

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

APRIL 1992

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DEMOCRATIZATION

AND FOREIGN AID

A Case Study of Nepal
by Ambassador Julia Chang Bloch
with contributions by Rep. Dante B. Fascell
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PLUS Gov. Bill Clinton on A Professional Foreign Service



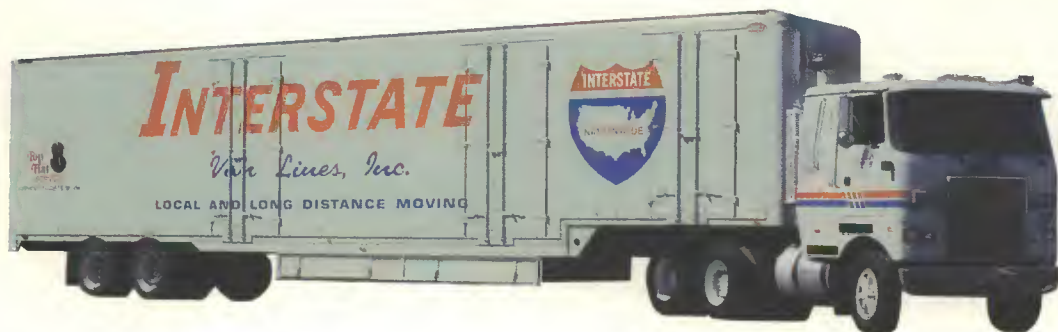
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AFSA VIEWS

FOREIGN POLICY: DESIGN AND ENGINEERING

The years 1989-1991 were great ones for American foreign policy. One can imagine FDR, Truman, and Eisenhower reading the headlines and nodding their approval: "No more USSR! No World War III! Middle East oil safe! Arab-Israel peace talks begin!" Even Thucydides might be pleased: *this* time a 40-year contest between a land-based, militarized state and a democracy linked by trade routes to its allies came out right. But great victories have their own potential for disaster, and, thankfully, our leaders did more than win. They also kept our broader interests safe as the Soviet Union flew apart in a sort of cosmic industrial accident. A political Chernobyl. The result? We are now militarily more dominant and physically more secure than since winning World War II.

After that war, the promotion of liberty and the containment of communism became the twin poles of U.S. foreign policy. The very form of today's Foreign Service reflects the organization that policy leaders believed could best accomplish those ends. The record suggests that our means and ends were well matched.

What about the future? The United States is lucky in being able to learn from its previous *successes*.

First, the new global mission for America's foreign policy should be emphasized. The elements are there: democracy, conflict resolution, non-proliferation, and a widening emphasis on trade, science, technology, and the environment.

Second, and equally important, proper *diplomatic* instruments must be wrought to get the policy job done. This is where we move from the "board room" of policy design, to the "machine shop" of policy implementation. This is the hard, dull part of foreign affairs. It's also essential to any foreign policy that hopes to be successful over time. Just as a poor policy might succeed with excellent execution, an excellent policy can fail without it. With expert execution the sequential and reciprocal elements of policy conception/execution can help each other toward their goal. Without it, an elegant design will be frustrated by shortcomings in execution and never live up to its potential.

AFSA urges management, after carefully appraising America's new foreign policy mission, urgently to ask itself how the civilian Foreign Affairs agencies, as defined by the 1980 Act (USAID, USIA, State, the FCS, and the FAS), can best accomplish this mission. Questions needing answers are: "How should the service be organized? How recruited and trained? What new resources are needed?" Unless these issues of *process* are addressed, unless *means* are carefully linked to *ends*, our foreign policy will be less successful than our national interests require. The penalties might vary. At one level, many of today's personnel policies, worthy in themselves, will exist disjointedly, and lack reference to our broader mission. At a higher level, the cost might be a diplomatic version of British Airways' Comet disaster: a far-sighted, world-class design . . . which stumbled at the level of execution when airframes cracked and the windows popped out.

— HUME HORAN



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APRIL 1992

VOL. 69, NO. 4

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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL (ISSN 0015-7279), 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990, is published monthly by the American Foreign Service Association, a private, non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the views of AFSA or the JOURNAL. Writer queries are invited.

