FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

MARCH 1992

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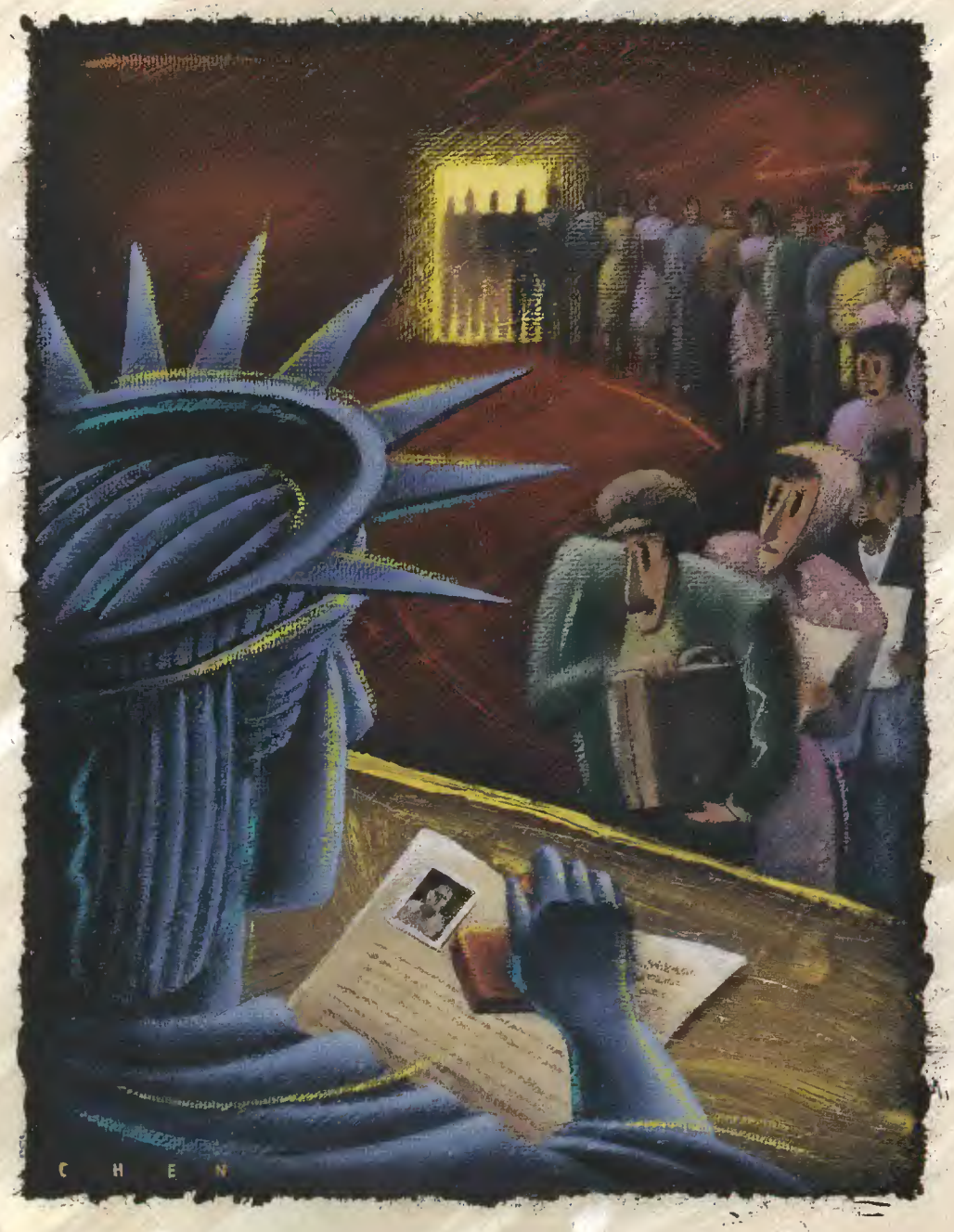

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CONTRIBUTIONS BY DORIS MEISSNER, WILLIAM MORGAN, WILLIAM GRIFFITH, CHARLES ADKINS-BLANCH

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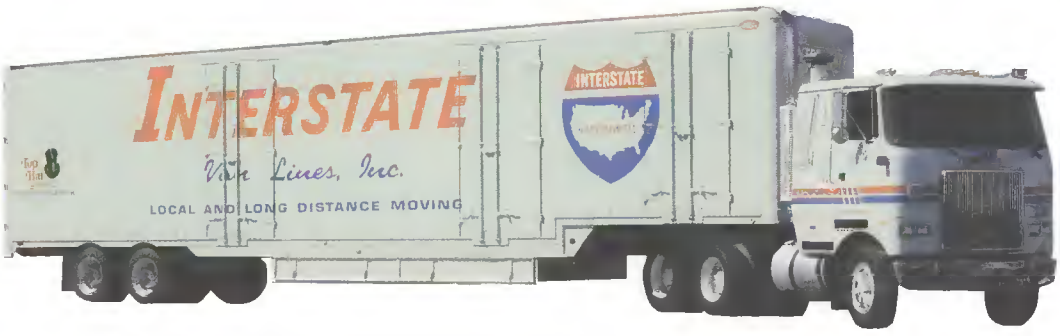

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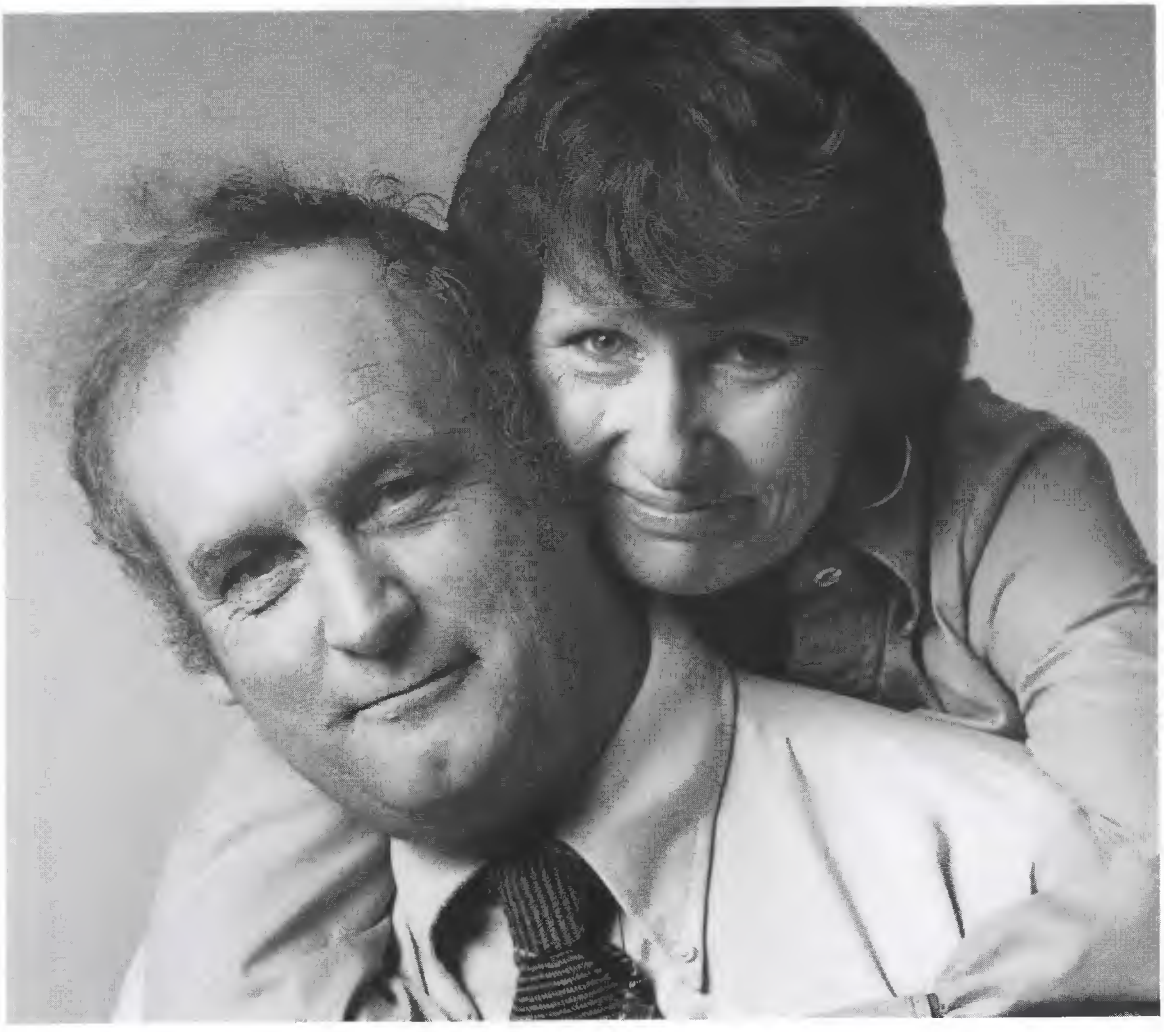

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AFSA VIEWS

Sleeping Beauty

In the February issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*, I expressed AFSA's disappointment that management—faced with a new world of opportunity for U.S. leadership and diplomacy—was not trying more urgently to see how the service could be of greater use to our country. Meanwhile, other agencies (DOD, CIA, EPA) have seen the opportunity and been quick to respond. We, however, wait for a congressionally mandated commission to reassess State's mission and structure and give us its recommendations *in a year!*

What we have heard about the possible make-up of the commission is reassuring. But why should *the Congress* have to instigate such a timely project? Why should results take so long? The Bremer Commission finished in 90 days. Why focus only on State? And could the job not have been done by Foreign Service people on active duty? Given the temporary slowdown in retirements, we have the people on hand, and furthermore, *an institution benefits from the very act of self-appraisal.* I look to my bookshelf, and mentally tip my hat to our colleagues who, a generation ago, prepared the astonishing *Diplomacy for the 70s.*

At this point, however, Governor Harriman would interrupt: "That's fine," he'd say, "but what are *we* going to do about it?"

For some weeks AFSA's Governing Board has invited respected practitioners of politics and diplomacy to a series of evening seminars. Each speaker was asked to give a practical answer to the question: "How should the Foreign Service (State, USIS, and USAID) respond to the new opportunities before it? Here are some of the observations that tended to recur: (a) *The service is too small*: Effective diplomacy and representation cannot be conducted at home and abroad with the current staffs of the three services. Less qualified agencies are filling the void. (b) *Our service is emaciated*: it has little body fat, and that little is in the wrong places. It robs Peter (in the field) to pay Paul (in Washington). (c) *The service needs a different mix of skills*: even more money and career time should be devoted to training. (d) *"Trinitarian or Unitarian?* We've heard some in Congress might favor creating a single, strong, civilian foreign affairs agency, by combining in some way State, USAID, and USIA (and maybe the FCS). It's been argued that such a larger agency could better serve the interests of all its elements and compete more effectively in the bureaucratic major leagues. (N.B.: AFSA has no position yet on this important, but certainly controversial question.) (e) *Marginalization:* If we do nothing, the Foreign Service as a whole will become marginalized; even the making of foreign policy will increasingly be determined by the interests, resources, expertise, and "surge capacity" of others.

Your AFSA board is itself addressing the question we put to our speakers. We will prepare a brief, practical report. The report will not try to draw firm conclusions, but will state the issues, suggest some possible answers, and point the way to others. We aim to finish in about three months; *please give me your views.*

— HUME A. HORAN

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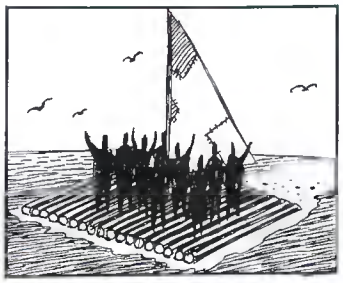

FEATURES

DEPARTMENTS

ABRAMS RESPONDS

To The Editor:

Jim Anderson's article (January *Journal*) contains so may misstatements, misunderstandings, and plain errors that a letter covering them all would be longer than his article.

To take one example, Anderson states flatly that, regarding Saudi and Taiwanese contributions to the Nicaraguan contras, "there was no doubt Abrams knew about the previous foreign contributions." This is categorically false, as every serious student of the affair is well aware. Few people, it seems, knew of these contributions, and all who did have testified under oath and truthfully that they withheld this information from me.

In another erroneous passage, Anderson states that my contacts with the government of Brunei were conducted under a pseudonym. This is false: I traveled to London under State Department travel orders, had a Pan Am ticket in my own name, and registered at the Hilton in my own name. And obviously, the officials of the government of Brunei had been told by the U.S. Embassy there who would be meeting with them in London.

Jim Anderson is an old pro and should have done better research in the voluminous printed materials even if others refused, as I did, his request for an interview. He should also have avoided formulations like "there was no doubt," an unsound journalistic practice which usually, as here, means the journalist has no evidence.

Readers who remain interested in these matters and want the details will find my views presented in full next fall, in a book I am writing on the prosecution.

Elliott Abrams
Washington, D.C.

Jim Anderson Replies:

Regarding the issue of whether Abrams knew before 1986 when he went to London [to solicit contra aid] whether Taiwan and Saudi Arabia were giving money for the contras:

The prosecutor's unchallenged "factual basis" for Abrams' guilty pleas includes the statement that "certain private individuals, including American citizens," were providing financial support, arms, and other support to the contras. The statement goes on: "these individuals *became known to Elliott Abrams* (my italics) and other U.S. government officials as the 'private benefactors.'"

A fair reading of that paragraph is that some of these "private benefactors" were not Americans. In fact, one was King Fahd of Saudi Arabia. . . . [His contribution] was nearly the size of the total legal U.S. contribution ($27 million) and could not have escaped the attention of a person who cared about the imperiled operation, as Abrams did.

Abrams was not in the loop on soliciting foreign contributions at that time and was not officially informed of those contributions in the line of his duties. If he had admitted being aware of them later to a grand jury, he would have lost his "deniability" and could have faced another charge of "withholding evidence," since he testified before Congress to the contrary. His former colleagues Oliver North and Michael Ledeen both have said that Abrams knew about the foreign contributions.

Regarding the 1986 Kenilworth episode mentioned in my article in which Abrams was said to have used that pseudonym in a fundraising trip to London:

Abrams says that is "erroneous." His statement that he used his own name and passport and registered under his own name at the Hilton hotel is new. In that light, I overstated the case when I wrote that he traveled to London under another name. But is Abrams justified when he denies that his contacts were conducted under a pseudonym? . . . Where did this business of Mr. Kenilworth originate? As it turns out from Abrams's own testimony before the Select Committee in 1987.

In his letter, Abrams acknowledges that he refused to talk to me for the article. . . . I wish he had cooperated. I think the truth would have been better served, but I am coming to think that is not a principal aim in his career.

ROSKENS: FOLLOW THE LEADER?

To The Editor:

The article on foreign assistance ("A.I.D.'s Identity Crisis, January *Journal*) takes fundamental issue with the notion that the Agency for International Development should follow the policy lead of the secretary of State. I would not be surprised to encounter this viewpoint in an advocacy journal representing one of the sectoral perspectives on the North-South dialogue, but I was dismayed that a career officer of USAID would co-author such an article.

America has a tradition of foreign assistance as old as our republic. This tradition has been shaped and molded by the courage and vision of American presidents and secretaries of State—leaders willing to look beyond the provincial conventions of the day.

There is always room for debate about the nature and the quality of foreign assistance. America's assistance to the Greek struggle for independence in the 1820s was seen by some as tomfoolery of the first order. When America sent both food and money for the victims of the Irish famine in the 1840s there were dissenters who thought our treasure was better spent closer to home. When failed Russian agricultural policies threatened thousands with starvation in the 1920s, there were Americans who criticized Herbert

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Hoover's program to send food and relief supplies to Russians in need.

This is not to question the right of C. Stuart Callison, a USAID officer who works on programs with American agricultural universities, to express an independent view of American foreign assistance priorities. I regret, however, and vigorously disagree with Mr. Callison's suggestion that the agency charged to carry out our national foreign assistance efforts has lost its way because it has elected to accept the policy direction established by President Bush and Secretary Baker. I would hope and expect that few professional Foreign Service officers would share his view.

Ronald W. Roskens
Administrator, USAID

I regret, however, and vigorously disagree with Mr. Callison's suggestion that the agency charged to carry out our national foreign assistance efforts has lost its way because it has elected to accept the policy direction established by President Bush and Secretary Baker.

STUART CALLISON REPLIES:

I am very disappointed and regret that Administrator Roskens misunderstands the article about USAID. Neither John Stovall nor I have ever suggested that USAID should not follow the foreign policy guidance of the president and the secretary of State. The issues we raise involve the interpretation of that guidance in light of experience and authorizing legislation and the better design and implementation of programs to achieve the goals established by the political process, not a challenge to that process.

How to achieve these objectives with limited resources presents many technical problems—some of which can be generalized but many of which differ with each country situation. It is not an appropriate arena for blanket political guidance on specific worldwide foreign assistance priorities. It is the subject of the BIFADEC Task Force report, the technical analysis that provided the basis for our article.

After nearly 18 years in USAID working in 13 different countries as a developmental economist, I am convinced that, while difficult, the most important development goals of the Foreign Assistance Act can be accomplished and Secretary Baker's challenge can be met if we apply the lessons learned during the last three decades of experience.

VOICES IN THE WILDERNESS

TO THE EDITOR:

The article "A.I.D.'s Identity Crisis," refers to the BIFADEC Task Force as a "voice in the wilderness." As chairman of that task force I would like to offer your readers a perspective on the crisis that is the focus of the article.

First, let me compliment the *Journal* and the authors for candidly laying these important issues on the table for discussion within the Foreign Service family—a group that should understand them and appreciate the stakes. . . .

During the conduct of our task force report over the past two years I have discussed this country's development assistance policy with several hundred development specialists. . . . There is a surprising degree of consensus about what is wrong with our foreign aid program and on most of the needed reforms. Unfortunately, the outlook for reform is bleak, given the hostile and uninformed public attitude toward foreign aid. Few of our citizens know just how modest our foreign aid expenditures are relative to our GNP (we rank near the bottom of industrialized nations). Fewer still perceive that we can help ourselves while helping others. These difficulties are exacerbated by the inability of Congress and the administration to agree on programs that will best serve our interests.

Although the task force is critical of USAID and some of its policies, we

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recognize that many of the problems are beyond that agency's control. We are encouraged that a strong but dwindling core of development professionals remain committed to improving life in the developing world. . . . We must keep on trying for reform. It is in our own best interests to do so.

G. Edward Schuh
Dean and professor
Hubert H. Humphrey
Institute of Public Affairs
University of Minnesota

To The Editor:

Congratulations to the *Journal* and to Stuart Callison and John Stovall for giving us a very important and thoughtful article on USAID. It takes courage to write and print an article like this. But today's events, as well as loyalty to longer-range American interests, demand it. We must all face up to the fact the USAID is on the slippery slope of post-Cold War internal politics and of dramatic changes in many of the developing countries—countries which face chronic problems of poverty and environmental degradation. The president and the secretary of State have had little to say on these subjects, and the statements of USAID's leadership have not helped much.

But your article has helped. It has helped open up what will probably turn out to be a long debate on what fundamental U.S. interests need to be promoted and protected in our relations with the developing countries and what ways are most effective in serving these interests while helping developing countries to meet the needs of their rapidly growing populations.

Callison and Stovall have hit the bull's-eye by highlighting those objectives, shared by the administration, Congress, and most of your readers, in the context of tough budgetary restraints. The authors point out the priority USAID should give to helping these countries develop their human resources through research, training, and institution building. This is what we, as Americans, do best—and it is relatively cheap.

The *Journal* is to be commended for airing well-informed views on a subject that demands the attention of all of us.

Robert O. Blake
Ambassador, retired
Washington, D.C.

To The Editor:

The article, "A.I.D.'s Identity Crisis" has awakened me to the present status of the agency where I made my home for so many years.

