranian revolution of 1978 to 1979. Dr. Zonis, who has been widely recognized as one of our leading Iranologists for more than two decades, has now contributed his unique, provocative, and highly readable assessment, which is centered on his psychological study of the shah's character. His premise is that the shah's style of rule, the manner in which the opposition to him developed, and his reaction, or lack thereof, to the revolutionary storm lay deep in the shah's past, particularly in his relationships with his family.

Zonis admits early in his presentation that "the literature critical of psychohistory is nearly as voluminous as that which it criticizes." Nevertheless,

he believes that this approach is warranted by knowledge of the shah to be drawn from his actions and behavior in 30-plus years of rule, his extensive writings, speeches and interviews, and the availability as sources of many individuals who were close to the shah.

Zonis posits that the shah received, indeed, depended upon, psychic strength from four sources: the adulation of the Iranian people; close ties with a small number of individuals, for example, his sister Princess Ashraf and Asadollah Alam; a belief in divine protection; and the steady support of the United States. He contends, after a lengthy examination of each of these factors, that in the crucial days of 1978 the shah had none of these pillars to lean upon.

This thesis and many interpretations of events and actions are debatable, but Zonis is very close to the mark on the role of the United States. The Carter Administration failed woefully to comprehend the situation in Iran and to give clear and unambiguous advice to the shah—which he desperately wanted and which the United States, by virtue of the history of its ties with Iran and its power, was obligated to give.

Zonis implies strongly that had the

shah used the tremendous force at his command, the revolutionary tidal wave would have been diverted. He believes that in the absence of U.S. guidance to this effect and under awesome pressures, the shah reverted to his earlier indecisiveness. Perhaps. But other factors were involved: his illness; his knowledge that monarchies in recent times fared poorly; his belief that the Western democracies would have condemned widespread killings and adopted various sanctions; and his concern over whether his son could effectively rule a devastated Iran. Finally, he was not the ogre pictured by many of his critics. In a poignant moment on November 19, 1978, the shah told Ambassador William Sullivan that he was getting advice from private Americans to crack down and also getting hints that he lacked the nerve to do so. He asked Sullivan to tell them "he had guts, but he also had a heart and a brain. He did not intend to murder the youth of a nation in order to rule it."

Charles W. Naas, a retired Foreign Service officer, was Iran country director from 1974 to 1978 and deputy chief of mission and charge in Tebran from 1978 to 1979.

Empire and Cold War

THE ROOTS OF U.S.-THIRD WORLD ANTAGONISM, 1945-47

By Scott L. Bills, *St. Martin's Press, 1990, \$35 hardcover*

Reviewed by Lawrence J. Kennon

The United States, itself an anticolonial product, long carried the torch of self-determination, for which it was viewed so skeptically in the Third World. Why the United States? Professor Bills's explanation, limited to early postwar years, treats it as a result of the Cold War.

The book tells us a lot and tells it well, with interesting detail about wartime and early postwar political maneuvering in the "rimland countries" from North Africa to Southeast Asia. Unfortunately, Bills's thesis that the newly independent colonies turned against the United States because it abandoned them for strategic considerations in Europe overreaches his excellent material.

His case is undermined at the outset by his recognition that even while the United States and the Soviet Union were still cooperating, the United States did not couple freeing the Philippines to

general support for independence movements. While Franklin Roosevelt openly supported Indian independence and privately opposed a French return to Indochina, his lofty anticolonial rhetoric (as on other divisive issues) was ambiguous so as not to disrupt the wartime coalition. Colonies read him as supporting their independence struggles. Allied colonizers applied his rhetoric to Axis colonies. Much of Roosevelt's private views on colonialism, as on so much of the postwar, did not survive him.

In fact, the United States itself was a



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BOOKS

Western, white-dominated democracy, and its anti-colonial rhetoric masked ambivalence. If anticolonialism struck a chord in the American psyche, so did the colonizers' claim that they were on a *mission civilatrice*. American planning for the future of colonies drew on League of Nations mandate experience and premised that "native" peoples generally needed tutelage in governing themselves.