JOURNAL subscription: AFSA Members - \$9.50 included in annual dues; others - \$40. Overseas subscription (except Canada) - \$50 per year. Airmail not available.

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990.

Microfilm copies: University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 (October 1967 to present). Indexed by Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS). Advertising inquiries invited. The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply the endorsement of the services or goods offered. FAX: 202/338-6820 or 202/338-8244 • TELEPHONE: 202/338-4045 or 338-4054.

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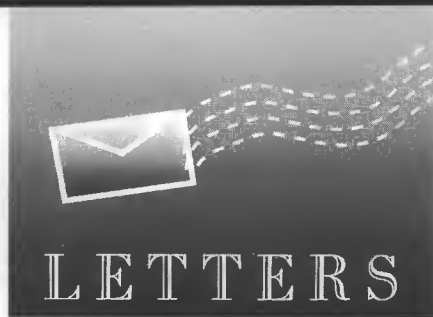
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LOYAL TO HIS PRESIDENT

TO THE EDITOR:

Your article on Elliott Abrams (January *Journal*) was as fair as any I've seen. Let us remember that the policies Assistant Secretary Abrams aggressively pursued were those clearly articulated by President Reagan, who was elected and overwhelmingly reelected while advocating those positions.

Mr. Abrams was loyal to his presi-

like a bolt of lightning as I realized how passively and completely we have accepted the notion that USIA Foreign Service officers are rarely seriously considered for deputy chief of mission and ambassadorships.

I remembered that one of the very first things anyone said to me about the Foreign Service as a career was: "But of course if you opt for USIA you'll never be an ambassador."

As it turned out my first job offer was to join the economic cone at State.

Communist power and its threat to world peace and freedom would not be disintegrating and dissipating had it not been for the likes of Mr. Abrams. Instead of thanks, Mr. Abrams is both persecuted and prosecuted.

dent and a champion of democracy at great personal risk, one of those to whom the world owes a debt of gratitude.

Communist power and its threat to world peace and freedom would not be disintegrating and dissipating had it not been for the likes of Mr. Abrams. Instead of thanks, Mr. Abrams is both persecuted and prosecuted.

Secretary of State Shultz sits fat and happy in Palo Alto. His undermining of the tough stand made by President Reagan in Central America bordered on disloyalty (to his president). We can debate policy, but it is the Elliott Abrameses who are meeting their responsibilities to democratic government.

*Dana Rohrabacher
Republican Member of Congress from
California*

USIA SLOW TRACK

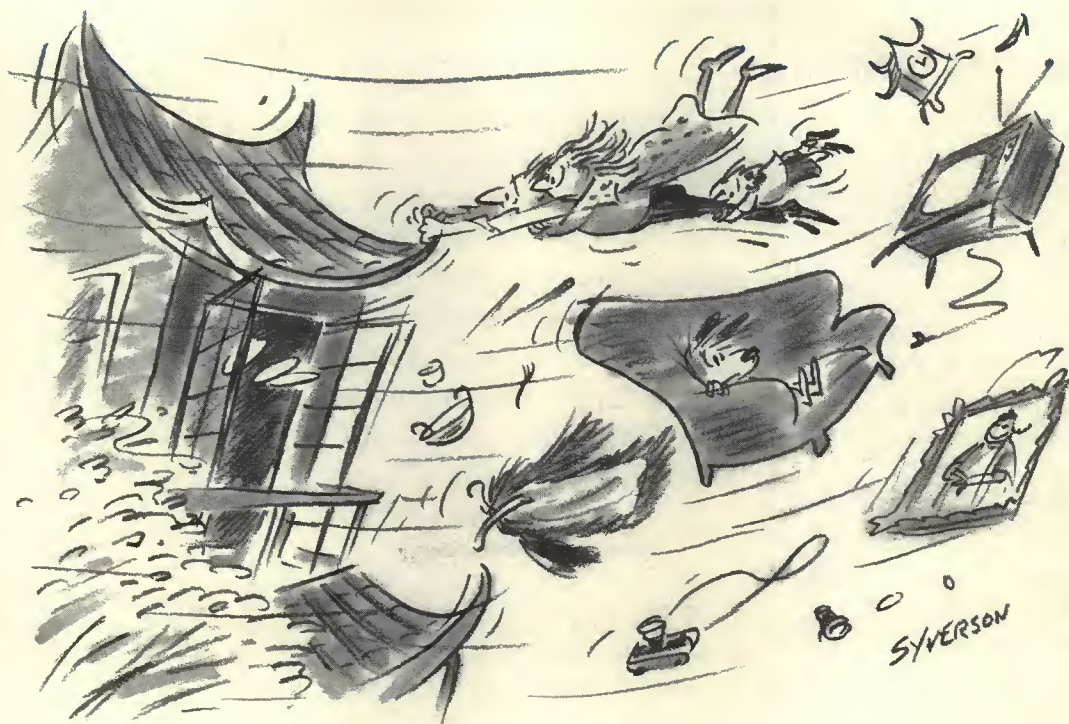
TO THE EDITOR:

Robert Dickerman's letter on agency harassment (January *Journal*) struck me

I asked, "What are my chances of getting an offer from USIA?" Since then my conviction that I made the right decision in holding out for USIA has continued to grow. . . . Management and leadership opportunities are abundant and tend to come sooner than those of non-USIA officers. And our smaller agency allows us to work with and learn from top management from early on in our tenures. . . . My sense is that the way the world is moving today, it is the USIA FSOs who are the best trained and qualified to occupy top leadership positions. . . . The nature of USIA's mission builds that quintessential characteristic of leaders: the ability to see the big picture and then do something about it.

The AFSA standing committee for USIA is interested in gaining the status of exclusive bargaining agent for USIA Foreign Service personnel. One of the reasons for wanting to take over the representation of Foreign Service interests from AFGE is precisely to have a platform from which to address the "forgotten" (or ignored) professional

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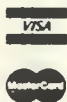
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issues such as "agency discrimination."

The letter on agency harassment brought home the fact that there are some pretty fundamental professional issues that have been inadequately addressed by our present union representatives, and I hope others will

The letter on agency harassment brought home the fact that there are some pretty fundamental professional issues that have been inadequately addressed by our present union representatives, and I hope others will think hard about these issues and join forces with AFSA/USIA to resolve them.

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*Anne V. Stenzel
 Public Affairs Officer
 Washington*

INACCURATE AND DEMEANING

TO THE EDITOR:

Priscilla del Bosque's thoughtful article in AFSA News (January *Journal*) quotes Mark Edelman's view of USAID as "the worst bureaucracy he has worked with in 25 years of government." I cannot speak with authority on the organizations to which Mr. Edelman is comparing USAID. . . . I can, however, comment on my own experience, in and out of USAID. I have worked for both large and small firms, a college, and have had contact with many international agencies.

It is one crucial area—the quality and commitment of its staff—that distinguishes USAID from many other organizations. This is not to say that only skilled administrators are admitted to the USAID universe, or that the procedures for carrying out its business are as lean and efficient as the human mind can devise. Far from it. But we cannot exclude from the "worst bureaucracy" the people who carry out

the rules (many of which are not of their own making), nor can we exclude the unique difficulties under which they operate, for example, congressional micro-management, corrupt and obstructive host governments.

This is a long-winded way of saying I found Mr. Edelman's remark both inaccurate and demeaning.

*Arthur S. Lezin
 USAID, retired
 Sunriver, Oregon*

DIPLOMATIC ODDITIES

TO THE EDITOR:

Robert W. Drexler's remarkable article, "The Insubordinate Peacemaker" (January *Journal*) brings to mind another oddity from our diplomatic history. In 1849, a U.S. president assigned a diplomat to travel to the capital of the Austrian Empire to watch the outcome of a revolution then in progress against it and "to determine the moment appropriate for granting American recognition to the revolutionary government."