As long as one worked overseas in the aid environment, he knew what his job was—to help the indigenous government and people to help themselves. This may have been a spinoff of what the U.S. government perceived as its aims—short-term political, long-term economic, or anti-narcotic—but we generally spent the taxpayer's money to help the common people. . . .

USAID sometimes has influenced the consumption of American products abroad. However, let us not make the promotion of American exports the main purpose of USAID. I would have considerable difficulty in accepting a USAID role to serve U.S. commercial interests.

While true that we justified the program partly on security grounds, I always felt that the U.S. had humanitarian aims, also. Replacement of the Communist superpower and its allies in Eastern Europe by a new insecurity afflicting the peoples of those countries would seem to offer USAID an opportunity to play its traditional role once again. I hope that USAID and Congress will be able to accept this challenge, despite budgetary problems, and allow me to hold on to this idealism I've cherished about my past career.

Carl R. Fritz
USAID, retired
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

To The Editor:

The article, "A.I.D.'s Identity Crisis" by Stu Callison and John Stovall is an inspiring call to USAID to get back to the business of doing what does best, and as such has my full support. I have some difficulty, however, with the section on "Tied Aid," particularly the use of the term "subsidy."

For one thing, USAID's involvement in mixed credits has been minimal. . . . While mixed credits may amount to a subsidy, the authors apply the term "subsidy" to USAID's procurement requirements, as well. I do not agree with applying this term to source/origin requirements, which have been with us since the birth of the agency. Most of USAID's procurements of goods and services are based on competition among U.S. firms, and suppliers earn no more from USAID-financed procurements than from commercial sales. If the "subsidy" is imputed to be the difference between the cost of the U.S. commodity and that which may be available from suppliers from other countries, this is not a subsidy except in the sense that all of USAID's programs are subsidies. . . . I frankly believe that bilateral assistance should be tied to the donor. By definition American aid should consist largely of American products, services, and technology. . . . The fact that they are American is justification enough.

Arthur J. Laemmerzahl
Director, Office of Commodity Management and Trade

To The Editor:

I work in an office on the campus of a Big Ten university. I read the article, "A.I.D.'s Identity Crisis" with particular interest, as I was recently told I will be laid off from my job due to budget cuts.

Because of the aims of our project, I am often reminded of the old Chinese proverb: Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime. We are one of eight collaborative research support programs (CRSP). The CRSPs work with scientists in U.S. universities to develop better ways of growing different crops in various climates. [U.S. universities] in turn work closely with universities in Third World countries, so that their scientists can learn to develop the varieties of crops they need.

The very thing we are doing is sharing knowledge with those universities, building institutions, and forging lasting relationships between and among people across America and in over a dozen foreign countries. All the items mentioned in the article should be USAID's number one priority—and we are getting our budgets cut!

Disaster relief is exactly giving a man a fish; it's commendable and sometimes it's necessary, but what will this do for world hunger next year or in the year 2010? We can work with the farmer, who has just a few hectares, to plant a type of cowpea that will live through the flood, or the farmer will store a good supply of cowpeas in a way developed by a CRSP research team to resist insects and will therefore feed his family till the next harvest season.

It's so typical of our government and its bureaucrats that a showcase project like ours has to continually defend itself and beg for support.

Bonnie E. Zell
Secretary
Michigan State University

SLINKING INTO RETIREMENT

To The Editor:

I felt a jolt of recognition when I read the tag line on David Jones's essay on Foreign Service retirement (December 1991 *Journal*). Someone had finally put a finger on it: "Nothing so ill becomes the Foreign Service as the nature of our leaving it." As Jones says, "Foreign Service officers sneak into retirement . . . forced retirement is a badge of failure."

We all know the rule: up or out, and with eyes open and egos fully charged, we make a bet with the system that we can do it. When we don't—and our colleagues do—by any definition of the word I know, we have indeed failed. Of course we slink away!

In any case, I don't think Jones offers a real alternative—except perhaps for those of ambassadorial rank. If I understand him, those of lesser rank would fall out in front of the Foreign Service Club and march by the podium where the retiring great one takes the salute, then delivers a valedictory address full of wisdom.

As for "the rest of us," Jones doesn't seem to have anything better to suggest than the office retirement parties which we already practice.

So for those about to get bounced out, "shame" and "slink" will remain the key words. For future retirees, however, time may very well effect the necessary changes. As the discredited culture of an elite and privileged Foreign Service fades away, and as today's young officers are shaped in the new culture of corporate efficiency, the concept that "some make it and some don't" will come to be accepted as normal and natural. Like at GM. Or IBM.

John Hols
USIA, retired
Spokane, Washington

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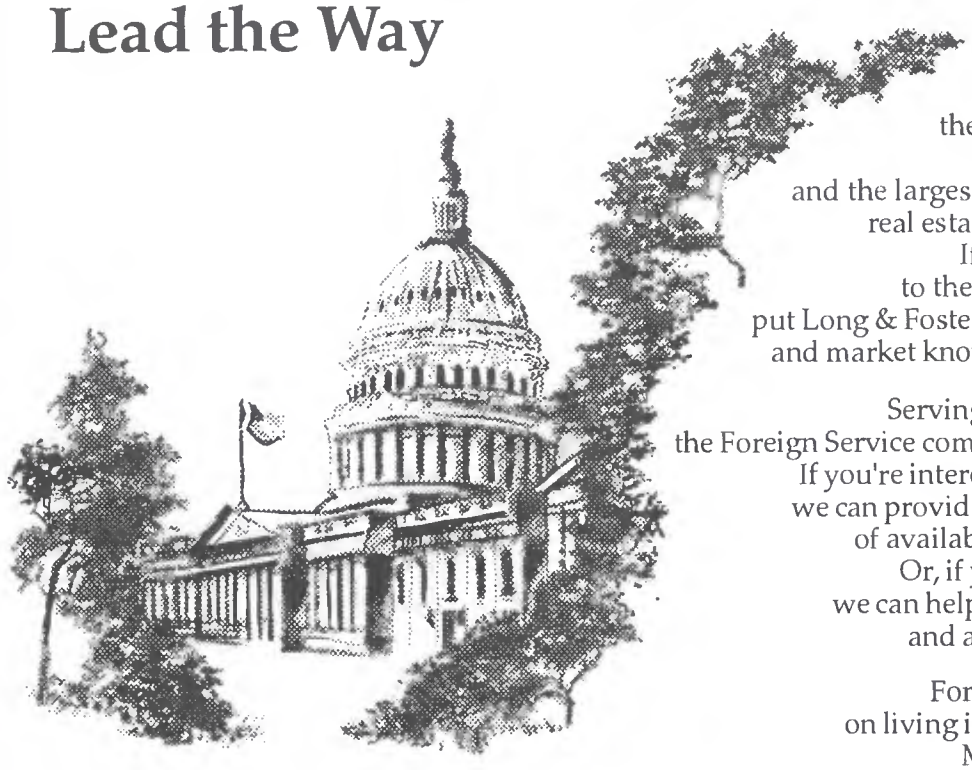

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LANGUAGE BARRIERS

THE WASHINGTON POST, JANUARY 14
BY JOHN M. GOSHKO

As the State Department scurries to keep pace with the Soviet Union's division into 15 separate states, U.S. diplomats are finding that it will be a lot tougher to speak the language of diplomacy in such locales as Kirgizstan and Kazakhstan.

"For most of these new states, we have virtually no one who knows the language," said Paul Goble, a former department official who specializes in studying the different Soviet nationalities.

That poses some potentially big problems for those diplomats sent to represent the United States in the former Soviet republics. The U.S. Embassy in Moscow has become the U.S. mission to Russia; the three Baltic republics—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—have been accorded full diplomatic relations and Washington soon will exchange ambassadors with Ukraine, Belarus, Armenia, Kazakhstan, and Kirgizstan.

During the years of Communist rule, the United States had a consulate in Russian-speaking Leningrad and had negotiated successfully to open another in Kiev, the principal city of Ukraine. However, Soviet rulers preferred keeping foreign diplomats confined to Moscow and, except for a very few consular outposts, allowed foreigners to visit the outlying republics only on very rare, strictly controlled occasions.

The State Department already has made a hurried search of the Foreign Service ranks to find what language skills it can apply to the problem in the short term. Over the years, some of the republics—notably Ukraine, Armenia, and the Baltics—have sent sizable numbers of immigrants to this country, and the department has a small number of people whose ethnic backgrounds give them some familiarity with the languages of these places.

The big problem, a department official added, is with Central Asian languages such as Uzbek and Kazakh. "We've identified a very small number of people who, in one way or another, have picked up a smattering of these languages, but their knowledge doesn't go very deep," he said.

"For the time being though, the lingua franca of most of our work in the republics will, of necessity, be Russian," another official said. . . . [T]he official said, it will take at least two years, and possibly longer before the department can staff embassies in the former republics with people who have a working knowledge of the local languages.

That training is provided primarily by the department's Foreign Service Institute, which already is weighing how much of its financial and other resources can be diverted to adding the new languages to its curriculum. In addition, the institute faces a potentially major problem in finding appropriate instructors, since it has an unbreakable rule that all of its language teaching be done by people who are native speakers. Two years ago, when the United States opened an embassy in Mongolia, the institute was unable to find anyone in the United States able to teach Mongolian according to its specifications and finally had to go all the way to Ulan Bator to fill the job.

SWAT TEAM LOOKS AT USAID

THE WASHINGTON POST, JANUARY 28, 1992

Concern about "significant management problems" at the Agency for International Development has prompted a joint investigation by USAID and the Office of Management and Budget. The two agencies have formed what they call a SWAT team

What's the State Department doing handling items like guns, heroin, and cocaine? It's all perfectly legal, [Inspector General Sherman] Funk said. The guns are regularly shipped between State and embassies abroad for use by security officers, he said. The drugs are sent here by overseas Drug Enforcement Administration agents for analysis in government labs. . . .

headed by Charles A. Gillespie . . . to explore recent criticism made by the General Accounting Office and USAID's own inspector general.

Several recent studies . . . have raised questions about the adequacy of USAID's management of overseas projects. . . . USAID Administrator Ronald W. Roskens said his agency is "in the process of making fundamental reforms," but criticism persists. "We need to get to the bottom of these criticisms, decide which ones are still valid and then implement corrective actions," he said.

GUNS, DRUGS, AND THE STATE MAILROOM

The Washington Post, January 16
By Tracy Thompson

A mailroom deep in the bowels of the State Department may seem an unlikely setting for crime. But there, caught on videotape, a mailroom clerk was surreptitiously unwrapping a pistol sent through the department's internal mail system and slipping it into his desk.

Moments later . . . agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms and State's Office of Inspector General arrested the clerk for stealing government property—allegedly to sell on the crime-ridden streets of Washington.

What's the State Department doing handling items like guns, heroin, and cocaine? It's all perfectly legal, [Inspector General Sherman] Funk said. The guns are regularly shipped between State and embassies abroad for use by security officers, he said. The drugs are sent here by overseas Drug Enforcement Administration agents for analysis in government labs. . . .

It is not clear what amount of illegal drugs may have been stolen nor what mailroom security measures were in effect, but [a recent indictment] charged the two men with stealing four Uzi machine guns, five Remington shotguns, and five Ruger machine guns. . . .

Funk declined to say whether any of the guns wound up in the hands of local criminals. But valuable as it was, the weaponry might not have been all that the alleged thieves expected it to be. The guns were being shipped back to the United States because they needed repair.

NEW STAFF AT THE HELM

Winston-Salem Journal, January 8
By Jan Healey

In the second major shake-up within a year, Senator Jesse A. Helms has fired half of his staff at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. . . . The new chief of the Republican staff at the Foreign Relations Committee, James W. Nance, said that Helms wanted, "new blood, new thinking, new orientation, new structure—the whole works."

Several aides said that the changes stemmed from personality clashes that had festered within the staff. Helms is reported to have brought in Nance, a retired admiral and lifelong friend, in November to get to the root of the problem. . . . Nance sent Helms a report on the committee in mid-December. On Friday, Helms came up from Raleigh to dismiss James P. Lucier, who had been his top adviser for more than 10 years. . . . Eight [more] full-time staff members and two consultants were dismissed, all men.

Nance did not acknowledge any trouble within the staff. Rather, he said, the changes were made to make the operation more efficient, less costly, and more in line structurally with the State Department. . . .

Most observers agreed that Lucier's departure should bring a change in Helms's approach to the Foreign Relations Committee. Lucier was a leading advocate of conspiracy theories and confrontational tactics. . . . ■

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Uncle Sam's Trouble Shooters

By Frances Russell

Published in the *Journal*, March 1942

Foreign Service men must be able to "take it" to stick out wartime duties. One of the toughest assignments today, largely filled by younger bachelors, is London. Bombs are such old stuff to the men in London that they have become almost callous about them. Several months ago, a Nazi plane slipped through the clouds and dropped a 500-pound bomb on the building next to the American Embassy. Only a few heads poked out the window to watch A.R.P. ambulances carry off a number of wounded Britishers and the bodies of seven killed.

Most of the men would prefer living in one of the hotels built of concrete and steel, but there are only a limited number, and room prices have risen so high that they can't afford them. The cost of living for Foreign Service personnel in London has risen 50 per cent since the war began. Their salaries have remained at peacetime levels.

Food is a constant problem for practically all of the Foreign Service in Europe, but the posts hit hardest are those in Spain. There, the British blockade and four years of civil war have reduced the supply almost to starvation levels. . . .

"It's all just part of the job." That best describes the spirit of the Foreign Service today. There are no uniforms, no medals, no fanfare for the men who work within the shadow of death to protect the interests of Uncle Sam. Gone are the pleasant peacetime days of short hours and high living—traded for bombs, poor food and little sleep. The men have learned that when total war strikes there is no diplomatic immunity for the Foreign Service. They have proved magnificently that they can take take it. ■

FOREIGN SERVICE QUIZ

(Answers appear on page 3 of the pull-out section)

1. In what year did the United States establish an embassy in Canada?

2. Which U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union was declared *persona non grata* on October 3, 1952—after he had already left his post?

3. Name the 1924 act of Congress that amalgamated the Diplomatic and Consular Services and established a uniform scale of salaries ranging up to $9,000.

DESPATCH

Open Door Policies

I'm acquainted with affliction,
chiefly in the form of fiction,
As 'tis offered up by strangers
At the consul's open door.

—Bret Harte,
At the Consul's Open Door

As Bret Harte, who served as consul in Germany and Scotland, knew well, few Foreign Service jobs are more trying to the patience and wearing on the sympathies. Consuls are required to exercise a forbearance normally reserved to meter maids and the people who staff complaint windows at stores. Repositories of a lifetime of hopes for foreign nationals seeking visas to enter the United States, consular officers must resist the pull of friendship, political power, and human sympathy, saying no over and over and over to people who may not be circumstantially very different from the officer's own forebears.

It's little wonder that many Foreign Service officers cannot wait to get off the visa line. Some argue that getting rid of the visa function altogether would strengthen morale in the service. Others go farther, saying that State's political agendas provide a built-in conflict of interest with visa issuance. "The chiefly political incentives of [senior State Department officials] tend to make them regard a good visa officer as one who issues visas liberally, by minimizing host-country complaints about the difficulty of getting non-immigrant visas, or facilitating trading NIVs for political favors," wrote Richard Patard in a cogent argument for handing over the visa function to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, published in the summer 1990 Open Forum magazine *Options* and reprinted in the spring 1991 *Consular Packet*. "If visa work were done by an INS foreign service with the same autonomy that the Foreign Commercial Service enjoys, then visa-related communications could no longer be edited by senior State officials. . . . Denying visas to unqualified applicants would become less hazardous to a visa officer's career."

Patard was not the first to suggest that State shed the visa function, and he will probably not be the last. In this issue, retired consular officer William Morgan, a historian of the consular service, rallies to the defense of the visa function. Morgan argues that issuing visas trains Foreign Service officers to be intellectually rigorous and ethically alert, that it provides a rare opportunity for liaison with Congress, and that it brings crucial resources to embassies. Consuls, too, have an important representational role: they are the first exemplars seen by many foreigners of the American personality and our way of doing business. No doubt State's consular officers can be as churlish as any beleaguered employee providing services to the public. Nevertheless, a consular officer's first responsibility is not interdiction but instead facilitating the enriching of U.S. culture through immigration. That can only help the U.S. image abroad.

Helping the Soviets, Again: An excellent article by Haynes Johnson in the *Washington Post* in January recalled the last major U.S. relief effort for the Soviet Union—Herbert Hoover's famine relief operation of 1921, conducted in his capacity as U.S. food administrator. Vastly larger than the current "Operation Provide Hope," the Hoover effort provided 700,000 tons of food plus medicine and commodities and cost $78 million, of which $18 million was paid for by the Soviets from their gold reserves. Conducted during an economic recession and amid the domestic problems of demobilization from the First World War, the relief effort was not popular among Americans. Nevertheless, it continued, and, according to Johnson, by spring of 1922, the operation was feeding 18 million Soviets. When it was over, Maxim Gorky wrote to Hoover: "Your help will be inscribed in history as a unique, gigantic accomplishment worthy of the greatest glory and will long remain in the memory of millions of Russians."

Club Ved: For those still seeking to explain the glorious revolutions of 1989 to 1991, Transcendental Meditation has an answer. "We have seen the dawn of world peace and are now witnessing the rise of freedom everywhere," Dr. Bevan Morris, president of the International Council of Maharishi Vedic University, is quoted by the Age of Enlightenment News Service as saying. "We credit this to the coherence created in world consciousness by the 7,000 [Yogic Flyers] group [in India] and by all the other people in countries around the globe who are practicing Maharishi's Vedic Technologies."

"I want all sovereign governments to know that they don't need any aid or wealth from outside," Maharishi said. "We have an action plan for every country to create Heaven on Earth from its own God-given resources, and our promises are real."

— ANNE STEVENSON-YANG

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1. *U.S. News & World Report,* Jan. 23, 1989
2. *HIAA Consumers Guide to Long Term Care Insurance,* 1989

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FROM THE FIELD

By David T. Jones

State Goes to the Pentagon

Political advisers, or POLADs, have been part of the U.S. politico-military scene since World War II. Essentially, they are a reflection of the Clemenceau remark that the "war is too important to be left to soldiers." (The reverse of the coin is the informal military maxim that "peace is too important to be left to politicians.") Beyond the generations-old creative tension between soldiers and civilians on how to address the issues of peace and war are endless politico-military issues from the transient to the timeless. United States military power is global in its influence and application. No senior military figure operates solely in a military arena, and the international consequences of uninformed action can be tragic—and counterproductive.

Political advisers to senior U.S. military commanders are the pinnacle of the exchange program between the State Department and the Department of Defense. Currently State details 10 senior Foreign Service officers as POLADs. In fact, the POLAD role is relatively mundane—providing a senior military figure with insights on how his actions or inactions will affect foreign relations with specific countries. Although a POLAD normally makes himself available to all members of the commander-in-chief's ("CINC's") staff, his basic relationship is defined by the CINC. While it is usually congenial, it is not always clear. Fortunately, I found confidence-building essentially an easy task with senior Army officers, who tend to be sophisticated in politico-military dealings and aware of the general utility of diplomats.

A one-man State

Duties are as diverse as the POLAD and the CINC, each with separate regional or substantive responsibilities. On the Army staff, the POLAD is a one-man State Department. The POLAD's role as a foreign affairs resource cannot be overstated. While many military officers are knowledgeable and talented in foreign affairs, it is, by definition, their second skill. If the issue is not military, the POLAD may be regarded as a primary resource.

The POLAD also serves as a sanity check. If a proposal the POLAD has endorsed goes wrong, at least the blame can be shared. Judgment calls are relatively few, however. The POLAD is rarely attempting to reverse a CINC or staff proposal, but rather tries to alter it a few degrees and add another dimension or integrate further information.