When peace came, Bills shows us how realities on the ground meant U.S. acceptance of British troops (utilizing, at times, the Japanese troops they were disarming to maintain order) to do most of the liberation of Indochina and the Netherlands East Indies (NEI). Although by 1945 the British were less bent on reestablishing *ancien regime* empire than other colonial countries, they gave no support to independence movements, but held the ground for French and Dutch troops. Local American observers were often sympathetic to independence movements, but their reporting fell on ears otherwise occupied. All of this meant frustration for the anticolonialists.

Bill argues cogently that, with the Cold War, the United States tilted away from ambivalence to support for the colonizers. In particular, while the Asian bureau in the State Department was sympathetic to independence (or at least more autonomy) for colonies, the European bureau successfully argued for accommodating the metropolises until Europe was secure. Accordingly, the French return to Indochina and the Dutch to Netherlands East Indies were unopposed. (Bills claims that a brokered solution to Indonesian independence was arranged by the United States only after hostilities disrupted raw material supply.) In French North Africa also, the United States turned a cold shoulder to rebels.

While Cold War logic played the role Bills describes in adding to Third World disappointment with the United States, his time frame neglects the context in which the colonial situation was sorted out. Not only did the wildfire spread of

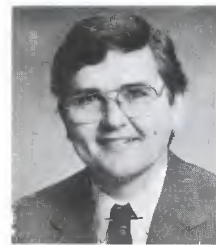
independence movements across Asia and Africa upset wartime expectations of gradual change from the *status quo ante*, but also newly independent countries blamed their poverty on a political independence that left them in economic bondage. In frustration they organized a North/South struggle in which their sheer numbers caused their call for a new international economic order involving a radical redistribution of income to become lopsided votes in the UN and North/South meetings to be bitterly acrimonious. As the leader of the rich, the United States was inevitably castigated as the chief beneficiary of the system.

Little overt attention was given to it in the early postwar (or by Bills), but the interests of the newly independent countries were as different from American ones as they were from their metropolises. For the United States to join them would have meant a domestically politically impossible sharing of the wealth and compromising the free-market, open-trading system principles

With the Cold War, the United States tilted away from ambivalence to support for the colonizers. In particular, while the Asian bureau in the State Department was sympathetic to independence (or at least more autonomy) for colonies, the European bureau successfully argued for accommodating the metropolises until Europe was secure. Accordingly, the French return to Indochina and the Dutch to Netherlands East Indies were unopposed.

on which postwar reconstruction was based. The Soviets tried with some success to coopt the Third World by applying Marxist doctrine of capitalist exploitation and imperialism to Third World aspirations, but the frustration of the liberated poor would have existed

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and their radical demands denied even without the Russians. The Cold War just altered the character of a difficult dialogue. The collapse of the Communist model will strengthen the hands of free market advocates, but the United States will continue to be an attractive outlet for frustration.

Lawrence J. Kemmou is a retired Foreign Service officer.

Common Ground on Terrorism

SOVIET-AMERICAN COOPERATION
AGAINST THE POLITICS OF TERROR

*Edited by John Marks and Igor Beliaev,
W.W. Norton and Co., 1991, \$22.50
hardcover*

Reviewed by Mayer Nudell

In the post Cold War era of *glasnost*, the possibility of cooperation between what succeeds the current Soviet Union (along with the independent nations that succeed it) and the United States on a range of issues is appealing. One of the most talked-about of these areas is the fight against terrorism. Anticipating

members addressed such topics as terrorism in the Middle East, religious extremism, narco-terrorism, techno-terrorism, and joint programs. These meetings occurred in 1989, and one of the book's shortcomings is that its contents are dated.

On the surface, bringing together experts and analysts from the two countries to examine ways and means of eliminating terrorism as a national security threat is extremely appealing. After all, for many years the Soviets have been a contributing factor in the spread of this menace. If they can be brought around to seeing things differently as part of their spreading internal reforms, perhaps they can become part of the solution in the future.