The agent was Ambrose Dudley Mann, who was sent to the Imperial Court at Vienna. The revolution going on in Hungary, a component part of the Austrian Empire at the time, was the War for Independence under Kossuth; started in 1848, it collapsed under an overwhelming Russian onslaught requested by the emperor from the tsar in 1849.

*Andor C. Klay
 Washington Editor
 The Liberty Media Ltd.*

QUESTIONING THE QUIZ

TO THE EDITOR:

The answer, "Frances E. Willis" to the question, "Who was the first female ambassador?" (Foreign Service Quiz, February *Journal*) can use some clarification. Frances E. Willis was the first female ambassador from the career service when she was sent to Switzerland in 1953. However, the first female ambassador of the United States was Eugenie Anderson, who had been appointed to Copenhagen in 1949.

*James S. Pacy
 Professor, The University of Vermont
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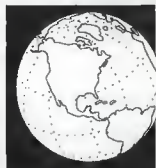
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TO THE EDITOR:

"The Foreign Service Quiz" (February *Journal*) asks when the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs was created. The answer, giving the Office of the Historian as its source, states that "Congress authorized a Coordinator for Humanitarian Affairs on June 30, 1975."

The position of Coordinator for Humanitarian Affairs was actually created, by the secretary, not Congress, in March 1975. Its functions included human rights, refugees, and POW/MIAs. Action by Congress came over one year later on June 30, 1976 when it mandated a "Coordinator for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs," which took over the old functions of the office and added a few more.

James M. Wilson, Jr.
Foreign Service officer, retired
Bethesda, Maryland

TENTERHOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

Valentina Vargo's harrowing tale of her "Journey from Moscow" (January and February *Journal*) was riveting. I do not remember enjoying an article more in my many years of reading the *Journal*—although it was devilish of you to keep us on tenterhooks for an entire month between part I and part II.

Michael Callingaert
Retired Foreign Service Officer
Brussels

TO THE EDITOR:

The emigrée's story, "Journey from Moscow" by Valentina N. Vargo was a story incomparable with anything that I have read recently. I congratulate you for publishing a most worthwhile true story.

Weikko Forsten
Retired Foreign Service Officer
Boca Raton, Florida

EEO INSULT

TO THE EDITOR:

David B. Miller's insinuation that the apparent rapid advancement of women in the Foreign Service produces inexperienced and irresponsible leadership ("Letters," February *Journal*) promotes faulty reasoning and is an insult to both

the personnel system and to all FSOs. Has it occurred to Mr. Miller that perhaps the women are better at what they do?

Is it not possible that the successful admission to and graduation from a competitive university in a male-dominated atmosphere also teaches women the extracurricular skills of competing

Is it not possible that the successful admission to and graduation from a competitive university in a male-dominated atmosphere also teach women the extracurricular skills of competing in the Foreign Service?

in the Foreign Service? Is it not possible that a lifetime of weighing conflicting signals and competing demands of traditional supportive female behavior versus the assertive roles required by the career world makes women more perceptive and sensitive to the conflicts inherent in diplomacy? Can Mr. Miller deny that years of conflict resolution at home teach the same lessons that negotiating courses do at FSI? Is it not possible that someone who has juggled soccer practice, little league games, cub scout meetings, bake sales, dissertation, seminar presentations, cooking dinner, helping with homework, and working may have honed the ability to sort through political and management issues, keep a meeting from unraveling, and negotiate the equal but contradictory priorities of her PAO, DATT, and political counselor? . . .

As an FSO who has gone from FS-5 at entry to FS-2 seven years later and thus could conceivably reach senior status within Mr. Miller's statistical parameters, I resent the implication that it is my gender not my ability that counts. Mr. Miller's attempt, solely on the basis of gender, to undermine the respect we deserve from each other is as pernicious as the most frivolous implementation of affirmative action program.

Eva J. Groening
Foreign Service Officer
Kingston, Jamaica



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THREADBARE STRIPED PANTS

THE WASHINGTON POST, FEBRUARY 12, 1992
BY MARGARET SHAPIRO

For the last few months, a small foyer next to the bathroom in a crowded hotel suite served as the consular section of the new U.S. Embassy in Tallinn, Estonia. A desk in the bedroom was the chargé d'affaires' office, right next to similar "offices" for the political officer and the press attaché. The embassy's telecommunications center was basically an extension from the main desk in the hotel's lobby.