Finally, the POLAD can offer the staff a pipeline to senior levels and can be called upon to champion orphan causes. With access to the senior leader, the POLAD is often approached to advance a special staff interest that has gotten lost or waylaid in its bureaucracy. A POLAD can champion orphan causes but needs to give them a bureaucratic DNA test to determine parenthood before adapting them as his own.

Tribal mores

The opportunity for a tour as the Army's POLAD appeared well matched to my background. I had been an Army lieutenant, continued as an Army reservist, and spent much of my State Department career in politico-military affairs, so I assumed the transition from State to Pentagon would run smoothly. In fact, it was something like having learned your foreign language from tapes at FSI and then being dropped in country with native speakers. You know the basics, but it is a scramble to fill in the blanks.

Working environment. The Pentagon will probably be labeled a historic monument before the Department of State. Although it has an institutionally ugly exterior characterized by 1930s WPA-style architecture, the unique nature of its design makes it a Washington, indeed global, landmark. Its miles of interior hallways reflect the gloom and deterioration of a 60-year-old government building. (Think what State will be like at the same age, 30 years from now.) The Pentagon does have the redeeming virtue of having turned many of its hallways into an informal war museum, showcasing combat memorabilia.

Always acronyms. Each bureaucracy has its own acronyms, but the problem in a new organization is not simply learning the meaning of new acronyms but unlearning old ones. Thus I still think twice to recall the "DAS" is not "deputy assistant secretary" but "director of the Army staff."

Tunnel vision. The Army is parochial, not in the pejorative sense, but in the sense of focusing on a special interest: the concerns of the Army chief of staff are those of the U.S. Army, from the dye-fast qualities of the Army green shirt to managing a 25 percent manpower reduction. I find that I have adopted the Army's tunnel vision; it is a very wide tunnel, but still a tunnel.

Pyramid. The Army is a standard organizational hierarchy, the classic bureaucratic pyramid. There are eight enlisted men for every officer and fewer officers at each grade than in the grade below. In the Pentagon's Army staff, however, the standard organization is turned upside down.

There are many more lieutenant colonels (and sometimes more lieutenant generals) than lieutenants.

Briefings plus. Foreign Service officers are accustomed to communicating with our senior levels through briefing papers. The Army prefers oral presentations. At State papers wend their way up the ladder (or leap the queue through adroit end runs) until they reach decisionmakers. Although there are similar, indeed monumental, paper exercises for the Army staff, Army officers are masters of the set-piece briefing with computer-generated slides. The Pentagon has never met an audio-visual aid it didn't like. State has never met an audio-visual aid.

At State, a Foreign Service officer can spend an entire career never dealing with the secretary face-to-face. On the Army staff, the subject experts, young majors, and lieutenant colonels brief the chief of staff and secretary of the Army, while their supervisors provide supporting roles. The positive side is the intense exposure by mid-grade officers to senior leaders. The negative is the enormous amounts of time devoted to preparing and "prebriefing" presentations. At senior levels, these briefings and meetings are carefully choreographed. Army protocol prepares a chart for each meeting to tell every participant exactly where to sit—none of this catch-as-catch-can seating as at State. My first reaction to these seating plans was puzzlement that adults would need such direction. I knew I had adapted to Army game rules when I turned to the protocol officer for guidance before I entered the meeting room.

The rigor of rank. State is almost ritualistically casual. Other than the secretary of State and the ambassador at post, we first name our most senior officers. The Army, however, is ferociously formal. Major generals say "sir" to lieutenant generals, who say "sir" to generals. One can even hear general officers of equal rank saying "sir" to one another. Usually accorded the protocol rank of major general, the POLAD fits ambiguously into this schema, with military staff groping for what to call him. Those who were comfortable with State's informality used my first name, others said "Mr." or, always the safe bet, "sir."

Vivid language. Vivid does not mean expletive-filled but merely memorable. The security officer's identification badge is a "shoot me first" button. The excited action officer alternatively is running about "with a rat in his teeth" or "with his hair on fire." The principal point in an issue is "the long pole in the tent" and a complicated action must be carefully "wickered."

Serious security. Foreign Service officers remain rather casual about security—to the dismay of State Department security officers. The Army, however, operates more by the rules: personal signature for EXDIS, cover sheets on classified material, locked doors for brief office departures, "double checks" for safes and offices. In short, the Army practices all the rituals you learned at FSI but since then have not always observed. To fit in, it helps to be a bit compulsive, or at least tolerant of a compulsive structure.

A man's world. The armed services in general and the Army in particular have worked hard to emphasize gender equality. More than 10 percent of the Army is female and stiff regulations suppress sexual harassment and promote equal opportunity. Yet any real female presence at senior levels is a good generation away. Exclusion from combat units weighs against selection for commands from which the most senior leaders are derived. None of the senior officers on the Army staff are female; the key action officers throughout the staff are all but uniformly male.

The rewards

A POLAD has a rare opportunity to work with and directly influence a senior figure whose bureaucratic role is by definition military, but who often has tremendous foreign affairs leverage. The chief of staff of the Army has global responsibilities through the assignment and stationing of Army forces overseas. Other senior military officials have significant foreign affairs influence. As a privileged outsider operating within the military system, the POLAD can be part of the solution without being part of the problem. To be able to make a contribution at that level can be a measure of a Foreign Service career. ■

David T. Jones is a frequent contributor to the Journal.

SPEAKING OUT

By John A. Baker

The Diplomat as Networker: Adapting to the post-Cold War world

If Foreign Service officers were beginning to feel, in the 1970s and 1980s, that they were becoming hotel keepers for a growing variety of agency programs, they have a new problem in the 1990s. It is the problem of looking like you are representing a superpower when the resources you are trying to deploy belong to somebody else.

The problem was illustrated in Washington in January when Secretary Baker took two initiatives. He called a meeting of governments to encourage and coordinate humanitarian assistance to the successor states of the Soviet Union. And he called for a simultaneous meeting of non-governmental agencies to devise ways to supplement the modest governmental portion of an international program and assist in its delivery.

Why did he do this? Because neither Congress nor the public would have supported, especially in the current economic recession, turning to the budget of the United States of America as the main source of a high-cost effort to rescue the peoples of the former Soviet Union from hunger, disease, and cold. Yet, at the same time, it was important to the stability of Europe and future world peace that assistance be encouraged and coordinated. And it was important to the image of the world's only remaining superpower that it be seen as leading the effort.

Reluctant aid

The president and the secretary have been understandably hesitant, especially in an election year, to go to Congress for large new foreign assistance programs. Although Congress, at its own initiative, diverted half a billion dollars from the Defense budget in the fall of 1991 to assist the destruction of former Soviet nuclear weapons, it would be foolhardy to interpret this as a sign that foreign assistance programs generally will enjoy a peace dividend.

On the contrary, the argument that foreign assistance programs are essential to supporting our alliances and stabilizing areas vulnerable to hostile penetration or pressure has now disappeared. (There is, perhaps, one exception in the case of the Republic of Korea. Even so, its main threat, North Korea, will become more isolated every day if it does not engage peacefully with the South and other states.) The case for aid to the Philippines, as a tacit trade-off for the bases at Subic and Clark, can no longer be made as American air and naval forces depart. Security assistance to Turkey, the exposed "southern flank" of NATO, loses urgency as Turkey flanks on an independent Armenia and faces an independent Ukraine across the Black Sea. In the argument over American assistance to Pakistan, the negative impact of Pakistan's suspected nuclear aspirations is now outweighing the case for funding the channel to Afghan freedom fighters. The government the freedom fighters are challenging now has neither a common border nor a common ideology with its erstwhile supplier.

One might suppose that development assistance to the "poorest of the poor" would profit from the expected cuts in security assistance. But many will now argue that, with more than 25 percent of American children below the poverty line, our charity should begin at home. Adopting a new argument that assistance is required to open or stabilize what are actually rather small foreign markets for U.S. products may not be an easy case to take to a public educated to the principles of free trade.

In the likely event that resources for USAID and for the foreign programs of other American agencies decline rather than enjoy a peace dividend, American chiefs of mission may find their effectiveness and leverage increasingly related to another set of players. Now their impact may, as in the case of Secretary Baker's initiatives in January, relate to their ability to guide, orchestrate, and encourage others. The successful bilateral chief of mission in most cases will be a shrewd and diligent networker more often than a dominant presence.

In the likely event that resources for USAID and for the foreign programs of other American agencies decline rather than enjoy a peace dividend, American chiefs of mission may find their effectiveness and leverage increasingly related to another set of players.

Working a new crowd

In an increasingly multipolar world in which large trading blocs dominated by Europe, Japan, and the United States are emerging, the American mission chief will not simply yield the turf to the

regional economic power. He or she will build an American presence from non-governmental and commercial bits and pieces if the leverage from U.S. bilateral assistance is lacking.

What is the formula for success?

Assistance programs: Help coordinate the American governmental assistance programs—if there are any—so that they are mutually supportive, consistent, timely, well-publicized, and do not overlap with the assistance programs of other nations. This, increasingly, requires a knowledge of the multiple American bureaucracies involved in overseas programs, because they tend to act toward a given country more on the logic of their own institutions than within the framework of a national strategy. Chiefs of mission must also lead, if they can, a donor coordination effort, leaving the implementation to the USAID mission, if there is one.

Trade: Stimulate and assist the involvement of the American business community by defending its interests, helping it to organize effectively as a community, encouraging stable investment climates and fair regulations, and actively seeking American partners for trade and investment opportunities in the host country. The Japanese, with their powerful MITI, have no compunctions about deciding which Japanese firm is the right partner for a given investment opportunity and promoting that partner. We need to find a way that does not violate anti-trust laws to do the same. In a pinch, when an important market or investment is at stake, the mission chief needs to back the American bidder with a discreet reminder that, if the unforeseen occurs, if the regional madman gets loose, the principal possibility for containment or discipline is in the projection of U.S. military power. Hence, it is in the host country's interest as well to help build an American stake and presence in the area.

Non-governmental groups: Create an inviting atmosphere for American non-governmental programs, seeking them out, if necessary, and matching them to existing perceived needs not met by other nations' governmental or non-governmental programs. These organizations are overtly doing many of the tasks of democratic institution-building that the CIA used to pursue on covert funds in the 1950s and 1960s. In the formerly Communist European states, for example, senior representatives of the Citizens Democracy Corps are actively playing the coordination role for these programs. However, once a broad set of non-governmental relationships has been put in place, this task will undoubtedly come back to the embassy country team (which already is addressing it in most overseas posts).

Universities and World Affairs Councils around the United States and organizations such as the Institute for International Education, IMET, the Fulbright Program, the International Executive Service Corps, and Washington's Foreign Student Service Council have incalculable impact on the success of U.S. foreign policy.

Defense: Take a good look at the function of the defense attache to see whether it is primarily a bean counting exercise punctuated by exclusively military visits and training programs, or whether it should have a wider function, supported by broader Defense Department and U.S. interests. Is the attaché's office interacting only with a small portion of the armed services? Or is it building an image of collaboration with the broader defense establishment, including civilian managers and think tankers who have important impact on military and strategic thinking? With the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program opened now to civilians with oversight responsibilities, there is an opportunity for the embassy, in collaboration with innovative non-governmental programs such as those of the National Democratic Institute, the Atlantic Council, Global Outlook, the East-West Institute, and Rand to build relationships with the civilian side of the defense establishment—a side which we should be interested in strengthening in the context of democratic institution building.

Information: Use embassy information resources, good press relations, video interviews during visitor programs, teleconferencing, and well-guided educational exchange programs to create a reservoir of good will and understanding that will underpin the achievement of the above-described tasks. Often the most important U.S. assets in a given country are those leaders who have been students and guests—provided that their experience has been a positive one. Universities and World Affairs Councils around the United States and organizations such as the Institute for International Education, IMET, the Fulbright Program, the International Executive Service Corps, and Washington's Foreign Student Service Council (which ought to have a counterpart in every major American university town) have incalculable impact on the success of U.S. foreign policy.

Sharing the costs

Is that how the bilateral diplomacy of the new world order is meant to act—fostering an increasingly complex net of bilateral programs, increasingly non-governmental in character? Not quite. There is a multilateral dimension that needs to be cultivated as well. The mission chief should understand that, in the single superpower world, certain steps must be taken to avoid the tendency to see the main player as the deep pocket or the heavy.

One way to achieve this, as President Bush, Secretary Baker, and UN Permanent Representative Pickering have been adept in doing, is to build coalitions that share both the costs and the opprobrium of certain difficult roles, whether these be military, political, economic, or, let us now hope, environmental.

If a Saddam Hussein has to be cut down to size mainly by U.S. power projection, better that should be done under a set of Security Council resolu-

SPEAKING OUT

tions with plenty of partners and supporters involved. If Poland must transform cold turkey to a free market, better that this be a result of counsel by the International Monetary Fund. If the people of Russia need to be rescued from chaos with humanitarian aid, better that the burden be shared by the OECD nations and non-governmental organizations.

Likewise, control of the spread of nuclear, biological, chemical, and sophisticated conventional weapons requires greater support of international agencies, as does control of drug movements and environmental deterioration. Like it or not, American leaders will soon be raising the level of diplomatic discourse on this subject. Who knows? The coming of the North American Free Trade zone may even restore American support of population planning to the multilateral agenda.

In a world no longer ideologically bipolar, multilateral organizations do not necessarily manage the world, but they make a bigger difference in what happens in it. If properly guided, they can multilateralize U.S. initiatives for increased effect and decreased financial and political cost. There should be no qualms about this. Every nation seeks to guide multilateral agencies to assist in achieving its objectives.

It may be that this is the reality of the new world order. Rather than flying the banner of *pax Americana*, which assorted Serbs, Croats, Azeris, and Armenians are shooting into tatters, America's diplomats need to be assiduously developing a less visible device: multifaceted networking. ■

John A. Baker is a retired Foreign Service officer whose second career includes running Education and Civil/Military Programs for the Atlantic Council in Washington, organizing the East European Practice Group of Global Business Access, and keeping a toe in the lagging real estate market with MCMB Inc., an agency managed by former Foreign Service officers.

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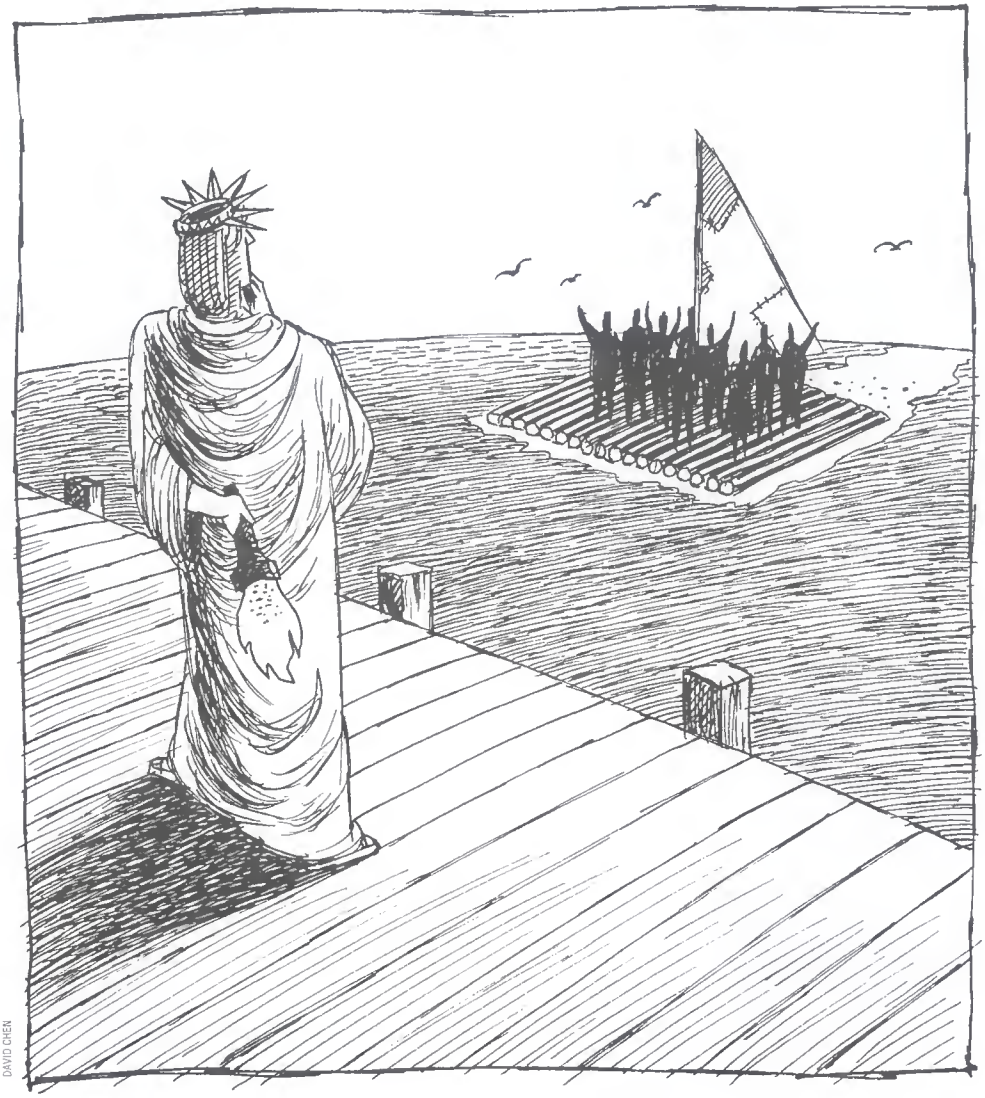
THE CRISIS AT GUANTÁNAMO BAY

The two faces of U.S. policy

BY DORIS MEISSNER



DAVID CHEN

Poor Haiti! So desperate, so backward, so unlucky. Curiously, though, our most unfortunate neighbor provides an instructive glimpse of things to come, now that the post-Cold War era is under way.

The arrival of democracy in Haiti was a genuine but short-lived triumph. Regional diplomacy is likely to succeed in returning President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power, but the task of building the attitudes, processes, and institutions required for democracy to work will still prove far more difficult and uncertain than securing a fair election.

The important new factor is that other nations, including members of the Organization of American States (OAS), now will fight for the protection of functioning democracies. This represents a sea change from the time when repressive dictators were overlooked so long as they fit into America's anti-Communist security scenario. It opens the door to a renaissance for diplomacy both on bilateral and multilateral fronts.

WHAT THE LEFT HAND IS DOING

One phenomenon the new diplomacy will have to address is a central aspect of the Haitian case: large numbers of would-be refugees triggered by political crises. In Haiti, the September coup unleashed wholesale lawlessness, and as many as 1,000 Haitians or more have probably been killed since. (Americas Watch attests that accurate statistics cannot be ascertained.) Moreover, a climate of repression and fear, reminiscent of the Duvaliers' reign, is back. It is not surprising, then, that Haitians have escaped in droves. Tens of thousands have moved from Port au Prince to the countryside, crossed into the Dominican Republic, or boarded boats bound for the United States. Many of the boat people, who number almost 10,000, in early February were returned to Haiti, after the Supreme Court overturned a Miami judge's ban on their repatriation.

U.S. policy seems not to have contemplated a refugee crisis, and the forceful early stance against the coup has been undermined by the government's subsequent response to the boat flow. The administration denounced military rule, instituted a trade embargo, froze assets, and advised U.S. nationals to leave. But when individual Haitians appeared, it tried to return them, until a court said 'no'. The U.S. government then took the Haitians to Guantánamo Naval Base so they could not claim political asylum *en masse* and argued in litigation that the Haitians are economic migrants and that conditions in Haiti are safe for their return. Now that its position has been vindicated by an appeals court, the administration has resumed repatriation—without regard for the status of OAS negotiations with Aristide and the military. And all the while, immigration officials screening migrants at Guantánamo Naval Base were finding 20 to 25 percent eligible to apply for political asylum in Miami, because they have provided information that preliminarily suggests evidence of persecution.