Unfortunately, political reform does not necessarily change one's outlook, and much of *Common Ground* suffers from the pitfall common to many books on terrorism—an inability to define the problem. In this case, the definitional problem is complicated by attitudes shaped by competing and contradictory political systems. But even leaving this problem aside, there are some serious shortcomings in this book. The most serious problem is that few of the chapters tell the reader anything new. Only in the techno-terrorism chapter (written by Robert Kupperman, who has been exploring this theme for many years) does the book depart from the predictable outlooks of U.S. and Soviet observers.

Unfortunately, political reform does not necessarily change one's outlook, and much of Common Ground suffers from the pitfall common to many books on terrorism—an inability to define the problem. In this case, the definitional problem is complicated by attitudes shaped by competing and contradictory political systems.

this possibility is the subject matter of *Common Ground on Terrorism*, edited by the founders of the U.S.-Soviet Task Force to Prevent Terrorism. The Task Force is a collection of former government officials (including both security and intelligence specialists), private experts, and journalists from the two countries.

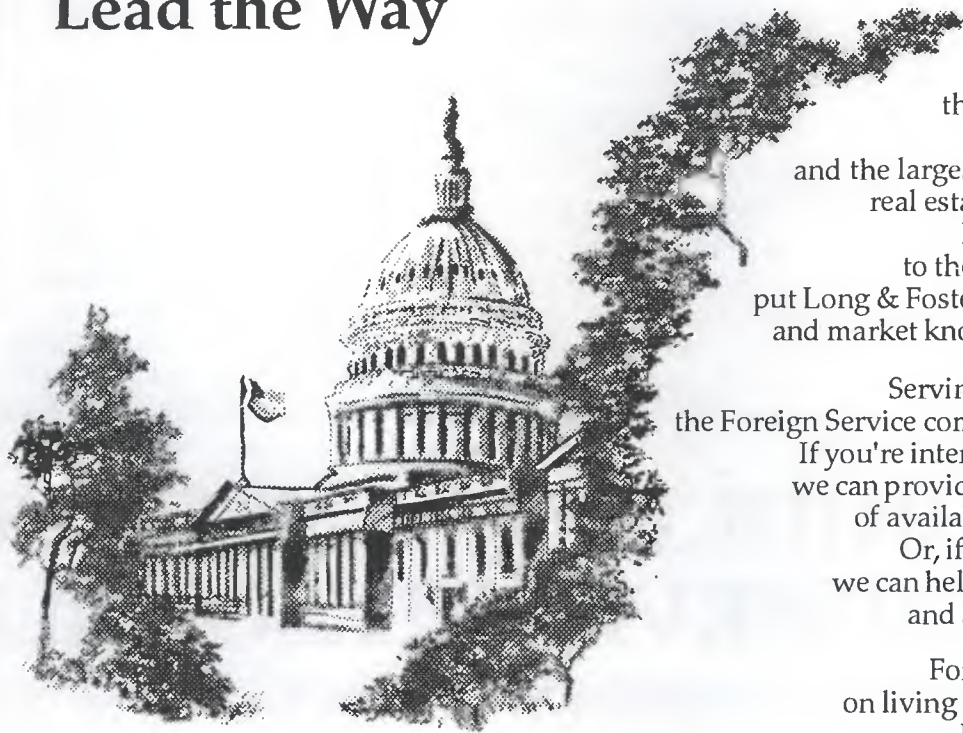
This book reflects the results of a series of meetings in Moscow and Santa Monica, California in which task force

Kupperman's review of research in the counter-terrorist area is interesting and will be new to many readers. This is not to say that the book is poorly written or irrelevant; rather, it is an interesting recapitulation of what is already known. Even Brian Jenkins' succinct and incisive chapter on the world terrorist situation has been overtaken by the passage of so much time.

Common Ground on Terrorism concludes by identifying a series of joint

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actions which, if implemented, would help to reduce the incidence of terrorism in the world. Incidentally, they would also reduce the level of political violence generally, because they are the same arms reduction, international cooperation, treaty-making, and similar proposals that have been around for years. Only this time, they are tailored for the area of terrorism.