Such is diplomatic life in the post-Soviet Union world. Where diplomatic relations previously were conducted only through Moscow, today the United States and other countries are scrambling to create embassies and diplomatic ties in newly independent republics.

From Kirgizstan to Ukraine, hardy souls from the diplomatic corps have been hanging the official government seal on scruffy hotel walls, raising the flag to the accompaniment of State-supplied tape cassettes of "the Star Spangled Banner," and hoping they will be able to find adequate food and acceptable housing.

There are now a total of eight new posts . . . in the three Baltic republics, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Armenia, and Kirgizstan. These are all serious hardship posts, without food commissaries and medical staff, located in the midst of collapsing economies where food shortages are chronic, heat and hot water unpredictable, and contact with the outside world often impossible or frustratingly difficult. . . . The new U.S. embassies are being supplied with MREs (military-issue "meals ready to eat"), special satellite telephones and promises of periodic chartered planes to bring in everything from drinking water and furniture to copier paper and mail.

"It's a great honor being sent out here," Steven Mann, the new chargé to Armenia, shouted over a staticky telephone line from Yerevan. . . . "You don't have to be dragooned for something like this." . . . "The government has gone all out for us," Mann shouted. "We're probably the only ones in Armenia in [a hotel with heat and hot water]. We're very comfortable."

The embassy in Tallinn recently . . . moved into more spacious permanent quarters. . . . Living conditions meanwhile, remain quite difficult. The chargé and the political officer managed to get recently built houses, but the others were left without when the builder ran out of wood and other basic supplies. So they have been living in a [frigid] government guest house. Meanwhile, food rationing in Estonia has left the Americans unable to buy bread, milk, and other necessities. Ingrid Kollist, an Estonian American who was suddenly pulled from [Washington] to become political officer because she speaks Estonian, arrived with a 9-month-old, a 2-year-old, and 14 suitcases stocked with canned ham, diapers, and baby food.

DUTY IN HELLISH PLACES

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, JANUARY 15, 1992
BY WALTER F. MONDALE

We need to rethink how we spend for international activities. For instance, during the Cold War, while the Pentagon took pride in its costly new weapons and the CIA swam in a sea of secret cash, the State Department and its Foreign Service became the poor relations. . . . The real world of the Foreign Service is one of dangerous duty in hellish places, families torn apart by constant transfers, isolation, unremitting economic hardship and official ingratitude.

Cuts in the State Department have reached the point where its people are no longer required to be fluent in foreign languages—the rock-bottom

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requirement of any diplomatic service. An estimated one-third of language-designated positions are filled by staff lacking the necessary proficiency.

The language skills and regional expertise of the diplomatic corps are pivotal to the quality and effectiveness of American foreign policy. . . . The Foreign Service is fast becoming the key American institution for constructing a post-Cold War world. . . . As our military presence abroad is reduced, the Foreign Service will also become the principal institution protecting our international economic position. Considering its new importance to our national security structure, it deserves more resources and more respect.

A cornerstone of American foreign policy should be the support of democratic developments throughout the world. . . . To help nations with their political development is an important complement to economic development efforts.

FIFTY YEARS AT VOA

THE WASHINGTON POST, FEBRUARY 24, 1992
BY DANA PRIEST

It has been a heady last few years at the Voice of America. . . . VOA is widely credited with keeping citizens informed and inspired about the upheaval [in Eastern Europe]. During the Persian Gulf War, VOA went on a 24-hour-a-day broadcast binge to the Middle East.

Today VOA steps up to its 50th year at the microphone and finds many of its listeners living under very different circumstances than they were just a few years ago. . . . The new openness in Eastern Europe and the republics has caused some to question VOA's relevancy. But many VOA-watchers contend the agency's role in promoting democracy and free markets has gained renewed importance. . . .