So, what we have is the United States championing human rights and democracy for Haiti as a nation while denying the implications that abrogating democracy creates for individual Haitians. Why the incoherence? Because migration questions are treated as distinct and detached from foreign policy. The new thinking evidenced by U.S. diplomatic efforts toward Haiti did not, therefore, encompass the government's response to the boat flow. This has seriously undermined the moral authority and leadership role of U.S. policy.

It is not the first time Haitian migration has presented novel and thorny questions for the United States. Nor is it the first time the U.S. response has been stuck on old paradigms in the face of new circumstances. When Haitian boat people first began arriving on Florida coasts in the mid-1970s, they represented a new migration development. Until then, the U.S. experience had been one of clear lines between political and economic flight. People fleeing political persecution came from places like the Soviet Union and Cuba. Officials interviewed them overseas and brought them to the United States as refugees. People fleeing economic deprivation crossed our border from Mexico and were returned within hours. They did not ask for hearings, preferring instead to try to cross another day.

The Haitians were a mixture: political persecution and deep poverty coexisted. The primary motivation for flight had to be determined in order to decide whether to treat a Haitian as a refugee or an illegal alien. Although the United States had regulations governing political asylum, large groups of asylum seekers had never been contemplated. In this, the Haitians foreshadowed the 1980s. For the United States and other developed nations, burgeoning caseloads of people fleeing a mixture of repression and want have become the central migration reality and the most difficult immigration question facing governments.

A POLICY AT SEA

In responding to the Haitians, U.S. government agencies had insufficient and untrained personnel along with sketchy expertise on conditions in Haiti. Proper procedure was blatantly bypassed at times, and the legal aid/immigrant advocate community took up the Haitians' cause in federal court. The result was more than a decade of legal wrangling over issues of due process, detention, and parity with other groups, particularly Cubans. The government introduced interdiction-at-sea to preclude what it viewed as largely unfounded asylum claims, and the advocacy community, charging racism and biased treatment, protested each new policy initiative by filing lawsuits.

Only within the last year or so have the regulatory and personnel changes required to respond to populations like the Haitians finally been made. Adequate numbers of trained, independent adjudicators, dedicated to political asylum casework, have been mobilized by the

Immigration and Naturalization Service; regulations were rewritten to assure proper procedures and standards of evidence; interdiction interview protocols were changed to achieve improved screening for possible refugee cases.

The irony is that these changes were finally made when the political crises that propelled people to leave nations like Nicaragua and El Salvador and seek asylum have largely been resolved. Moreover, now that a credible case-by-case adjudication system is institutionalized for political asylum cases, the irony is compounded by asking the new asylum system to manage a new brand of migration emergencies. The Haitian boat flow marks the onset of a sort of international crisis that the United States can expect to become more common as fledgling democracies struggle to take hold. The needs of this new generation of refugees should be met with the classic international approach of offering temporary protection, instead of asylum and settlement, when there is the chance to resolve underlying political problems relatively quickly.

SAFE HAVEN

Those Haitians who left in the wake of the coup are unquestionably fleeing violence and renewed repression. Whether they can show individually targeted persecution, however, as is required to obtain refugee status through the political asylum process, is a separate, more difficult matter. It is hard to doubt, however, that most have been in danger for their lives or safety, given the chaos, intimidation, and deaths that were widespread after the coup and that have continued in varying degrees since.

What the boat people genuinely needed and what the United States and the international community should have been willing to provide was protection. By defining the migration as a quest for protection, matters of refugee status versus economic flight need not have been broached and were premature, in any event. At the same time, diplomacy to restore the elected government could have addressed the restoration of sufficient safety to warrant repatriation. This would have underscored further the human rights stand taken by the United States and its hemispheric partners.

With such an approach, the migrants could still have been housed at Guantánamo and in the few other nations in the region that offered places. But the effort would have been one of providing temporary safety, pending resolution of a political crisis through regional diplomacy, instead of the unnecessary choice posed by potential refugee resettlement versus repelling illegal immigration. Criteria would include the likelihood of resolving the political crisis quickly, concerted regional or international efforts to restore democracy, and a judgment by intervening governments (OAS, in this case) that return is safe, feasible, and that there will be a human rights monitoring effort within the country afterwards.

A policy of protection would mean that the Departments of State and Justice would have to resolve traditional differences over immigration matters, taking careful account in policy formulation of the migration effects of particular foreign policy options. And military facilities would have to be available for humanitarian purposes on a contingency basis without evoking the objection that cooperation sacrifices military readiness. Over the longer term, civilian personnel should be available on a standby basis for migration emergencies to decrease the costs involved when the military provides the protection.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHANGE

Temporary protection, instead of resettlement or return, is called for in this and similar cases because of the dramatic changes in international relations. Haiti today, in contrast to years past, showed first signs of an emerging democracy. That government was overthrown. But it is highly likely that elected officials will be returned and stability restored. Moreover, the process of reinstating the president and Parliament provide opportunities, which are being effectively exploited by OAS negotiations, for strengthening human rights monitoring and protections within Haiti.

Here is a case in which U.S. policy strongly upholds democratic reform, both the United States and other nations in the region are bringing concerted pressure on the Haitian government, and chances of an early solution to the political problem are high. Accordingly, the migration element of the equation need not sound a dissonant chord. The U.S. policy is firmly rooted in human rights precepts that can and should accommodate migration. A policy of generosity is necessarily difficult, when Haiti has a history of unauthorized arrivals in the United States. However, when the crisis is short-lived and amenable to resolution through diplomacy, protection can be offered without also creating a magnet for more sizeable migration.

As a practical matter, a human rights-driven policy that encompasses migration developments is also good politics. Domestic constituent groups have effectively opposed government foreign policy choices not only in Haiti but also in Central America on the basis of unjust immigration practices. Immigration policy will continue to confound a bipartisan foreign policy until implementation more fully mirrors the ideals we espouse for others.

International crises in the era that is upon us promise to have many of the hallmarks displayed by the Haiti situation. For all its new dangers, the post-Cold War world suggests hope for the future, because unprecedented numbers have fought for and won the chance to try democracy. That future will be considerably more promising, however, if migration policy is high-minded and credible in the eyes of both domestic and international publics. In that spirit, let's not take 10 years or more again to adjust. In its unlikely way, Haiti is the future we must run to catch. ■

Doris Meissner is senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and former acting commissioner of the INS.

ALL IN THE FAMILY

Why State should keep the visa function

BY WILLIAM D. MORGAN

Every few years, as panels meet to devise yet another solution to the State Department's organizational woes, someone proposes that State jettison the visa function and give it to whoever will take it—probably the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). "Screening foreigners to determine their eligibility for a visa to apply for entry into the United States is a drag on State's personnel resources, a non-substantive, tedious, and demeaning part of our work, beneath the intellectual (and emotional) level of highly educated, carefully selected, sophisticated Foreign Service diplomats," goes one paraphrased argument.

"No way! The professional demands of the visa business train Foreign Service officers in managing resources, fine-tune knowledge of foreign languages, effectively force the development of decision-making skills under pressure, and develop other essential talents that enhance a successful Foreign Service career," runs the counter argument. "Additionally, since visa adjudication is based on U.S. policy interests, how an officer acts on a visa application relates to American foreign policy issues." Those are the words of a true believer!

A recent variation on the theme of removing visa work from the Bureau of Consular Affairs was the recommendation by the Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development (July 1990). This bipartisan body (created by Congress in the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986) called for

AP/WORLDWIDE PHOTO

New citizens take the oath of allegiance in Washington, D.C.

the creation of a new Agency for Migration Affairs which would bring together all U.S. migration responsibilities now scattered among numerous agencies including State, INS, and Labor. That shotgun marriage recommendation may have been too much for so many bureaucracies to swallow—accounting for the proposal's dormant state.

The discussion has historical parallels. A few years ago, State did not fight to keep the commercial and cultural/educational functions. State officers seemed to think that the commercial function, for example, was not the central role of a diplomat, and when it was proposed that Commerce assume the function, State seemed palpably relieved. It was a mistake. In the transfer, the State Department lost direct access to a highly valuable resource in embassies: commercial officers.

POWER BASES IN THE WASHINGTON BUREAUCRACY ARE THE NAME OF THE GAME IN POLICY INFLUENCE AND INSTITUTIONAL EFFECTIVENESS.

FRIENDS ON THE HILL

Under the Constitution Congress has the say on what kinds of people do or do not enter the United States and in what status, i.e., refugee, immigrant, or non-immigrant. The Hill has repeatedly said that visa adjudication belongs in State, and all immigration laws have been so written. Congress follows the constitutional tradition of checks and balances, in this case between State's visa adjudication abroad and INS's subsequent inspection of all foreigners at the U.S. ports of entry. Congress also apparently likes the way the State Department does the job: Foreign Service officers are considered (comparatively) good at management, sophisticated in carrying out the laws, and possessing evident integrity when under pressure.

Repeated draft bills in Congress that have suggested the transfer of the visa function to INS have all died on the vine, not necessarily because the State Department was out fighting tooth and nail to retain this responsibility, and despite lobbying by INS to create a staff in consulates and embassies abroad. In fact, Congress seems to suggest that INS is pressured enough by the work it already must perform, not to mention conflicting management and political demands at home.

Not insignificantly, Consular Affairs, and especially the Visa Office, has precisely the congressional constituency of which State Department employees often bemoan a lack. Consular Affairs is the part of the State Department that is close to the American public. The Visa Office, for example, receives the single largest number of congressional and public inquiries.

THE PROS

Unfortunately, professional and dispassionate discussions of visa adjudication and its relevance to the work of the Department of State are few and far between. Nevertheless, such an exchange did take place between two colleagues, Richard Patard in the summer 1990 issue of the State Department's Open Forum magazine, and Frank Turley, responding in the spring issue of *The Consular Packet*, a publication of the Consular Officers' Association. Patard's overall recommendation was to transfer visa work from State to INS to "improve the enforcement of U.S. immigration law, as well as the quality and morale of State's generalist FSO corps." He proposed the creation of an overseas INS function, similar to the Commerce Department's Foreign Commercial Service, which would absorb all the work now being performed by State Department visa officers. Turley countered Patard's points, one by one, and asserted they were falsely based and impractical, and maintained the author showed a general "antipathy toward consular work."

Sorting out the relevant issues, I believe we cannot escape the conclusion that the visa function is vital to the Foreign Service. Here are some of the points that merit discussion:

POWER: Power bases in the Washington bureaucracy are the name of the game in policy influence and institutional effectiveness. Influence with Congress, the American public, and in resource centers such as the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) gives the winner in a policy debate the authority and resources that count. Actual or presumed control of immigration matters, including visa issuance and refusal authority, translates into control of many of the power levers in the foreign policy arena. Although immigration law names the attorney general as ultimate authority, the department clearly has *control of resources* over the administration of visa adjudication and can weigh in effectively with policy opinions and directions over many immigration issues as they have impact on foreign affairs questions. A few examples are: Palestine Liberation Organization and Irish Republican Army membership and similar political affiliation issues; bases for refugee qualification; recommendations for asylum or waivers of ineligibility for entry into the United States, and many other State/INS decisions affecting who can cross our borders.

At posts abroad, the collegial intervention, guidance, and support in decision-making from other Foreign Service officers adds considerably to a visa officer's bureaucratic influence. Additionally, visa line officers and supervisors are exposed daily to endless data from and about applicants, including migration trends, which can be of considerable help to other sections of the diplomatic mission.

RESOURCES: Visa positions in our missions abroad add to total presence. Without visa officers an embassy would be extremely limited in its ability to staff positions providing service to Americans. Senior consular positions include not merely supervision of visa sections but also the protection of American citizens and interests.

The State Department is a small U.S. government agency—very small in comparison to some of the competing agencies with influence in international affairs. Visa "slots," including consular/visa positions, comprise a sizable percentage of our gross State cadre and especially of our junior officer complement. (Even as this is being written the department has reacted anew to the "resources crunch" by inviting posts to accept applications from Americans—presumably qualified Foreign Service spouses and other residents—as "non-traditional" consular employees authorized to adjudicate visas, with additional future responsibilities implied.)

MANAGEMENT: To retain the visa function in State is to retain an invaluable training ground for future foreign affairs leaders. Inspections, outside studies, and even frank inside analyses show repeatedly that many Foreign Service officers are weak managers of resources. They seem to be overly occupied with "substantive issues" at the cost of effectively running the store, which includes reacting to or directing the many conflicting human and institutional interests and demands. But managers Foreign Service officers must be, and at all levels, especially in senior positions. To be able to deal with issues containing contradictory elements, with competing government agencies, and, above all, with people who have different agendas and approaches to mission questions calls for skilled top leaders. Consular officers, especially those who have experienced the demands of visa adjudication, learn management and leadership skills quickly, including recognition of total mission substantive issues.

The expertise in visa law and practice developed in early years of a career can also serve officers well in subsequent senior political and economic policy positions. (A particularly relevant recent example is Bill Ryerson, elevated from associate director of the Visa Office to U.S. ambassador to Tirana, Albania.) Visa adjudication would seem a good place, too, for beginning officers to develop professional ethics, needed to the very top of the career. State must retain the visa adjudication authority at any cost since it does provide practical influence in foreign policy and national security matters.

AMERICA'S IMAGE: The principal face of the United States seen overseas by most foreigners is the employee of the visa section. The degree of professionalism and understanding with which the person is treated indicates explicitly and often dramatically what the United States represents—no matter how deftly the United States Information Service and other elements of a mission put forth the American hand.

Additionally, immigration is a proud part of our American heritage and one we should treat with respect, not suspicion. Aside from the indigenous population, we are a nation of foreign origin, constantly enriched by immigrants and millions of visitors, students, and skilled workers who contribute sizably to the gross domestic product—whose contributions are especially relevant as a balance to the flood of American spending abroad. Our heritage comes from foreign input, and we are proud of our aid to refugees and the traditional defense of human rights, especially the right to travel freely. Visa officers stationed abroad are front-line participants in these American traditions. They must act in accord with their role as continuing defenders of this heritage.

POLICY GOALS: What embassy or consulate employee does not have a story of foreign officials or other important contacts intervening at all levels to obtain favorable consideration for a constituent, friend, or relative who is applying for a visa? A well-informed, trained, and understanding consular chief is invaluable to realistic mission objectives in dealing with these requests. He or she sets the tone for those on the visa line and ensures fairness, flexibility, and good judgment in relation to other members of the mission. Will an INS or other U.S. government officer charged with visa adjudication do better than a carefully selected and trained Department of State Foreign Service officer?

LEADERSHIP: To improve morale in a visa section, as in any profession which faces repetitive demands under pressure, one must have strong leadership. It is often said that those involved in visa work suffer from low morale, especially when working on visa lines in high volume/high fraud posts such as Seoul, Manila, Port au Prince, and Kingston. Behind this reality is the drive by untold numbers of citizens of those countries to improve their livelihood by coming to America, some by misrepresentation and fraud on the visa line. Of further help is ever improved training, state-of-the-art technological support, and more commodious working conditions. But above all, encouragement and support from colleagues at all levels and segments of the department is vital. Occasional low morale, a reality, is not a reason for State to avoid strengthening the visa function or to transfer it elsewhere.

With 1992 designated as the bicentennial of the consular function, perhaps the secretary of State and other principals at home and abroad will speak out about consular officers' competence and service to the public. At the same time, these Washington officials should broadcast loudly the department's enthusiastic desire and need to maintain the visa function and to make it ever more efficient, humane, and professionally administered. Such support will make clear the importance to U.S. foreign policy and national security issues of professional visa work by qualified Foreign Service officers, Foreign Service nationals, and Civil Service employees. ■

William D. Morgan retired as a member of the Senior Foreign Service in 1987. He served at several overseas posts in the consular function; in the department as chairman of the consular panel in the Board of Examiners, and as deputy director of the Visa Office. He recently co-authored **The U.S. Consul at Work**

afsa news

Specialist negotiations productive

by Deborah M. Leahy
Member Services Representative

AFSA and management are close to final agreement on the new Facilities Maintenance Specialist (FMS) program. This new skill code, which replaces the building maintenance skill code, consolidates the department's maintenance and repair function within one professional skill group.

During the negotiations, AFSA succeeded in securing for current building maintenance officers (BMOs) the right to be considered for new grade 3 and 2 supervisory positions in the new skill code. AFSA also gained modified tenuring requirements for those BMOs who are placed in these new positions. AFSA has approved the job vacancy announcement that will enable current BMOs to apply for these positions. After AFSA expressed concerns about the availability of training to meet the new language requirements, management decided to delay implementation of language requirements for two years. As soon as the program is approved, the department will send out the job vacancy announcement and cable asking current BMOs to choose between the GSO specialist skill code and the new FMS skill code.

The Facilities Maintenance Specialist program will greatly enhance the career path of BMOs who choose this new specialty. We will inform the field via cable when the agreement on this new program is signed.

Setting your own schedule

by Mark W. Smith
Legal Assistant

Flexitime, drawn up in consultation with colleagues and supervisors, allows employees to create flexible and compressed work schedules. These flexible work schedules enable employees to arrange duty hours to meet both agency and personal needs and result in increased productivity, as well as potential savings in commuting costs and fewer hours of leave.

The departments of State and Commerce come under the flexitime provisions of 3 FAM 416 but do not have agency-wide core hours, as do USAID and USIA. In USAID, employees must be scheduled to work during the core hours of 9:30-11:30 a.m. and 1:30-3:45 p.m. All other hours between 7:00 a.m. and 6:30 p.m. are flexitime.

Most USIA employees participate in standard flexitime, allowing them to work for an 8-hour period between 7:15 a.m. and 6:15 p.m. that includes 9:30-4:00 and a 45-minute lunch. Employees may also choose maxiflex. Under that system they may work up to two extra hours per day, or one day biweekly. Those extra hours then cover a planned absence on a Monday or Friday during the standard 10-day pay period.

Metro subsidies?

AFSA has requested that State and USAID management indicate their positions on providing subsidized metro passes to their employees. Section 629 of the Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriations Act of 1991 gives federal agencies the authority to distribute discounted metro passes in order to encourage employees to use public transportation as an alternative to driving. The legislation does not mandate the establishment of a metro subsidy program; agency participation is voluntary. Furthermore, it does not provide any funding for the program; instead it requires agencies to pay for the program from their existing budgets.

New AFSA mug offered

An attractive new AFSA mug is now for sale to AFSA members. With a new shape and a deep blue color, the mug will hold all your favorite beverages. The price, including postage and handling is $7.50; if you can pick it up at the AFSA offices, the cost is $6.50.

Order your mug by sending a check for $7.50 for each mug to:

Membership Department
AFSA
2101 E Street, N.W.
Washington D.C. 20037

COMING SOON

A Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps

by Robert M. Beers
Retiree Liaison

The Department of State is finally establishing a Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps, and, although State's plan falls somewhat short of AFSA's original proposal, it is a move in the right direction.

In August 1990, AFSA proposed the establishment of a Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps consisting of retirees from State, USAID, USIA, Commerce, and Agriculture who were qualified and available for short-term assignments. AFSA's proposal stemmed from the sudden and unexpected staffing demands leveled on our foreign affairs agencies in the wake of the collapse of the Communist governments in Eastern Europe, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Suddenly the Foreign Service was confronted with a critical need for a resource that wasn't available: a reservoir of experienced personnel available on short notice to fill emergency assignments until the regular personnel system could accommodate the radical alterations in the international political landscape.

During the following months, the idea of a Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps received high-level endorsement within the Department of State. Its actual implementation was delayed, however, by budgetary problems and a reorganization of the department's Bureau of Personnel. Finally, in December, department officials met with AFSA to announce the establishment of a Reserve Corps in 1992.