The task force's idea of cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union presupposes the continued existence of a Soviet Union which is an important international actor. Such an entity is very much in doubt at this time. Certainly the political ambitions of Russia and other countries are key to our ability to work cooperatively with them in the area of terrorism and other politico-military initiatives. However, for the foreseeable future, the uncertainties of the shape of the "new world order" argue

against control of terrorism through joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. actions. In fact, because of continuing instability in the Middle East and elsewhere, coupled with the birth pains of a

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democratic Eastern Europe, we are likely to see a sea change in the nature of terrorism in the world. Where before much of the terrorist threat

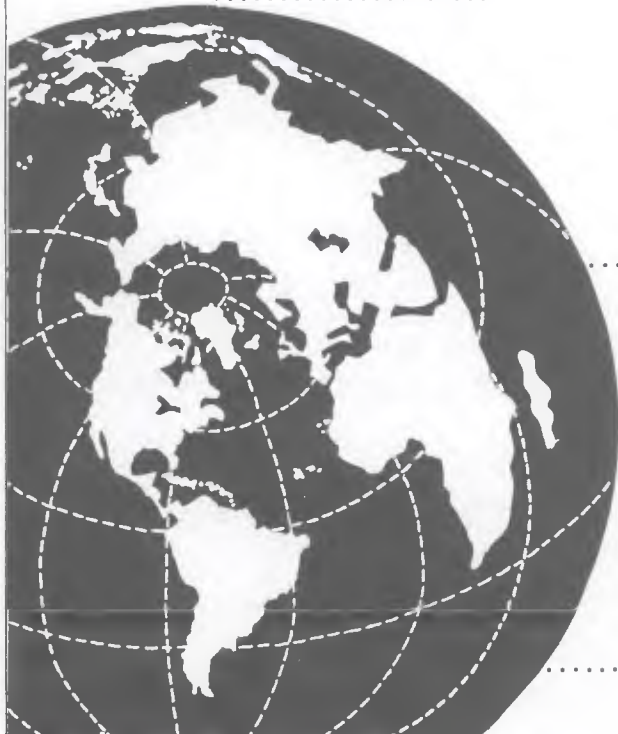
was linked to countries that, in turn, were linked to the Soviet Union, tomorrow's terrorism is likely to reflect the efforts of more independent actors seeking to impede the resolution of issues and the emergence of democratic institutions in Europe and the Middle East. Americans will remain a principal target, and we will often be forced to look to ourselves for answers.

Common Ground on Terrorism reflects the findings of a group whose time has come and gone before its ideas had a chance to be tested. Had this book been printed even one year ago, its suggestions would have had more promise and impact than they now possess. This time, political initiatives played second fiddle to a publisher's schedule. ■

Mayer Nudell, a former Foreign Service officer, is executive director of the International Counterterrorism & Security Association and coauthor of *No One a Neutral: Political Hostage Taking in the Modern World* and *The Handbook for Effective Emergency and Crisis Management*.

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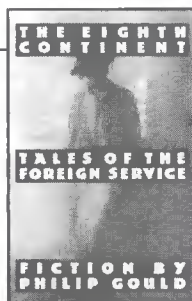
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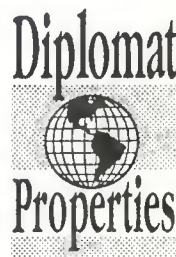
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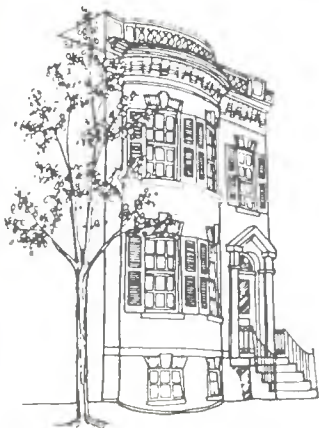
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