Today, VOA's budget is \$231 million and it has 3,000 employees. VOA broadcasts to an estimated 120 million listeners in 46 languages. . . . VOA journalists pride themselves on being objective collectors of news, although they are still sometimes perceived as mouthpieces for the government—

mainly because of the pro-government editorials included in the programs. [On the other hand], during the Persian Gulf War some U.S. allies, among them Saudi Arabia, complained to U.S. officials that some VOA programs . . . included interviews with war critics.

Little of what made VOA so popular is likely to change soon, say administration officials and congressional staff members. . . . In December, the President's Task Force on U.S. Government International Broadcasting concluded that VOA's mission was more important than ever and called for increases in most of its major program areas. No significant budget increases are expected this year. Bush [has] named Robert John Hughes, who led the task force, to head a commission to investigate more broadcasting to China, including the possibility of creating a Radio Free Asia.

The English-language VOA-Europe section offers . . . round-the-clock free programs in 305 cities, including 28 in former Communist nations. VOA has recently produced a year-long series, called "Democracy in Action," which offers "how-to" information on such diverse topics as writing a constitution, forming a school board, or getting a bank loan.

BAKER'S HALF DOZEN

THE NEW REPUBLIC, FEBRUARY 24, 1992
BY MORTON KONDRACKE

An explanation for foreign policy gaps [is that Secretary of State James] Baker trusts only a handful of loyal assistants to perform important tasks for him, and they are vastly overextended. Dennis Ross, State's director of policy planning, is Baker's chief assistant for both the CIS and the Middle East—which means that if negotiations are under way on one, the other moves to the back burner.

In a State Department of 8,000 persons, Baker thoroughly trusts only two or three other people besides Ross: Counsellor Robert Zoellick, who is also under secretary for economic affairs; Margaret Tutwiler, his spokeswoman and political adviser; and Deputy Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger, the only career diplomat

in the seventh floor in-group.

SHAKEUP IN PERSONNEL

THE WASHINGTON POST, FEBRUARY 23, 1992
By JOHN M. GOSHKO

Sources said that an interlocking, domino-like series of shifts would send Reginald Bartholomew, under secretary of State for security affairs, to Brussels to succeed William Howard Taft IV as ambassador to NATO. Frank G. Wisner, currently ambassador to the Philippines, would replace Bartholomew as under secretary. Richard H. Solomon, currently assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs, would become ambassador in Manila, and he would be succeeded by William Clark, now ambassador to India. Thomas R. Pickering, UN ambassador, already had been tabbed to move to New Delhi, and Edward J. Perkins, director general of the Foreign Service, is slated to take over as UN ambassador. The sources said the reasons for these specific choices . . . are known only to the secretary and his small inner circle of aides.

NYET-NYET

USA TODAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1992
By JOHANNA NEUMAN

U.S. diplomats in the former Soviet Union no longer have to leave the embassy in pairs or report on every contact with a citizen. But they still can't fall in love. That's the bottom line to the State Department's new policy on fraternization.

The United States will also start hiring local citizens to do unclassified work at its embassies in Moscow and elsewhere. Ahead: an end to travel restrictions that limit diplomats to a 25-mile radius of their assigned city in the republics and the United States. But the department isn't ready to lift a ban on "romantic involvement"—meant to avoid compromising security. . . . [Spokesman] Tutwiler grew defensive when asked why it's OK for U.S. diplomats to fall in love in, say, Paris or London, but not Minsk or Kiev. "Bureaucracies move slowly. This is something that Secretary Baker and others have been trying to get done." ■

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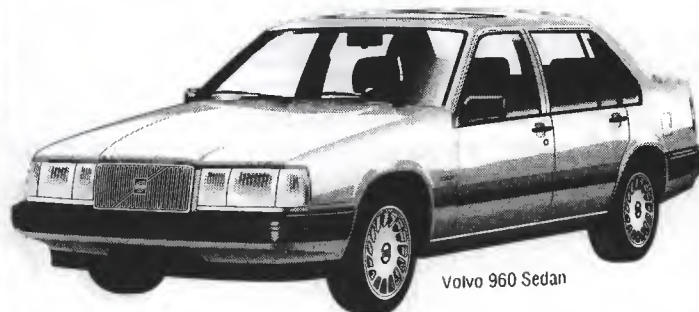