Initially, applications for the reserve will be accepted only from retirees from the Department of State, although other foreign affairs agencies may participate at a later date. Following are the plan's essential elements:

- Beginning in 1992, Foreign Service (and Civil Service) employees retiring from State will be offered the chance to apply for entry into the Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps.
- Retirees who are currently re-employed as annuitants may apply to enter the reserve when their current employment arrangements have terminated.
- All Foreign Service annuitants will be informed about the Reserve Corps and offered the opportunity to request application materials in an enclosure with the department's invitations to Foreign Service Day on May 1 of this year.

Those interested in enrolling in the Reserve Corps will be asked to submit a set of application forms from which an individual's qualifications will be evaluated and pre-processed for possible employment. The names of those successfully completing the evaluation process, including any necessary security and medical clearances, would be entered on a register for a period of four years. During that time Reserve Corps registrants would be available to be hired on short notice for short-term assignments with the department.

The Reserve Corps register and data bank of experience and work skills will be maintained by the Office of Retirement and Career Transition in the Bureau of Personnel.

Retirees would still have the option of entering into employment arrangements directly without joining the Reserve Corps. Alternatively, the bureaus could still recruit annuitants for short-term employment who were not members of the Reserve Corps.

The establishment of a Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps will provide State with an important new personnel asset: prompt access to a reservoir of former employees, fully qualified and available for immediate recall, to meet unexpected staffing requirements.

did you know . . .

In 1991, 366 Foreign Service officers applied for multifunctional status and 299 were accepted. These numbers are broken down by code:

Political: 148 applied, 132 accepted;
Economic: 88 applied, 72 accepted;
Consular: 85 applied, 76 accepted;
Administrative: 35 applied, 19 accepted.

Delinquent State

by Chris Perine
Member Services Director

AFSA is increasingly concerned about the State Department's delinquency in submitting materials to the Foreign Service Grievance Board (FSGB). As reported in the January edition of *AFSA News,* effective November 1, 1991, the FSGB established new time limits for the submission of documents in cases before the board. These time limits are intended to provide a more efficient and timely adjudication of cases.

However, only a few months into the new procedures, the department has begun requesting and receiving extensions from the FSGB. Although the department's grievance staff (PER/G) is currently understaffed, the effectiveness of the new time limits and the credibility of FSGB proceedings in general is undermined if all parties to the process (both grievants and the agencies) do not adhere to established procedures.

AFSA expressed its concerns in a recent letter to Director General Perkins. Ambassador Perkins responded quickly, acknowledging that the grievance staff has had some staffing difficulties in recent months and asserting the department's commitment to expeditious processing of grievances. He also said the department has been required to devote more resources to defending its position as the process has become more legalistic, largely because grievants are increasingly represented by attorneys.

Although we are sympathetic to the existence of staffing problems in the short run, AFSA will continue to press the department to fulfill its obligations in a timely manner. Without consistent adherence to the new time limits by all parties and strict enforcement by the FSGB, the overall integrity of the process may be greatly diminished.

from the USAID vice president

Agreement to negotiate on audit letters

by Priscilla del Bosque

A recent Inspector General (IG) policy that has generated concern among USAID employees is the instituting of audit representation letters, in which an employee must state, among other things, that all relevant information has been presented to the auditors, that to the best of the employee's knowledge no irregularities exist, and that all policies and regulations have been complied with. The IG was not willing to give assurances in writing that the contents of the letters would not be used in any subsequent criminal investigations.

This lack of assurance raises serious fifth amendment concerns. The IG has maintained that signing the letters is purely voluntary. However, if employees do not sign the letters, the IG will omit any mention of positive findings in the audit report. These letters have had the effect of intimidating employees, because they fear that subsequent audit revelations could be used by the IG to question either employee honesty ("you lied") or competence ("you should have known"). The fact that few employees have signed such letters reflects the fear and lack of trust that employees have for IG procedures and tactics.

In the summer of 1991, AFSA filed an unfair labor practice (ULP) charge before the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board with respect to the unilateral implementation of audit representation letters. AFSA had not been notified of this change in work procedures and wished to negotiate to assure that safeguards were adopted to protect employees.

The Foreign Service Labor Relations Board investigated the matter and issued a charge supporting AFSA's position, and finally management agreed to negotiate. On January 24, the parties settled the ULP with a statement that includes the following language: "USAID acknowledges its obligation under the Foreign Service Act of 1980 to provide AFSA with adequate, advance notice and an opportunity to negotiate over any changes it proposed which would affect bargaining unit employees' conditions of employment."

Negotiations continue on the use of audit representation letters. AFSA is working to ensure that employees will have full information about the use of the letters as well as the liability employees may incur by signing.

USAID employees have repeatedly expressed a firm belief in the basic principle of checks and balances. They *do not* dispute the need for an independent body such as the IG to help detect, resolve, and prevent financial management problems in USAID. They *do not* defend the few wrongdoers who have defrauded USAID; in most instances, the perpetrators were brought to light by USAID employees and deserve to be punished for betraying the public trust. USAID employees *do not* resist strong standards of accountability. Unfortunately, at present, employees believe the agency, the government, and taxpayers are being very badly served by the IG's operations.

Keep us informed of what is happening at your post on audit letters and other IG issues. With your cooperation, AFSA will continue to defend USAID employees' rights. The custodians of the public trust must also be held accountable for their actions.

Answers to the Foreign Service Quiz

1. 1927
2. George F. Kennan
3. The Rogers Act

newsbriefs

LOCALITY PAY

Under Secretary for Management John Rogers has recently authorized the State Department to comply with provisions of the Federal Law Enforcement Pay Reform Act of 1990 providing locality pay for law enforcement employees. As of early February, however, other issues raised by AFSA remain unresolved.

HILL SCHOLARSHIP

Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired (DACOR) has committed $30,000 for the second year of the Heyward G. Hill Scholarship pilot program. Administered through the AFSA Scholarship Program, the Hill program aids academically worthy and financially needy Foreign Service dependents who are college juniors and seniors majoring in fields related to foreign affairs. Applications are available in October.

WORTHY CAUSES

AFSA is now working on new programs that will benefit the Foreign Service and are worthy of AFSA members' tax-exempt support. For example, AFSA committees are developing a Speakers Bureau, as well as programs to help create a more representative Foreign Service. The second annual drive for AFSA's two tax -exempt organizations, the Scholarship Fund and the AFSA Fund, which supports outreach activities, will soon seek your support for these and other activities. Since donations are the sole source of support for these funds, please respond generously.

legislative*news*

No relief budgeted for 1993

by Rick Weiss
Congressional Liaison

If the Foreign Service of State, USAID, and USIA believes that more is demanded, yet fewer resources provided in this fiscal year, the president's budget for FY93 offers no relief. The budget for foreign affairs agencies remains "current services plus inflation." In other words, additional responsibilities, but no additional funding.

One measure of resources is personnel strength. The president has requested 117 additional employees for State and 136 for USIA. At the same time, the White House/Office of Management and Budget has told USAID to cut 108 positions. This means in FY93, the State Department may have 26,012 (FSO, GS, FSN), USIA 8,679, and USAID 4,454 employees. In contrast, and as a gauge of domestic economic woes ,is the growth of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation from 12,130 to 16,969 employees from FY91 to FY93.

Another measure of resources is budgetary funding. International Affairs (Function 150) spent $15.9 billion in FY91; estimated expenses for FY92 are $17.8 billion and $18 billion in FY93. Within the Function 150 are subcategories of budgetary figures. For example:

- State Department salaries and expenses was $1.888 billion in FY91, $2.022 billion in FY92, and will be $2.104 billion in FY93–the current level plus 4 percent inflation.
- USIA figures are $1 billion, $1.085 billion, and $1.130 billion from FY91-93.
- USAID was $2.659 billion, $2.291 billion, and $2.929 billion from FY91-93.

A final measure of resources is budgetary allocation to substantive work of the department. The president's budget provides for a FY93 reduction of $509,000 from FY91: $316,673,000 to $316,164,000 in the conduct of diplomatic relations. This term is defined in the budget presentation as: ". . . the political and economic reporting and analysis of interests to the United States; the representation of U.S. diplomatic and national interests to countries abroad; and the bilateral and multilateral negotiation of our foreign policy objectives, including the hosting of and participation in various international conferences and meetings. . . also the conduct of U.S. diplomatic policy through political and multilateral affairs, economic and social affairs, international budgetary and management affairs." A reduction of half a million dollars for substantive work of the department is an interesting comment on the "new world order."

Finally, the president's budget has negative impact on the Foreign Service in two additional ways: delaying the COLA increase from January 1993 to April 1993, and an additional 1 percent employee contribution in FY93 and 94 for those employees who remained in the old Civil Service retirement system and did not transfer to the FERS.

While State, USAID, and USIA adjust to living with less, the payment to the Asia Foundation increases 11 percent to $17 million, and the payment to the National Endowment for Democracy to $30 million, a 9 percent increase. The $17 million for the Asia Foundation comes from the State budget and the $30 million for the National Endowment from USIA.

Mark your calendar!

Foreign Service Day, May 1, 1992

Briefings, awards, Memorial Plaque Ceremony, fellowship

Retired members: Your invitations to Foreign Service Day and the traditional AFSA brunch May 2 should be in the mail by March 1.

Active duty personnel: Watch for announcements of events open to you.

Voluntary service has a price

Employees in State and USAID should be aware that they could receive a letter of reprimand as a result of service on a post EER Review Panel.

Employees who volunteer to serve on a review panel could get a letter of reprimand in their files should the panel miss an inadmissable comment in an EER they review.

Despite the objections of AFSA, current State regulations allow the boards to place a letter of reprimand in the file of the chair of the review panel.

USAID regulations allow the boards to place letters in the files of the entire panel. AFSA will be actively challenging these regulations when they come up for negotiation.

New board members welcomed

The AFSA Governing Board recently elected three new members to replace transferred members: Anne Woods Patterson replaced Terry Jones as secretary, Paula Boyd replaced Barbara Reioux as State representative, and Jim Dempsey replaced Michael Zak as USAID representative. The board recognized the three resigning members for their dedicated work on behalf of the Foreign Service and AFSA.

Patterson has won many merit awards, recently served as political officer in Geneva, and is assigned to ARA. Boyd, also an award winner, has most recently served as secretary in Moscow and Wellington, and is now assigned to MED. Dempsey has served in Liberia and Nairobi and is now deputy director in USAID's Office of Investment, Private Enterprise Bureau.

Open Forum

Americana, 1992: A view from the Mall

by Hume Horan
AFSA President

For an hour and a half on January 29, the country's greatest display of Americana was not in the Mall's museums, but on the Mall itself. One hundred thousand Redskin fans, half white, half black, rocked at the "Mall Ball," cheering their XXVI Super Bowl Champions. They cheered the Redskinettes, they cheered the Cardozo and Ballou high school bands, they even cheered James Reidenauer, the director of the National Park Service. They went wild over Art Monk and Wilbur Marshall. Even wilder for Coach Joe Gibbs. By now, "Joe" is his *middle* name. If Rypien had been there he'd have been carried to the White House.

But they didn't cheer everyone. Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly got lukewarm applause. They didn't cheer Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton. Norton wasn't ten seconds into her remarks when she was drowned out by thousands of voices chanting: "We Want Joe." Then an announcement. "We will have a surprise visit from President George Bush." BOOO's. In any event, the president never showed. I got the impression the fans didn't like the politicians' trying to horn in on their non-partisan rejoicing. Also heard some fans saying "The Pres really roots for Houston...."

But you should have seen the outfits: A young woman with a field jacket she must have stolen from General Noriega. Medals everywhere, even some of the iron kind. I asked her where she got the medals and patches. She answered, "At a shop in Quantico." An older man wore a Redskins 50-year fan pin. Dramatic emblem–whorls and red/gold enamel. *Much* nicer than what State hands out at our later anniversaries. Another man had Redskin lenses on his sunglasses. He explained it was one-way glass and didn't bother his vision. Next to him an umbrella shaped like a Redskin helmet was being pumped up and down.

Norman Rockwell should have been with us. It was one of the few contemporary Washington scenes he'd have understood. For a morning there was no Jew nor Gentile. Only 100,000 cheering fans, stomping in the "Hog Mud" while the only raised finger to be seen was the index.

Putting the Blame on Codels

by Daniel Gamber
AFSA Member, Jakarta

Another year begins, a new set of bites are taken out of the Foreign Service. Post salary and expenses funding is cut once again, inclusion of the differential in the lump-sum payment of unused annual leave for those retiring at post is going, the option to receive a refund of retirement contributions at the time of retirement is gone for most people, and new housing space standards . . . are imposed. Thus continues a trend of several years, with congressional legislation or pressure changing our environment.

What has created the atmosphere that fosters and allows some in Congress to continually pick on the Foreign Service? Those of us overseas have far more direct contact with Congress than any group of government employees outside of the military. Every year we have the opportunity to directly lobby scores (sometimes hundreds) of members of Congress on overseas trips—congressional delegations or codels.

I submit that the core of our problem is the way in which we treat Codels. They are housed in the best rooms in the best hotel in town. They are driven around town in our best cars. Contacts with host country nationals are limited to high-level government and business contacts, and our best English-speaking drivers, who stand by 24 hours a day. They are provided lavish meals, and they see only the finest of our offices and homes, often only those of the ambassador. Officers and secretaries staff hospitality rooms 16 or 24 hours a day.

People believe what they have experienced is the norm. Foreign Service people obviously live in luxury and do little work They should be cut down to size.

What can we do to change this perception? Act like the military! Visits to military bases do not ignore how enlisted personnel work and live. In fact, those areas receive the main emphasis. Let's show off our consular sections at rush hour, communications programs, and warehouses. Take them to lunch where the regular staff eat and dinner in houses within A-171 standards. Use the hotels that are within normal per diem rates.

As for the specifics of this years policy changes, I leave it for others to debate the wisdom of requiring the housing of America's representatives overseas to reflect some sort of average for the United States, and the logic of adopting space standards smaller than the space occupied by most of our colleagues in the Washington area.

did you know . . .

Unused travel advances outstanding more than 30 days after completion of travel are subject to penalties, interest, and salary offset? Serious consequences can arise if notices are not responded to in a timely manner. Salary offsets can be particularly harsh, as the agency can offset a significant portion of net pay. The employee has the right to dispute the amount owed if the dispute is filed prior to the payment due date. Various methods of repayment can be arranged dependent upon circumstances. See 4 FAM 460 and 490 for further information.

Readers' Survey 1992

Editor's Note: The *Foreign Service Journal* attempts to update its reader information every few years in order to make the magazine more responsive to reader's interests and needs. We would appreciate your cooperation in filling out this survey and sending it back to us. Mail it to: **FSJ Survey, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037** or fax to **202/338-8244.** To show our appreciation, we will send a free *Foreign Service Journal* clock to the first 25 people who return the survey. Thank you for your help.

Foreign Service Journal Readers' Questionnaire

Personal Information:

1. What is your current status in the Foreign Service?

- ☐ Active
- ☐ Retired
- ☐ Not Foreign Service

2. Sex:

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

3. Please check your age group:

- ☐ 18-24
- ☐ 25-34
- ☐ 35-44
- ☐ 44-54
- ☐ 65 or over

4. How many people are in your household including yourself?

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3-4
- ☐ 5 or more

5. Please circle your highest level of education to date:

- ☐ Attended college
- ☐ Bachelor's degree
- ☐ Graduate study
- ☐ Master's or professional degree
- ☐ Doctoral degree
- ☐ Other

If you live in the United States, please answer question 7. If you reside abroad, go to question 8.

7. Do you live in:

- ☐ Washington D.C.
- ☐ Northern Virginia
- ☐ Maryland suburbs
- ☐ Northeast U.S.
- ☐ Southeast U.S.
- ☐ Midwest
- ☐ West Coast
- ☐ Southwest

8. Where do your children (if any) attend school? (*Indicate all that apply*)

- ☐ International school abrtoad
- ☐ American military school abroad
- ☐ Local school abroad
- ☐ Private school in U.S.
- ☐ American public school
- ☐ Other

Financial Information

1. Please indicate your pre-tax household income for 1991. Include income from all sources.

- ☐ under $25,000
- ☐ $25,000-$49,999
- ☐ $50,000-$69,999
- ☐ $70,000-$89,999
- ☐ $90,000-$149,999
- ☐ more than $150,000

2. **Do you, or does anyone in your household, have any of the following investments? (*Check all that apply*)**

- ☐ Stocks
- ☐ Bonds
- ☐ Money market funds
- ☐ IRAs
- ☐ Real Estate (other than residence)
- ☐ other (please specify)

3. What is the total value of all investments owned by persons in your household (not including your main residence)?

- ☐ Under $10,000
- ☐ $10,000-$49,999
- ☐ $50,000-$99,999
- ☐ $100,000-$149,000
- ☐ $150,000-$199,999
- ☐ more than $200,000

Your Residence:

1. **Do you own or rent your principal residence?**

- ☐ Own
- ☐ Rent

Check the best description of this residence

- ☐ House
- ☐ Apartment
- ☐ Condominium/co-op
- ☐ Other

2. If you own a residence in the United States, what is its current market value?

- ☐ under $50,000
- ☐ $50,000-149,000
- ☐ $150,000-249,000
- ☐ $250,000-349,000
- ☐ $350,000-449,000
- ☐ More than $450,000

3. During your most recent stay overseas, what did you do with your real estate property in the United States?

- ☐ Sell
- ☐ Rent
- ☐ No property
- ☐ Other (please specify)

Services

1. In the last five years, have you used the services of any of the following? (*Check all that apply*)

- ☐ Real Estate Agent
- ☐ Property Manager
- ☐ Lawyer
- ☐ Financial Manager
- ☐ Personal Shopper
- ☐ Tax Advisor
- ☐ Stock Broker
- ☐ Insurance agent
- ☐ Travel agency
- ☐ Childcare facilities

Readers' Survey 1992

2. In the past five years have you rented any of the following? (*Indicate all appropriate choices*)

- ☐ House or apartment
- ☐ Short-term house or apartment
- ☐ Car (by day or week)
- ☐ Car (by month or longer)

3. What forms of insurance do you carry?

- ☐ Health
- ☐ Property
- ☐ Disability
- ☐ Life
- ☐ Accident
- ☐ Automobile
- ☐ Other (please specify)

Purchases

1. How many cars are owned by members of your household? (*circle the correct answer*)
0, 1, 2, 3, 4 or more

b. When did someone in your household last purchase a car?

- ☐ Within the last year
- ☐ Between 1 and 2 years ago
- ☐ Between 2 and 4 years ago
- ☐ 4 or more years ago

c. What make of car do you prefer?

- ☐ Ford
- ☐ Chrysler
- ☐ GM
- ☐ Chevrolet
- ☐ Volvo
- ☐ Mercedes
- ☐ Honda
- ☐ Peugot
- ☐ Audi
- ☐ Toyota
- ☐ BMW
- ☐ Other _____

2. How many books do you buy per year?

- ☐ 1-6
- ☐ 7-10
- ☐ 11-15
- ☐ more than 15

3. During the past 5 years, have you shopped by mail-order for any of the following items? (*check all appropriate boxes*)

- ☐ Clothes
- ☐ Electrical equipment, appliances
- ☐ 220 volt electrical equipment
- ☐ Books
- ☐ Records, tapes, compact discs
- ☐ Prerecorded videocassettes
- ☐ Prescription drugs, drugstore items
- ☐ Automotive parts and supplies
- ☐ Gifts
- ☐ Household items, supplies
- ☐ Men's clothing
- ☐ Women's clothing
- ☐ Childrens clothes or supplies
- ☐ Art or hobby supplies
- ☐ Computer equipment or supplies
- ☐ Food
- ☐ Sports or recreational equipment
- ☐ Stationery, greeting cards
- ☐ Other _____

4. During the past year, which of the following have you served (either privately or at a job-related function):

- ☐ Wine (U.S.)
- ☐ Wine (foreign)
- ☐ Beer or ale (U.S.)
- ☐ Beer or ale (foreign)
- ☐ Other liquors

5. When overseas, do you make any special efforts to serve U.S. products (such as wine)?

- ☐ yes
- ☐ no

6. In the course of your job, do you provide advice on, or make arrangements for, any of the following (*check all that apply.*)

- ☐ Contacts between U.S. firms and local business or individuals
- ☐ Insurance for political risks, hazards, etc.
- ☐ Purchase of U.S. goods and services (specify)
- ☐ Facilities for visitors to the U.S.: hotels, cars, rental, etc.
- ☐ other (please specify)

7. How many products in the last two years have you or a member of your household purchased from an ad in the *Foreign Service Journal?*

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1-2
- ☐ 3-4
- ☐ 5-6
- ☐ more than 6

Travel

1. During the past two years, how many times have you or a member of your household used a Washington, D.C.-area hotel, either as an accommodation during a visit or as a temporary residence?

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1-2
- ☐ 3-4
- ☐ more than 4 times

2. Do you respond to businesses that offer a diplomatic discount?

- ☐ yes
- ☐ no

3. During the past two years, how many trips did you take within the United States? (Do not include travel between posts.)

- ☐ 0
- ☐ 1-2
- ☐ 3-4
- ☐ more than 4

4. On your last home leave which of the following activities did you participate in:

- ☐ Camping
- ☐ Amusement park
- ☐ Cruise
- ☐ Skiing
- ☐ Bicycle touring
- ☐ Sailing or winter sports
- ☐ Horseback riding
- ☐ Other

5. When making your own travel arrangements, which airline do you fly most frequently?

Readers' Survey 1992

- ☐ American
- ☐ United
- ☐ Delta
- ☐ Northwest
- ☐ U.S. Air
- ☐ Other _____

6. On vacatons do you stay at:

- ☐ Resorts
- ☐ Inns, bed and breakfasts
- ☐ Hotels
- ☐ Motels
- ☐ Campgrounds
- ☐ Other _____

7. When you are temporarily in Washington, what do you look for in your housing quarters?

- ☐ Affordability
- ☐ Walking distance to State
- ☐ Walking distance to metro
- ☐ Taxi cab availability
- ☐ Diplomatic discount
- ☐ Georgetown location
- ☐ Rosslyn location
- ☐ D.C. location

8. Which of the following credit cards do you currently have or use?

- ☐ Airline card
- ☐ American Express
- ☐ Visa
- ☐ Mastercard
- ☐ Car rental card
- ☐ Discover
- ☐ Other _____

9. When you begin to plan your retirement, or if you are already retired, would you consider moving into a retirement community?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Don't know

10. Which area of the U.S. would you consider for a retirement location?

- ☐ Metropolitan Washington
- ☐ Eastern U.S.
- ☐ Southeastern U.S.
- ☐ West Coast
- ☐ Southwest

Journal

1. Including yourself, how many people read your copy of the *Foreign Service Journal*?

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5 or more

2. How many months do you keep an average issue of the Journal?

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4 or more

3. How often do you return a business reply card that appears in the Journal?

- ☐ Always
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Never

VISA ROULETTE

The 1990 Immigration Act

BY CHARLES ADKINS-BLANCH

Now that the Immigration Act of 1990 has been in effect for over a year, it is time to examine what has been hailed as the most comprehensive revision of United States immigration law in nearly 50 years.

The Immigration Act of 1990 affects nearly every aspect of the U.S. immigration system. Among other things, the act restructures categories for employment-based and family-based immigration, creates tougher provisions aimed at criminal aliens, revises deportation and exclusion grounds, streamlines the deportation process in an attempt to eliminate abuse and delay of the system, and offers permanent residency (green cards) to foreign entrepreneurs willing to invest substantial amounts of money in or create jobs in the United States. The act also creates a "temporary protected status" for Salvadorans. A response to the dangerous conditions caused by the civil strife during El Salvador's civil war, temporary protected status allowed certain Salvadorans who otherwise would have been considered illegally present in the United States to remain for an initial period of 18 months. The act contains numerous other changes in our immigration laws, most of which took effect upon its signing or by October of 1991.

One aspect of the act that has captured the imagination of many who hope to immigrate to the United States is the "diversity" program. This program, more commonly known as the visa lottery, was designed to even out the historically disproportionate flow of immigrants from certain areas of the world by allotting 55,000 visas annually, beginning in 1994, to those countries whose citizens have immigrated to the United States in low numbers in the past. Under the diversity program, the State Department's Visa Office will utilize a complex formula to determine individual country and regional visa usage patterns and allocate the appropriate number annually for each qualifying country. The visas will then be randomly distributed to applicants from each country.

As a way to ease into the permanent visa lottery system, the act provides for a "transitional" diversity program to run for three fiscal years beginning in October 1991. Under the transitional program, the State Department is to issue 40,000 immigrant visas during each of the three years to natives of 34 countries that have been designated "adversely affected" by past immigration flows to the United States. A minimum of 40 percent (16,000) of these visas will be reserved annually for natives of Ireland and their spouses and children.

JACKPOT WEEK

If the 1991 transitional program was any indication, participation in annual visa lotteries will become as high as any state lottery. During the week-long registration period for the 1991 program, the United States Postal Service received and processed nearly 10 million applications—twice the number anticipated.

In contrast to the random selection process for the permanent program that will begin in 1994, the visas issued during the 1991 transitional program were selected in chronological order of receipt of the applications. However, no applications received prior to October 14 or after October 21 would be considered. For obvious logistical reasons, the State Department refused to accept any hand-delivered applications in person, choosing to rely on the Postal Service's date and time stamp on the applications to determine the chronological order of receipt. It was impossible to predict which applications mailed from which locations would be dated and processed first, and although the Postal Service insisted that applicants would gain no advantage by submitting applications directly at the Arlington, Virginia post office box designated as the mailing address for all applications, approximately 30,000 people appeared at the site on October 13 in an attempt to be among the first to receive a date stamp of 12:01 a.m., October 14. The atmosphere at the site was described as something between a rock concert and a United Nations reception.

Since the State Department did not limit the number of applications an individual applicant could submit, the transitional program spawned various strategies to get an early postmark. For example, an Argentine doctor from New York City told the *Washington Post* that he prepared 5,000 applications and spent three days during the week prior to October 14 walking around Manhattan dropping a letter in each mailbox he

THE DUBLIN VISA LOTTERY

Sending the winners on their way

BY WILLIAM H. GRIFFITH

Dublin, probably more than any other Foreign Service post, has felt the impact of immigration legislation in recent years. Changes in the law created a tremendous swell in the number of immigrant visas issued each year—from a few hundred annually in the early 1980s to more than 16,000 in the current fiscal year. Consular staffing has expanded from three officers and 15 Foreign Service national employees to a soon-to-be seven and 38, respectively. But the growth has not been smooth or steady.

The expanded workload resulted from legislation passed in 1986, 1988, and 1990, which established a succession of "temporary" visa programs without including funding. Our approach has by necessity evolved as a series of stopgap measures. Our Foreign Service national staff has grown and declined, roller-coaster fashion, with the implementation and conclusion of each successive program. Despite repeated furloughs and uncertainty about the future, morale remains high.

TRADITIONAL SOLUTION

Ireland historically has been an important source of immigrants to the United States (more than 40 million Americans claim at least part of their heritage from Ireland). By the early 1980s, however, immigration from Ireland had slowed to a trickle. Between 1980 and 1986, Dublin issued an average of only 530 immigrant visas per year. This situation had been brought about by two factors: 1965 changes in the Immigration and Nationality Act eliminated national origin quotas (which had favored Ireland and other Western European nations), and Ireland's booming economy in the 1970s. Fueled by heavy foreign investment and stimulated by Ireland's 1973 admission to the European Community, Ireland for the first time in more than a century was able to offer employment to almost all her sons and daughters. The boom, however, was short-lived. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Ireland struggled with steep energy prices and worldwide recession. And, despite an Irish economic recovery since 1987, unemployment has remained high.

Thus, the Irish returned to the traditional solution of emigration by the mid-1980s. While the primary destination was the United Kingdom, many sought employment in the booming economies of New York, Boston, and other East Coast cities. They easily found work in the construction trades, service industries, and as *au pairs*. Most worked illegally, but in this pre-employer sanctions era, few employers concerned themselves about the status of white, English-speaking Irish. Nonetheless, being an illegal

alien has its drawbacks and emigration and the "plight of the illegals" became political issues in Ireland. Irish-Americans in the United States became concerned and efforts soon began in Congress to provide more legal immigration opportunities for the Irish. The response was incorporated into the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act. At the behest of Congressman Brian Donnelly of Massachusetts, a provision of the bill allocated 10,000 visas over two years to nationals of countries that had been "adversely affected" by the 1965 change in the immigration law.

STAMPEDE

The new visas (designated NP-5 visas by the State Department) were allocated by a mail registration "lottery." The State Department received more than 1.6 million applications, and interest in Ireland bordered on hysteria—Dublin's small consular staff faced an almost insatiable demand for information. The antiquated embassy phone system was overwhelmed, and the local phone system in the Ballsbridge section of Dublin failed on several occasions. Despite these handicaps, the Irish did quite well, gaining more than 40 percent of the visas issued in the program's initial two years.

The success of the Irish in the mail registration meant that the embassy's immigrant visa unit had to undergo massive expansion while trying to implement the program. Resources began trickling to Dublin and, by the summer of 1987, the officer complement had been raised to four and funding for temporary Irish staff was provided. Physical accommodations were not so easily had. After squeezing other consular functions as much as possible, overflow immigrant-visa processing moved into the embassy's main lobby, the executive dining room and anywhere else a body could be crowded. I arrived at post as the "last" NP-5 visas were issued in September, 1988. However, we were unable to heave a sigh of relief. A new bill extending the program had been introduced by Congressman Donnelly. In the meantime, the staff had shrunk.

In late October, the Congress passed a bill extending the NP-5 program for two additional years and expanding the annual number of visas from 5,000 to 15,000. Since the 1987 mail registrations were to be used to select applicants, we knew that Dublin's workload would again expand exponentially. It was now clear that the embassy chancery could no longer accommodate the consular section. The post and the State Department moved with surprising speed to secure and prepare a site for a Consular Annex. We went on to issue 9,894 visas during the 1989 fiscal year, a more than 20-fold increase from the level just a few years earlier.

SAME OLD DIVERSITY

As 1990 progressed, however, Congress began action on its Immigration Act. The result was the "transitional diversity" visa program, a very close clone of the NP-5.

The new program, dubbed AA-1 by the State Department, is now proceeding, albeit slowly. The mail registration was held in October and cases were dispatched to posts in November and December. The late start left us with nine months to issue visas to the 14,000 AA-1 applicants expected to apply in Dublin. The "temporary" approach is still in place, with many staff members serving in a temporary capacity. We are currently planning to schedule 150 immigrant visa appointments per day by April.

What the future holds for Dublin beyond the next three years remains uncertain. The "temporary" NP-5 program and its successor, AA-1, will have been in place for eight years by the end of FY-94. The successor Permanent Diversity Program will allow a maximum of only 3,850 visas for any one country. If this is deemed not enough, we are likely to see further legislative initiatives aimed at creating one more visa program for Irish applicants—the most obvious would be to extend the AA-1 program. Hopefully, with a dedicated staff in place, my successor will not face a further round of furloughs and a subsequent scramble to obtain resources for yet another "temporary" program. ■

William H. Griffith is U.S. consul at Embassy Dublin.

found. He then spent 12 hours on October 11 mailing an application every 10 minutes at the New York City main post office. Finally, he flew to Washington, D.C., where he mailed 1,000 more applications personally at the Arlington post office box. Reportedly, the record for sheer number of applications mailed was 25,000, which an applicant paid a Washington, D.C., attorney to file on her behalf.

THE WINNERS

After registering the first 50,000 applications received (to allow for ineligible applicants, dropouts, etc.), the State Department notified most of the lucky applicants by the end of December 1991. The State Department reports that, behind Ireland, whose natives comprised the mandated 40 percent (20,000) of the selected applicants, natives of Poland had the most applications selected (12,060). Other big winners were Japan (6,413), Great Britain (3,054), Indonesia (2,947), and Argentina (1,453). Other countries which had more than 200 applicants selected were Germany, France, Italy, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Algeria.

As it notified winning applicants, the State Department began forwarding each chosen applicant's registration to the consular office in that applicant's country of residence or previous residence. The consular offices will deal directly with the applicant for the remainder of the visa issuance process. That process will require the applicant to mail a packet of documentary evidence to the consular office along with a $25 processing fee and to attend a visa interview before the end of the fiscal year. Applicants must also present evidence of a firm offer of employment in the United States. Of the 50,000 selected applicants, the first 40,000 to complete the entire visa process prior to September 1992 will receive a 1991 transitional diversity visa. Applicants who are not among the first 40,000 to complete the visa process will have to start from scratch in the following year's lottery.

Congress apparently learned its lesson in 1991 from the hundreds of applications submitted by individual applicants and the huge crowd which gathered to mail applications directly at the Arlington post office box. The technical amendments to the act, enacted in December of 1991, provide that applicants for the transitional visa lotteries of 1992 and 1993 will be limited to one application per year. In addition, the winning applications will be selected at random rather than by chronological order of receipt. Such changes in the system will reduce some of the strain the 1991 lottery process placed on the Postal Service and will level the playing field for those individuals who cannot afford the time or money required to submit massive amounts of applications. ■

Charles Adkins-Blanch is an immigration lawyer in Washington, D.C.

QUICK MARCH TO DISARMAMENT

Unfettered trade in weapons has no place in today's world

BY PAUL C. WARNKE

IF THE TERM "NEW WORLD ORDER" MEANS anything, the United States must reconsider its security priorities. Above all, the demise of the Cold War requires us to reorient our attitude toward the production, export, and international control of arms, especially nuclear arms.

Let's face it: the tactical battlefield nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union, rather than being military muscle, are now an embarrassment to the new Russian leaders. The objective of eliminating all tactical nuclear weapons is no longer unrealistic.

The nuclear artillery shells and short-range missiles based in Western Europe were intended to offset the presumed conventional superiority of the Warsaw Pact. That pact no longer exists, and its leader, the Soviet Union, has disintegrated. The tactical nuclear weapons on our naval vessels were designed to fight a nuclear war at sea against the Soviet fleet. No plausible scenario for their use was ever presented. Today the only struggle involving the Soviet fleet is between Russia and Ukraine over control of the ships in the Black Sea.

We can now adopt a double-barrelled approach to arms control: we don't have to do it all through formal treaties that require years and years of negotiation to agree on page after page of detailed implementation. Instead, both sides can now take major unilateral steps without insanely prolonged quibbling over verification procedures, for example. In the past, it would have

taken a decade to get rid of battlefield tactical nuclear weapons. Those kinds of weapons no longer serve any coherent purpose, and we can simply jettison them.

There is strong support for the new unilateral approach. U.S. military leaders responded enthusiastically to President Bush's initiative. General Galvin, commander of the NATO forces, observed that just training our artillery forces to handle tactical nuclear weapons interfered with our actual artillery capability. The commander of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean welcomed the idea of getting rid of tactical naval nuclear weapons, on the ground that just taking care of them unduly drained U.S. resources. So by adjusting to the new world order, the United States can get rid of some of the encumbrances on U.S. military forces that evolved during the Cold War.

Disasters waiting to happen

In 1967, when I served as assistant secretary for International Security Affairs at the Pentagon, NATO adopted the so-called "flexible response" policy, meaning that the early response to any conventional attack on Western Europe would involve only conventional weapons. Before that, an initial skirmish might quickly escalate into the use of battlefield nuclear weapons, and thus link in the U.S. strategic force. I thought changing that policy made sense at that time, when I thought there was no chance the policy would ever be invoked, and now, the entire idea of maintaining short-range nuclear artillery shells obviously makes no sense whatsoever.

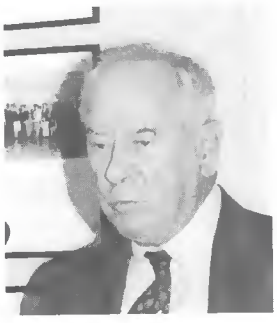
It is very important for the international community to gain control over tactical nuclear weapons, because the dissolution of the Soviet Union increases the risk of unauthorized use. Those weapons do not have the range to be launched against the United States or Western Europe by any nation, but they are susceptible to being stolen, and their use in a terrorist attack is a real possibility. It would not be easy to steal an ICBM, and it would be very difficult to hide one once it was stolen; but that is not true of tactical nuclear weapons. That being so, the United States ought to see to it that they are totally destroyed at the earliest possible moment.

Foregoing testing

We now know the proliferation of nuclear weapons is a greater risk than we realized, before we recently discovered the advanced status of nuclear technology in Iraq. We must find a way of shoring up the non-proliferation regime; and with that in mind, I have been encouraged that the Bush Administration has taken a more flexible attitude toward a comprehensive test ban than the Reagan Administration did.

In a sense, Gorbachev's announced moratorium on

It is very important for the international community to gain control over tactical nuclear weapons, because the dissolution of the Soviet Union increases the risk of unauthorized use. Those weapons do not have the range to be launched against the United States or Western Europe by any nation, but they are susceptible to being stolen, and their use in a terrorist attack is a real possibility.



testing was meaningless, since there was no site under his control where testing was politically tolerable. On the other hand, Gorbachev's position as adopted by his successors in the republics contributes to a political climate favoring further steps toward a comprehensive ban, as did the conference convened at the United Nations in January 1991 by the non-nuclear weapon states. Some of the smaller countries at that conference asked the nuclear states to amend the Limited Test Ban Treaty to make it a comprehensive test ban; in refusing, the United States displayed an arrogance that caused a good deal of resentment among other participants.

This matter will come to a head in 1995, when a conference mandated by the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty (NPT) will be convened. If the United States continues to insist at that conference that it must test to develop more modern, more effective, or even "safer" nuclear weapons, it will face formidable political obstacles.

If we should stop testing, that would not stop a Saddam Hussein from trying to acquire a nuclear capability. But in the NPT, we undertook to stop testing, in response to the requests of the non-nuclear weapon states. Article 6 of that treaty obligates us to take prompt steps to end the arms race and move toward disarmament. As long as we continue to test, we forfeit an important instrument that can be used to prevent proliferation. If we discontinue testing, we'll at least be in a better position to organize world pressure against any country that wants to develop a nuclear capability. But as long as we, already possessing thousands and thousands of nuclear weapons, continue to insist on our right to develop more modern ones, we seriously compromise our ability to marshal world opinion against nuclear proliferation.

Hot waste

The question of a cutoff in the production of plutonium and highly enriched uranium is receiving more attention than at any time since President Eisenhower proposed such a cutoff in the 1950s. Press accounts have cited Brent Scowcroft, the president's national security adviser, as favoring a cutoff, while the Defense Department appears to be dragging its feet. It would cost us nothing to advocate a cutoff: after all, the United States hasn't produced highly enriched uranium since the mid-1960s, and, with the pending destruction of a large number of nuclear missiles, we're soon going to be up to our haunches in fissionable materials.

The question of how to get rid of the radioactive material we already possess has become much more pressing than the question of producing more of it. In the past, we thought the material could be adulterated and burned in nuclear reactors, but there are fewer and fewer reactors, so this may not be a viable option. Nobody wants the radioactive material generated by nuclear power plants in his own back yard, and nobody wants it in his cellar. I don't know what you can do with it, but let's not keep on adding to the problem.

A comprehensive test ban coupled with a cessation of the production of fissionable materials might provide a basis for converting the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) from the reluctant dragon it has been into a fire-breathing dragon, because that would give it an important role to play.

When we and the other nuclear states stop testing—and when we all stop producing fissionable material—we can give the IAEA a total license to inspect any suspicious facilities. As it is, the IAEA can inspect only declared nuclear facilities, and no state cheating on the NPT will declare a weapons factory. (The United States and the United Kingdom expressly exclude their nuclear weapons plants from IAEA safeguards.) The IAEA's present mandate is totally inadequate to deal with the problem.