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News from the Department

Published in the *Journal*, April 1942

New offices

A study of the new Foreign Service list will make you brush up on your geography. There are six additions to the number of offices since the last list appeared. Besides the exchange of ministers with Iceland and New Zealand, there has been a Vice Consulate opened in Curitiba, Brazil. (You will find it about 20 miles south of Sao Paulo.) Also, an Office of the Commissioner has been opened at New Delhi, India, and Consulates at Antigua, B.W.I., and Basra, Iraq.

Supply notes

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FOREIGN SERVICE QUIZ

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

1. Name the first post-World War I ambassador of the United States to the Soviet Union, appointed by Franklin Delano Roosevelt.
2. How many ambassadorial posts did Franklin Delano Roosevelt fill upon his election, and how many of these appointees were career Foreign Service officers?
3. How much did Thomas Paine earn in monthly salary as secretary to the Committee for Foreign Affairs?

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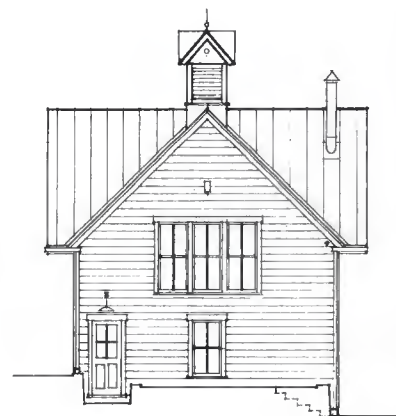
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DESPATCH

BY ANNE STEVENSON-YANG

New Avenues in Human Rights

Several women's groups want violence against and exploitation of women put on the international human rights agenda. In March, activists convened a preparatory committee to plan the women's agenda for the 1993 UN World Conference on Human Rights. In prepa-

"We demand that gender violence be recognized as a violation of human rights requiring immediate action."

ration for the 1993 meeting, a coalition of women's groups, including the Center for Women's Global Leadership in Rutgers, New Jersey and the International Women's Tribune Centre, has launched a petition drive calling on the United Nations "comprehensively to address women's human rights at every level of its proceedings. We demand that gender violence, a universal phenomenon which takes many forms across culture, race, and class, be recognized as a violation of human rights requiring immediate action." Niamh Reilly, a spokesman for the Global Center, said that by early March more than 60,000 signatures had been

Literary Oasis

Mark Mathabane, author of *Kaffir Boy*, *Kaffir Boy in America*, and the recently published *Love in Black and White*, talks in the premier issue of *The Kalabari Review* of the corrosive nature of American racism. "If you go to South Africa and walk about the ghettos, you would just be amazed at how full of soul the people are even amid the most appalling poverty," he says. "And there's nothing romantic about it; it's just that to

collected. The goal is 100,000.

In Washington, retired Foreign Service officer Barbara J. Good has been working with the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women to press for the inclusion of sexual exploitation, prostitution, and trafficking in women on the UN human rights agenda. Meeting annually in Geneva to monitor the UN Commission's work on these issues, the Coalition in 1989 was awarded non-governmental consultative status by the United Nations. Beginning in 1988, it has periodically held international conferences and "experts' meetings" to educate the public on the issues, and the group hopes to establish a resource center making available information on trafficking in women.

Primary targets of the Coalition's work are prostitution, both legal and illegal; the traffic in mail-order brides; the sexual exploitation of runaways and other young Americans within the United States; and "sexual tourism" in South Korea and Thailand purportedly arranged by travel agencies.

them life goes on, and it goes on with the feeling that 'my life is worth something.'

"However in some places, particularly in the United States, I found that oppression has been so relentless, the despair and hopelessness are so deep that the people cease to be human. And that's frightening. There's very little in South Africa that parallels such destruction."