Supply-side restraint

Though its potential consequences are less apocalyptic, the largely unfettered international trade in conventional weapons has no place in a decent new world order. Indeed, this trade had much to do with precipitating the crisis in the Persian Gulf. Between 1981 and 1988, Iraq acquired about $48 billion worth of military hardware, most of it supplied by three of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, the Soviet Union, France, and China. Another member, the United States, shipped smaller amounts as commercial exports. These same countries, along with the United Kingdom, are the ones that subsequently authorized the use of force to expel Iraq from Kuwait.

These same five countries met twice in 1991 to discuss controls on conventional arms transfers. But the agreements reached were vague and far too modest to cope with the problem. They and other arms-exporting countries remain free to sell weapons to potential combatants and thus assure that the level of violence in any conflict will be exponentially greater.

Resisting the pressure to sell

The end of the Cold War and the consequent decline in defense budgets will create strong economic pressures to fill the void by selling more arms overseas. But these pressures must be resisted. The wealthy nations of the world must curtail, not expand, their arms exports. It is a crime to see so many developing countries spend lavishly on arms when they don't have the resources they need to meet their own internal requirements, and when their populations lack even the minimum necessities of life.

Canada once put forward a suggestion that the arms suppliers should adopt the definitions in the CFE Treaty

and simply assert that there will be no arms transfers of the five categories of weapons defined in the treaty, namely, tanks, armored personnel carriers, heavy artillery, combat aircraft, and attack helicopters. No Third World country needs these instruments of mass destruction, and there is certainly no excuse for the developed nations to sell them to developing countries. Another proposal would create a United Nations registry for arms shipments. Arms sales of $14 million or more would be required to be reported to a UN commission.

All countries need effective police establishments, of course, but mass state violence is not compatible with any reasonable definition of law and order.

I'm not advocating the utopian solution of stopping all arms sales. That's not going to happen. There will be arms sales, and there will be national forces. But police don't need tanks, they don't need heavy artillery, and they don't need combat aircraft. Nobody is going to stop them from buying guns, but I think the major suppliers--the high-tech countries, which happen to be the five permanent members of the Security Council—ought at least to exercise a modicum of restraint in the export of sophisticated high-tech weapons. If you keep on selling them, you contribute to more tragedies like the Iran-Iraq War.

When I was at the Pentagon, during the Johnson Administration, the principal buyer of U.S. arms was the shah of Iran, who was then seen as a pillar of strength in the Persian Gulf area. Later, when Iran--and its military arsenal--fell into the hands of a virulently anti-Western dictator, the United States helped build up Iraq as a counterpoise. We cannot escape our complicity in the slaughter of a generation of young men on both sides in the Iran-Iraq War of the 1980s.

I was troubled, as a senior Pentagon official responsible for both arms sales and military aid in the late 1960s, over the rationale that the United States should have Third World clients rather than allow the Soviet Union to be the principal supplier of arms to those countries. That rationale makes absolutely no sense in today's world. With the end of the Cold War, there is no reason to regard these countries as proxies in a contest that no longer exists. Instead, the United States should encourage those struggling for greater freedom and for a greater share of the good things of life. ■

Paul Warnke was director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and chief U.S. arms control negotiator from 1977 to 1978. This article stemmed from a talk Mr. Warnke gave at AFSA on November 5, 1991.

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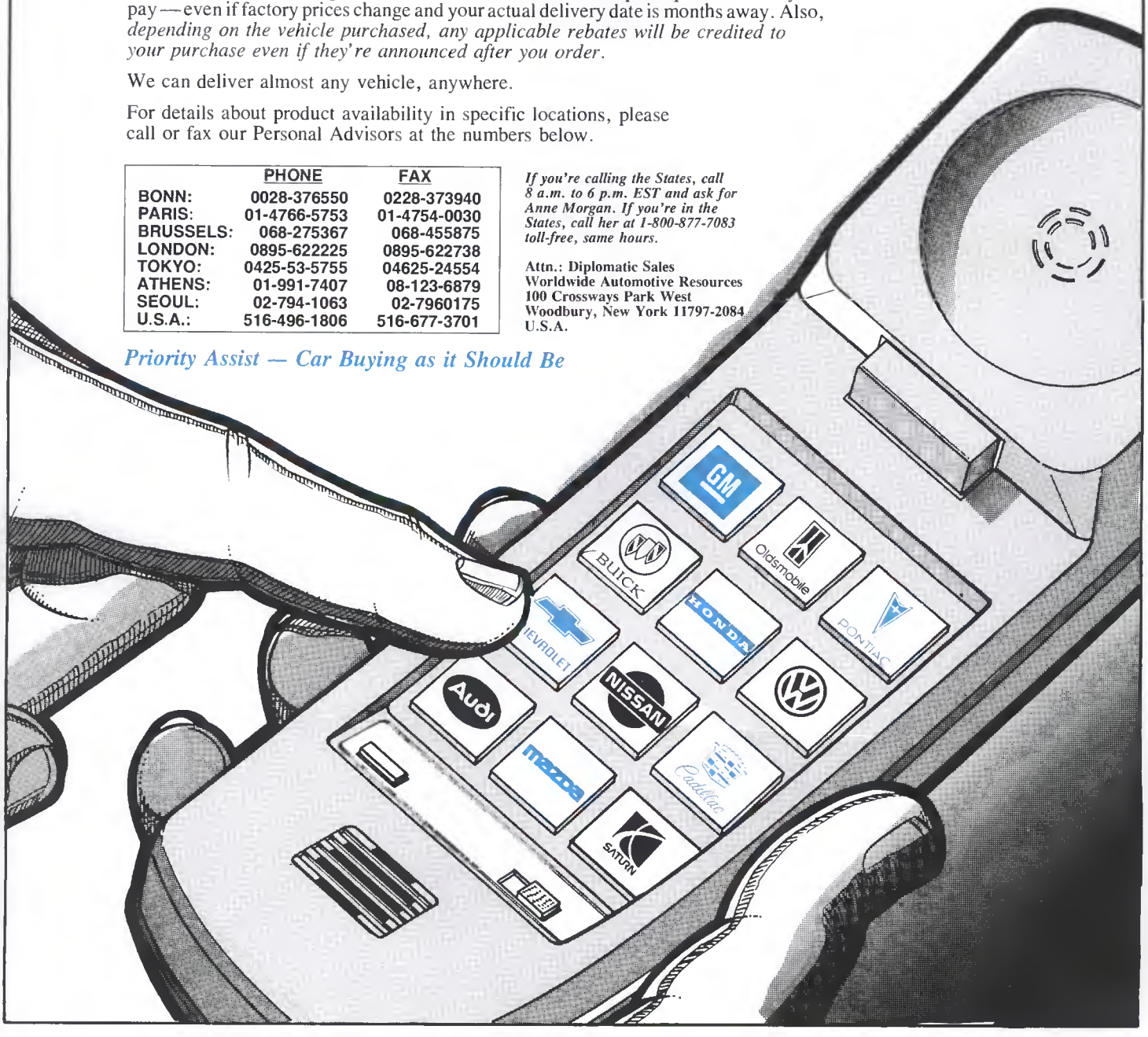

Paris fell—and I celebrated

By Perry Laukhuff

The day was July 18, 1941. The place was Berlin, specifically, the American Embassy in the old Blucher Palace by the Brandenburg Gate. I was a young third secretary on the embassy staff. Germany was well embarked on the conquest of Europe. France had fallen, Britain was tottering. The United States was still neutral. Americans were largely *personae non gratae*. We at the embassy were uneasy, unhappy, apprehensive, and, privately, strongly anti-Nazi.

For several days, feverish activity had been going on in the Pariser Platz, a rather stately space just inside the Brandenburg Gate, entering the long sweep of Unter den Linden. Work gangs had been erecting a reviewing stand and bleachers in front of the embassy, and flagpoles with great swastika banners had sprouted all over the square and on all surrounding buildings except our own embassy.

On June 14, Paris had fallen to the German armies. This seemed the climax of all the victories German threats and arms had won from Czechoslovakia and Austria and Poland to the Low Countries and Denmark and Norway. There was to be a victory parade, featuring a Berlin division of the army.

At the appointed hour on a Friday afternoon, the stands were full, the streets lined with deep ranks of excited Germans. In our embassy, we crowded the windows, curious, but filled with deep sadness, anger, and foreboding.

The crowd stirred with anticipation, as the sound of approaching music was heard. The honor guard and band marched smartly into the Platz, commanding officers in the lead. They stopped at attention in front of the reviewing stand, not a hundred feet directly in front of the embassy. General Fromm gave a short introductory speech of proud acclamation. Then Josef Goebbels, the evilly gifted and demagogic minister of propaganda, delivered a long, rip-roaring incitation to patriotic exultation over the great victory at Paris.

Excited cheers! *Sieg heils!* The procession got under way again. Mass enthusiasm took over. Flowers were strewn indiscriminately on the paraders—infantry, tanks, cannon, troop carriers—everything but airplanes and battleships. We watched in bitter silence from behind our curtains.

After awhile, the last unit came through the gate and passed by. Goebbels left, the stands began to empty, the sidewalk crowds began dispersing in all directions. The show was clearly over. It was late afternoon, and I was dejected beyond words. I decided to go home and try to turn my back on the disasters of current history. My car was in the courtyard behind the embassy. I got in and charged through the gate and into the Hermann Goering Strasse, the street that ran beside the embassy.

I made it into the street and, to my horror and dismay, saw that the parade was still intact. I had charged straight into its ranks. The parade had circled around through the Potsdamer Platz and back to the Brandenburg Gate via the Hermann Goering Strasse in order to return to wherever its barracks were. I was horror-struck to see that the crowds had reassembled, as if by magic, to watch and cheer the returning troops all over again. I was immediately trapped! I found myself a very visible part of the celebration of Hitler's conquest of Paris. At that moment, in my mind's ear echoed the despairing words of Mme. von Kudriavtzev, the embassy's White Russian switchboard operator, who had rung my office on June 14 to ask, weeping, "Oh, Mr. Laukhuff, is it really true that Paris, our beautiful Paris, has fallen?" But in my real ears, in my parade entanglement, rang the cheers and *Sieg Heils* of the curbside masses.

I cannot imagine who they thought I was—this lone young man in his very American Chevrolet. But people cheered and waved. Hitler Maidens dashed into the street to shower me with flowers. True, here and there an uneasy policeman had a moment of doubt and tried to signal to me to get out of the line of march but immediately realized how hopeless it was and didn't press the point. There was obviously nowhere for me to go but forward.

So I rolled along for an endless, agonizing mile or so—infantry and cannon ahead of me, infantry and tanks behind me. I was consumed with dread lest a photograph of an American embassy officer taking part in the German victory parade should somehow appear in the press. I saw my career as a Foreign Service officer ruined.

At long last, a chance to escape presented itself. I finally spied a small break in the ranks of spectators and sped through with alacrity and vast relief. No pictures appeared in the American press. But it was some days before I could confess the adventure to my colleagues at the embassy.

That was 50 years ago. The embarrassment and self-reproach over my careless entanglement in that day's events have long since evaporated and been replaced by a sense of the comic humor of the whole incident. I suppose I could be a candidate for entry in the *Guinness Book of World Records* as the only American who took part in Hitler's 1941 victory parade in Berlin to celebrate the Nazi entrance into Paris. ■

Perry Laukhuff is a retired Foreign Service officer who served twice in Berlin, first in 1940-1941 and again from 1945-1949. He now lives in Amherst, Virginia.

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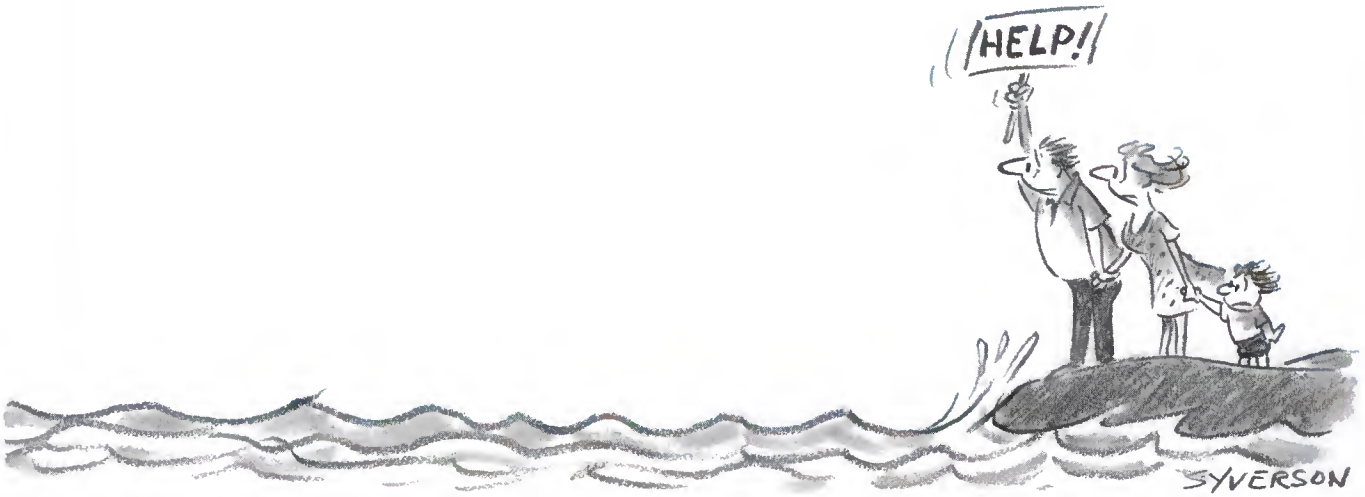

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JOURNAL

By Bette J. Cruit

Rider of the Afghan Range

Kazim had everything going for him: looks, brains, personality plus. Why would he risk losing his scholarship by doing something stupid? But, let me go back to the beginning.

On the first day of the American Field Service (AFS) orientation, all 12 boys arrived at the director's house on time (a major feat for Afghans in general), spruced up, wearing the best they had, some in Western jeans, some in their native billowy pants. One wore a mixture of East and West, with a turban to top off a British houndstooth jacket. All fingernails were scrubbed, shoes—donated, no doubt, by an affluent family member, hence either too loose or too tight—were all buffed to a brilliant shine. And all eyes were wide with the wonder and expectation of attending high school in the United States of America.

Out of about 500 boys in Afghanistan who took the qualifying English exam that winter of 1968 (girls were not then eligible for this student exchange program), most did not pass. Many found they could not be spared by their families. And so the final count was 12. Kazim Mohammad Sidiq had barely passed the English test. "Made it by the skin of my tooth," he'd admitted, shaking his head in shame, when results

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were finally announced the week before.

"Hi! Everybody okay?" Kazim asked, as he moved about the room, saluting or extending his hand, breaking the ice and putting us all at ease.

"I'm okay. You okay?" I answered, laughing, while ushering the boys to the table laden with fruit punch and peanut butter cookies. (Chocolate chips were nowhere to be found in the bazaar that day.) "Help yourselves, then find a seat. Geoffrey Sahib will be coming to give you a talk about the hurdles you still have to get over."

Geoffrey, I knew, was in the next room, reviewing his notes carefully. As director of the Educational Commission, which also administered the Fulbright and professor-exchange programs, he took his job and all program rules and regulations most seriously. As his assistant, I had more time to get to know our clients, to play up their good qualities, to help put right their awkward ones.

"Congratulations," Geoffrey began, eliciting what would be temporary smiles from his charges. "You've passed the English language test. That was the easy part. During the next two months, of cultural orientation we'll see about adaptability, how you will fit in as year-long members of American families and at American high schools. In short, whether you are right for the AFS program and if the program is right for you."

After giving them an overall view of what life is like for typical American teenagers, Geoffrey asked if there were any questions.

"Do they play soccer in America?" one of the more athletic boys asked. He was crushed to hear that soccer was just beginning to catch on in the United States.

"What if the mosque is too far to walk to on Fridays?" one of the more fervent boys asked. His worried frown disappeared when he learned that the mullahs would grant them all a leave of absence for the school year, providing they performed their Islamic rituals in private.

"May I please go to a family in the Wild West?" Kazim asked. "My father

promised to send me to Mazar-i-Sharif to play *buzkashi* (Afghanistan's national sport—a wild and bloody polo) if I learn to ride like an American cowboy."

I couldn't help but giggle along with the boys—most of whom were aspiring doctors, lawyers, or space scientists. I pictured Kazim on a ranch in Wyoming, riding his first bronco, one hand holding the reins for dear life, the other waving a 10-gallon hat. The crowd would roar, the girls' hearts would flutter while they asked each other, "Who is this dark-eyed dreamboat?"

Of course, I could not say such things to Geoffrey, even in fun. That would give him more to worry about than cultural idiosyncrasies, like the boys' habit of holding hands when they walk together—normal behavior in Afghanistan, but unacceptable in a co-ed society like the USA's. Furthermore, there was the boys' extreme modesty to deal with, as this could keep them out of locker rooms and showers, perhaps out of athletic matches they'd otherwise enjoy. And they needed to learn the use of knives and forks instead of fingers. All of this, and more, had to be taken up during the next weeks. Geoffrey would be a diligent, stern taskmaster and produce the finest batch of AFS'ers ever to set foot in the United States.

"We can't promise you the Wild West, Kazim," Geoffrey said, "at least until we get the names and addresses of our volunteer families."

Kazim smiled, as though he were destined for the West, and without a doubt Allah would see that he got there.

Shortly after the boys left, Geoffrey came out of the bedroom where they'd left their coats and belongings, his face set in disbelief.

"It seems that one of the boys is a thief," he said.

"A thief?" I stammered. "What on earth is missing?" I pictured a white space on the wall where Geoffrey's beloved African mask was mounted. I remembered his birthday gold-plated Parker pen, his snazzy new travel alarm clock.

"A book from my night stand is missing, my new Louis l'Amour, *Down the Long Hills*. It came in the mail this week and I was just getting into it."

Geoffrey slumped into a chair,

I pictured Kazim on a ranch in Wyoming, riding his first bronco, one hand holding the reins for dear life, the other waving a 10-gallon hat.

pressed his lips together, and nodded, as if suddenly enlightened. "Bet I know who took it," he said.

"Who?"

"Kazim. He's the one who wants to be a cowboy. Who else would pinch a book about cowboys and Indians?"

"Wait a minute, Geoffrey!" I cried, struggling to control my outrage. "You can't just accuse Kazim, or anyone else, without some sort of evidence."

"No, but I'll find out for sure one way or another." He fixed his eyes on mine, like the prosecutor in a Perry Mason movie. "None of the boys has ever seen television, so the only way Kazim could know about the Wild West is from books, and this one is hot off the press!"

In the following weeks, the cultural orientation activities remained on schedule, despite Geoffrey's clandestine efforts to catch the thief. OnE day, after swimming lessons and a picnic of hamburgers and french fries at the embassy pool (hot dogs were out, considering the possibility of pork content), Geoffrey talked to the boys about the endless varieties of pizza; the American addiction to hot buttered popcorn while watching movies and TV, and how the hamburger, poorly named, is made of beef, not ham, and tops the list in fast-food popularity.

"Most of our American beef comes from the West, where *you* want to go, Kazim," Geoffrey added, fixing his gaze upon his subject.

"I know," said Kazim proudly.

"Do you know about the West from reading books, Kazim?"

"A little," Kazim answered, "but mostly from films that the U.S. Information Service shows at our school sometimes, like *High Noon* with Gary Cooper and *Stagecoach* with John Wayne."

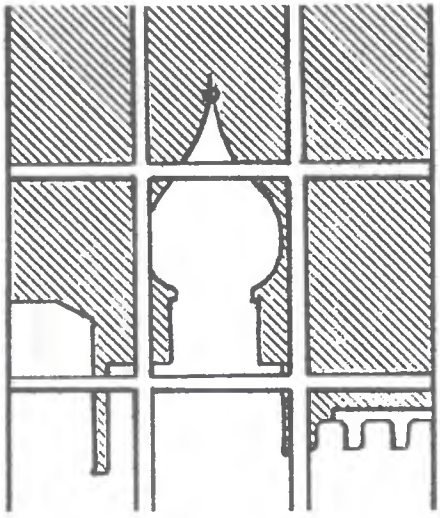
Geoffrey's mouth fell open. He'd forgotten about the film library, and after questioning Kazim on several other occasions, it appeared that he was not an avid reader of books of any kind, and he showed not a hint of recognition when Geoffrey mentioned the author Louis l'Amour. Still, Geoffrey was convinced that Kazim was the culprit. The trick was to catch him unawares.

To make matters worse for Geoffrey, Kazim continued to excel in every activity. While the other boys were holding their noses before putting their heads in the water during swimming lessons, Kazim nearly drowned trying to dive in like an Olympic swimmer, forgetting to come up quickly for air.

One afternoon, Kazim made Dagwood sandwiches for everyone, using cold lamb, goat cheese, tomatoes, olives, and onions on slices of *naan*. He'd learned this art from reading the comics in the American Sunday newspaper, he said. I could see Geoffrey's

eyes narrow after this seemingly innocent admission.

One of Geoffrey's talks included petty crime, punishable in the United States-by handcuffs, detention, possibly jail, bringing shame to one's family, one's country, oneself. Shoplifting and stealing were absolute no-no's, he stressed, moving his eyes from one to another and then pausing when he came to Kazim.



"Their customs lean more toward giving than taking. Every one of those boys would no doubt give his own life before he'd take something he shouldn't."

"I can't believe he's a thief," I told Geoffrey when we were alone.

"Their customs lean more toward giving than taking. Every one of those boys would no doubt give his own life before he'd take something he shouldn't."

"Maybe you're right," Geoffrey said. "I'm well aware of Afghan hospitality and generosity, but I can't jeopardize the whole program by sending a thief, even a jovial one, to the United States. The only logical filcher is Kazim. He just can't go."

During the following days I searched my mind for a way to convince Geoffrey to keep Kazim in the program. I felt sure that he would gain the most, and bring back all the right impressions. The others were serious, shy, and polite. But Kazim was outgoing, eager to learn new ways, and proud to share his Afghan ways. And later he would lead Afghanistan into the 20th century.

Geoffrey planned to talk to Kazim at the next and final get-together and perhaps use the 'skin of his tooth" English exam as the reason for rejection, putting the blame on bureaucrats in Washington. I would be absent on that occasion; I could not bear to see Kazim's face on hearing such devastating news.

On the morning before the dreaded day, Geoffrey came to the office a bit late, shutting the door quickly behind him. I'd never seen him look so sheepish, and when he stood before my desk, my suspense began to mount. "Geoffrey, out with it," I pleaded.

"Well," he began, his voice little more than a whisper. "As I was leaving home this morning, I saw that the Louis l'Amour book was back on my nightstand."

My heart jumped. "Did Kazim sneak in during the night and return it?" I asked, partly in jest.

"No, my servant, Omar, returned it."

"Omar? Are you saying Omar is the thief?" I knew how fond Geoffrey was of this faithful man who had served him for so long.

Geoffrey shook his head. "It seems that Omar brought his young son to help clean after the boys left that day, and the child noticed the Indian on the book cover and took the book to the servants' quarters to look at the rest of the pictures. He forgot about the book, and it got buried beneath other stuff. Omar just discovered it and is beside himself with remorse."

Silently, I praised Omar and Allah for coming through in the nick of time. Kazim would keep his date with the Lone Ranger after all. ■

Belle J. Cruit worked with the Educational Commission in Afghanistan and now lives in Florida.

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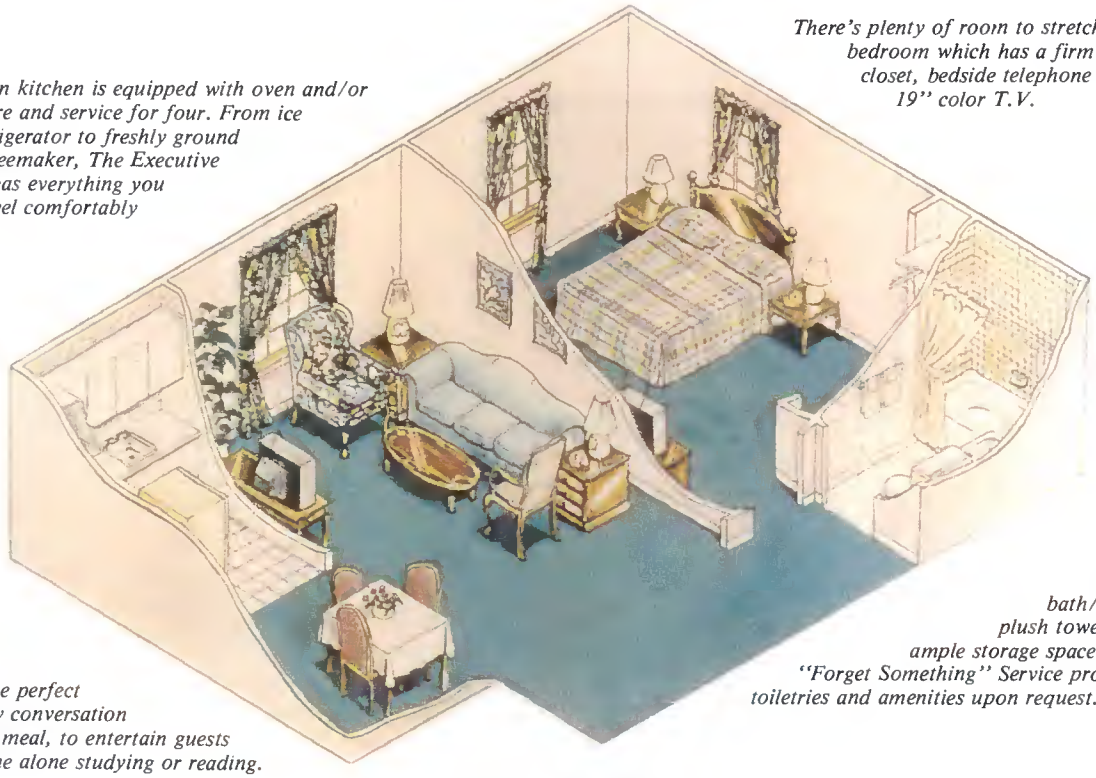

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Books

Decline Without Mourning

The Age of Diminished Expectations: U.S. Economic Policy in the 1990s

By Paul Krugman, The MIT Press, 1990, $17.95 hardcover

Reviewed by Robert A. Pollard

Casual readers of economics face special difficulties. Academic economics, now a subset of advanced mathematics, is inaccessible to most of us. Much of the remainder of the literature is sensationalist stuff, doomsday scenarios about what will happen if we do not immediately return to the gold standard, for example. Even the best of these books have a shelf life of about six months.

Paul Krugman's book is a happy exception. Originally written as a briefing book for the *Washington Post*, it explains current economic problems in a clear and simple style that even those who have trouble balancing their checkbooks should find understandable. And as one of our country's preeminent economists (at MIT), Krugman deserves careful attention in this, the first presidential election in many years to be dominated by economic issues.

The issues that Krugman identifies with will likely dominate the U.S. economy throughout the 1990s. His theme is decline: the fall of U.S. living standards compared with much of Western Europe and the Asian Pacific; the slide in our productivity growth; the increasing maldistribution of income since the 1960s; and most of all (hence the title), the curious sense of indifference of the American public, and therefore the lack of serious debate, about the economic problems facing the United States. "What is truly remarkable about our times," Krugman writes, "is that the political system accepts our reduced prospects with so much equanimity."

Lest the reader suspect that the author has a hidden agenda, I hasten to add that Krugman's views defy easy categorization. Krugman admits that he has no clear solution to the problem of falling productivity growth—the root, along with low savings rates (also seemingly insoluble), of most of what ails the economy, in his view. Reaganites may object to the author's thesis that the big trade and budget deficits the United States racked up in the 1980s *do*, in fact, matter: we will pay for them for a long time to come through higher taxes, inflation, and net payments to foreigners. But liberals, too, will chafe at his observation that it is neither desirable nor possible for the government to cut the jobless rate below its "natural" level of 5 to 6 percent; that would only spur inflation, he says, without providing employers with the skilled workers they need.

Naturally, a book published in 1990 and conceived well before then is bound to show some signs of age. Krugman fails to foresee the seriousness of the current recession. He also makes questionable judgments, e.g., that inflation, even the double-digit price increases of the early 1980s, poses few costs to the economy (what about investor confidence?), or that the government should be willing to risk $10 billion in an (ill-defined) industrial policy (in this era of tight budgets?). Further, Krugman flirts with "strategic trade" theorists who favor protectionism to help cutting-edge industries and winds up underestimating the potential costs of a trade war.

Still, Krugman's central message merits reflection. The current U.S. policy of economic "drift," he shows, is leading us inexorably to continued decline. Reasonable people may disagree over how to fix the economy, but by doing nothing, Krugman argues, our country is destined to become the number two economic power (GNP measured in dollars) after Europe (with Japan a close third) by the year 2000. The trouble is that this will occur incrementally, almost invisibly. Even if Americans wake up to the costs of inaction, there is no guarantee that politicians will offer them a clear choice when it comes time to pull the lever on election day.

Robert A. Pollard is a Foreign Service officer serving at Embassy Singapore.

Fighting Old Battles

Why Americans Hate Politics

By E.J. Dionne Jr., Simon and Schuster, 1991, $22.95 hardcover

Reviewed by S.I. Nadler

Trashing politics and politicians has long been an American pastime, almost a tradition. A century ago, Mark Twain suggested it "could probably be shown by facts and figures that there is distinctly no native American criminal class except Congress." In his correspondence, President William Howard Taft often used the phrase "politics makes me sick." Americans, of course, have no monopoly on this attitude; in 18th-century France, for example, Nicholas Chamforst warned that "[O]ne would be disgusted if one saw politics, justice, and one's dinner in the making."

There was always, in such criticisms and witticisms, a touch of tolerance, a suggestion that things were basically under control. That is no longer so. Given the nature and conditions of politics in the United States today, jokes about it no longer seem especially funny, and what laughter they may evoke rings hollow. Today Americans seem bitterly disillusioned with, angrily disappointed

in, and helplessly frustrated by the political process. In *Why Americans Hate Politics*, E.J. Dionne Jr. brings into uncompromisingly sharp focus those elements of politics which elicit such reactions, and he identifies and analyzes the events and forces of the past three decades which produced those elements.

In his introduction, Dionne states, "This book is an interpretive history of 30 years of political ideas, an attempt to trace how we got here and why liberalism and conservatism have become obstacles to a healthy political life." He warns that "if the liberals and conservatives spend all of their time refighting the meanings of the liberal 1960s and conservative 1980s, we will waste the 1990s." We are, he says, afflicted with "a false polarization in our politics." He blames this on both liberals and conservatives for framing issues as a series of spurious choices.

A clear indication of this situation and its effect on the electorate was the 1988 election when, Dionne reminds us, not only did half the voters stay away from the polls (the lowest turnout since 1924), but, according to a *New York Times*/CBS News poll, two-thirds of the voters wanted choices other than Dukakis and Bush, representing the highest level of dissatisfaction with the available choices ever recorded in polls.

Television is a major culprit. "Once upon a time," says Dionne, "most of the thirty-second spots that ran . . . were *positive*. They sought to mobilize voters behind causes and candidates they could believe in, not in opposition to ideas and constituencies they loathed. . . . The purpose of democratic politics is to solve problems and resolve disputes. But since the 1960s, the key to winning elections has been to reopen the same divisive issues over and over again."

Dionne believes that the means to ending the hatred of politics that exists today is the creation of a new political center. He thinks this is urgent, warning that "[A] nation that hates politics will not long survive as a democracy."

For what it has to say, this book is recommended to all concerned with the planning of American policies, foreign as well as domestic. For *how* the author organizes, analyzes, and (especially) presents his material, this book might be required reading for all political officers posted abroad.

S. I. Nadler is a retired Foreign Service officer.

The Mystery of Mao

The New Emperors: China in the Era of Mao and Deng

By Harrison E. Salisbury, Little, Brown, 1992, $24.95 softcover

Reviewed by Anne Stevenson-Yang

Harrison Salisbury begins this splendid new book with a seeming irrelevance: ". . . near the southeast corner

of the Forbidden City long ago stood the Tower of Yearning, where in the 18th century the Fragrant Concubine, Ke Fei, spent many long hours. She would climb two flights to a window and gaze for hours on the Moslem bazaar and mosque that Emperor Qianlong had built to ease her heartache for Kashgar, where she was born."

Qianlong, says Salisbury, had built a dream landscape, a living picture album of Ke Fei's beloved home. No matter that the bazaar was probably constructed for the convenience (and control) of a considerable number of Moslem traders who passed through 18th century Peking. The scene depicts a deeper reality in China: that the will, imagination, and the whim of the nation's absolute leaders are daily translated into mortar-and-brick reality.

Consider, for example, Mao Zedong's Third Line, about which Salisbury writes well and succinctly. An idea that could have been blown from an opium pipe, this strategy of defense against a nuclear attack established that China's army and leadership would abandon the cities of the coastal area and retreat to the vast, undeveloped interior. There, in Sichuan's mountainous redoubts, in the dry hills of Gansu, and on Qinghai's uninhabitable plains would be built coal mines, aeronautics plants, steel mills, hydroelectric power plants—all it would take to run a war while China's army "swam among the people," supported by the peasants as had been the guerrillas of the 1930s. In 1950, shortly after he conceived the Third Line plan, Mao entrusted its execution to his most energetic deputy, Deng Xiaoping. Decades later, Deng would devote equal energy to dismantling the bloated and isolated factories that, cut off from transportation routes and producing goods for which there was little local demand, had been largely idle.

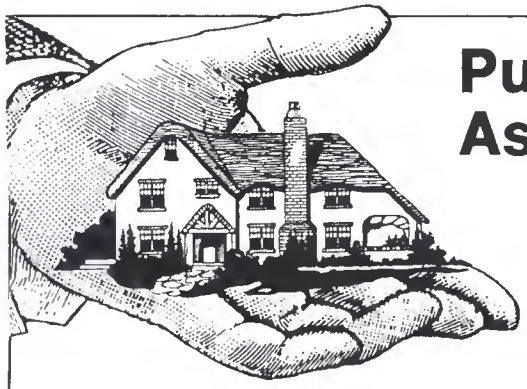
The joy of this book lies in such detail. Half history of post-revolutionary China and half dual biography of Deng and Mao, *The New Emperors* represents the fruit of exhaustive interviews with almost everyone of political significance now in China (except Deng). We learn about Deng's first and second wives (the first died in labor; he divorced the second) and his current wife, daughter of Yunnan Province's "Ham King," who purveyed a popular brand of ham. We learn more about the early life of Jiang Qing, Mao's last wife, and about the enmities at the root of some of the vengeful dramas she would play out during the Cultural Revolution. Salisbury paints sensitive portraits of purged President Liu Shaoqi and his widely admired second wife, Wang Guangmei, as well as of their children. We learn that Defense Minister Lin Biao was a hypochondriac who feared water and sunlight and that he may have been an opium addict.

Most poignant is the careful recounting of the deaths of Mao's enemies, real and, mostly, imagined. Salisbury dwells at greater length than have most historians of modern China on the political violence that stained Mao's reign, and he does so to great effect. The Cultural Revolution seems best explained in personal terms, by focusing on individual cases: the attacks so lacked coherent philosophical motivation that they seemed exquisitely personalized. Though Liu Shaoqi's final torments had been described before, details provided by Salisbury are moving—his farewell to his wife, for example, and the search by his children for Liu's ashes, in an unmarked wooden box that had been used to stub out cigarettes. We learn of the great writer Lao She's final hours of torture by Red Guards and his (apparent) suicide, of how He Long, a diabetic, was injected with glucose to induce diabetic seizure, of the near drowning of Model Proletarian "Iron Man Wang" in a pool of human excrement, and of the beating and confinement of Deng's son Pufang in a closet painted with human blood. Lin Biao's flight is described in some detail, but those hoping for the definitive explanation of his "plot" will be disappointed.

Like many journalists, Salisbury excels in scrupulously detailed and telling description, but his book lacks binding analysis. With a brief preamble, he declares that he intends to place Mao and Deng within a culturally rooted tradition of imperial tyranny. Further, he makes frequent reference throughout the text to Mao's and Deng's interest in the ancient classic *The General Mirror for the Aid of Government*, which is a

sort of manual on imperial government. But if it is true that Mao was less interested in Western Marxism than in China's reformist dynasties, Salisbury has not proven it in this volume. And if Mao and Deng resemble the emperors who went before them, what does that prove, other than that all wielded absolute power? Finally, Salisbury fails to illuminate the great mystery of Mao Zedong: how such imagination and empathy could coexist with willful ignorance and cruelty.

No one will miss the analysis in this delightful book, which should be read for the dense texture it adds to the weave of a story that is known in outline. Salisbury writes superbly, and his story would be gripping even in the hands of an uninspired writer. Nothing could be sadder or more fascinating than the spectacle pre-



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sented by Mao's China of individual moral collapse, heroism, collective delusion, and complicity in evil.

Anne Stevenson-Yang, editor of the Journal, lived for three years in China.

Learning Egyptian

EGYPT AND THE ARABS

By Joseph P. Lorenz, Westview Press, 1990, $44.50 hardcover

Reviewed by James Bahti

Retired Foreign Service officer Joseph Lorenz has written a short but comprehensive book about Egypt and its relations with many of the Arab states. It includes a brief history of Egypt, the rise of Nasser and Arab nationalism, the October war, Camp David, and a discussion of continuing efforts to form a new Arab coalition and enter into a meaningful peace process.

In succinct fashion, Lorenz discusses the formation of the United Arab Republic in 1958 and its disintegration in 1961; the changing role of the Ba'ath Party in Syria (and Iraq); Syria and the PLO; preparations for the October war and Sadat's subsequent trip to Jerusalem; and Camp David talks and their aftermath. This analysis of why Sadat went to Jerusalem is especially good. His paragraphs on "The Eclipse of Ideology" (including pan-Arabism, pan-Islam, and Ba'athism) are thoughtful and interesting.

A few minor omissions: in discussing Nasser's moves in 1955 to 1956, Lorenz does not mention the Aswan Dam fiasco, which led to the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company (also unmentioned). He does not include reference to the Nasser-supported coup attempt in Syria in July 1963, which contributed significantly to the break-up of efforts to form a tripartite federation of Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. It may be unkind to observe that, in his predictions about Iraq's future policies and actions, his crystal ball was somewhat clouded (but then, wasn't everybody's?).

Some assertions by Lorenz are, I think, debatable. General Naguib was, from the beginning of the 1952 revolution, a figurehead; it is erroneous to speak of a "Naguib" foreign policy and a "Nasser" foreign policy—Nasser and the other members of the Revolutionary Command Council were always in charge. Naguib was named president for precisely the reasons Lorenz mentions—he was a warm and comfortable father figure, popular with the masses. Khaled Mohieddin, described in the book as the "respected" former Free Officer, was, in my experience, held in some disdain as the "Red Major."

The book contains several useful appendices, including UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, Sadat's speech to the Israeli Knesset, and the Camp David Accords with related correspondence. Chapter notes are extensive, and there is a good bibliography. ■

James Bahti is a retired Foreign Service officer.

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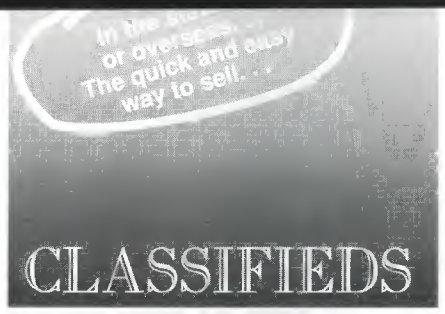

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