Founded by Patricia Norland, daughter of Don Norland, who was U.S.

ambassador to Botswana and Chad, and Ellen Loerke, her former classmate at Walt Whitman High School, *The Kalabari Review* is devoted to fiction, interviews, profiles, poetry, and essays, as well as artwork, from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Swaziland. Published in Washington, the magazine, which plans three issues yearly, states in its publisher's note that it seeks to promote literacy and provide an outlet for southern African artists. The Mathabane interview is the high mark of this first edition, despite rather predictable and confining questions by the interviewer, but also notable are the story "Masimba!" by South African Nonna Kitson and the poem "Mandume," by Namibian Dorian Haarhof.

The Kalahari Press Inc. is at 4000 Cathedral Avenue N.W., #138B, Washington, D.C. 20016. The next issue is planned for May.

Remembering Lois Roth

The Fund and Endowment established in 1986 in memory of USIA officer Lois W. Roth in 1991 supported a variety of academic and cultural research abroad. Donations went to Medical Education for South African Blacks, a fund directed by Foreign Service retiree Herbert Kaiser that helps black South African nurses continue their training. Endowment money helped support projects on language learning among Finnish children, the Swedish welfare system, the St. Brigittine Order in Sweden, and the Russian novelist Bulgarin, among other topics. This year, the endowment is looking for cooperative program possibilities with Iran, Denmark, and Australia. For information, contact 1870 Wyoming Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. ■

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Professional Diplomacy:

Bill Clinton on the Foreign Service

Editor's Note: In March, the Journal asked the six major presidential candidates to respond to four questions about the Foreign Service. By the time the magazine went to press, two candidates had dropped out of the race and three, Pat Buchanan, Jerry Brown, and Paul Tsongas, had not submitted their responses despite repeated reminders. Democratic candidate

Governor Bill Clinton did respond, and his answers, along with our questions, appear below. It should be noted that publication of this questionnaire and responses does not constitute an endorsement.



Question: In the post-Cold War world, military and subversive threats to our national security have given way to the threat of economic non-competitiveness. In this environment, what do you see as the role of the Foreign Service, particularly in trade and investment and foreign aid?

Response: As a governor, I have always believed that a clear definition of goals must precede questions of organization; otherwise, structure will determine rather than serve our objectives. The end of the Cold War now presents a host of exciting policy opportunities and challenges, many of which will require some adjustments as we reexamine our national priorities. As we meet these challenges and seize these opportunities, there should be a renaissance of our nation's professional diplomacy. Throughout its long history, the Foreign Service has been a critical participant in the conduct of our nation's foreign policy, and its role should be all the more important in this new era.

For example, I have said on a number of occasions that the United States must regain its economic strength to maintain its position of global leader-

ship. I intend to rely heavily upon our professional diplomats in this important effort. Now, more than ever before, the Foreign Service should devote significant resources to political and economic reporting and analysis and vigorously promote trade and investment. I also consider it essential that the United States strongly and programmatically support the global movement toward democracy. This will require the kind of sophisticated understanding of other societies that our Foreign Service can provide. The end of the Cold War has not made the world a safe place. To anticipate and respond to threats to our interests and future crises in a less structured world, we will need the best possible reporting from our embassies. And in Washington, we must restore a balance between the perspectives of professional Foreign Service personnel with those of political appointees. This will ensure that the president and senior administration officials have at their disposal the broadest possible range of information and recommendations.

Question: It can be argued that the

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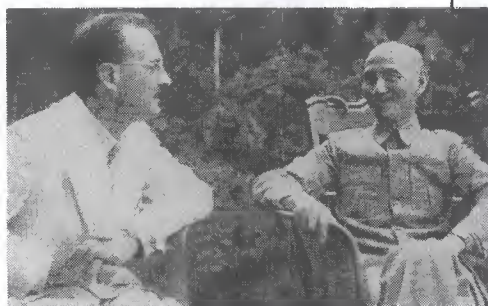
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Cold War has been won and, therefore, a number of federal agencies have outlived their usefulness. Do you see continuing roles for the U.S. Information Agency, the Agency for International Development, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency? If so, what would be the parameters of those roles?

Response: Both the objectives and the operations of all our foreign affairs agencies must be calibrated to serve our interests in today's world.

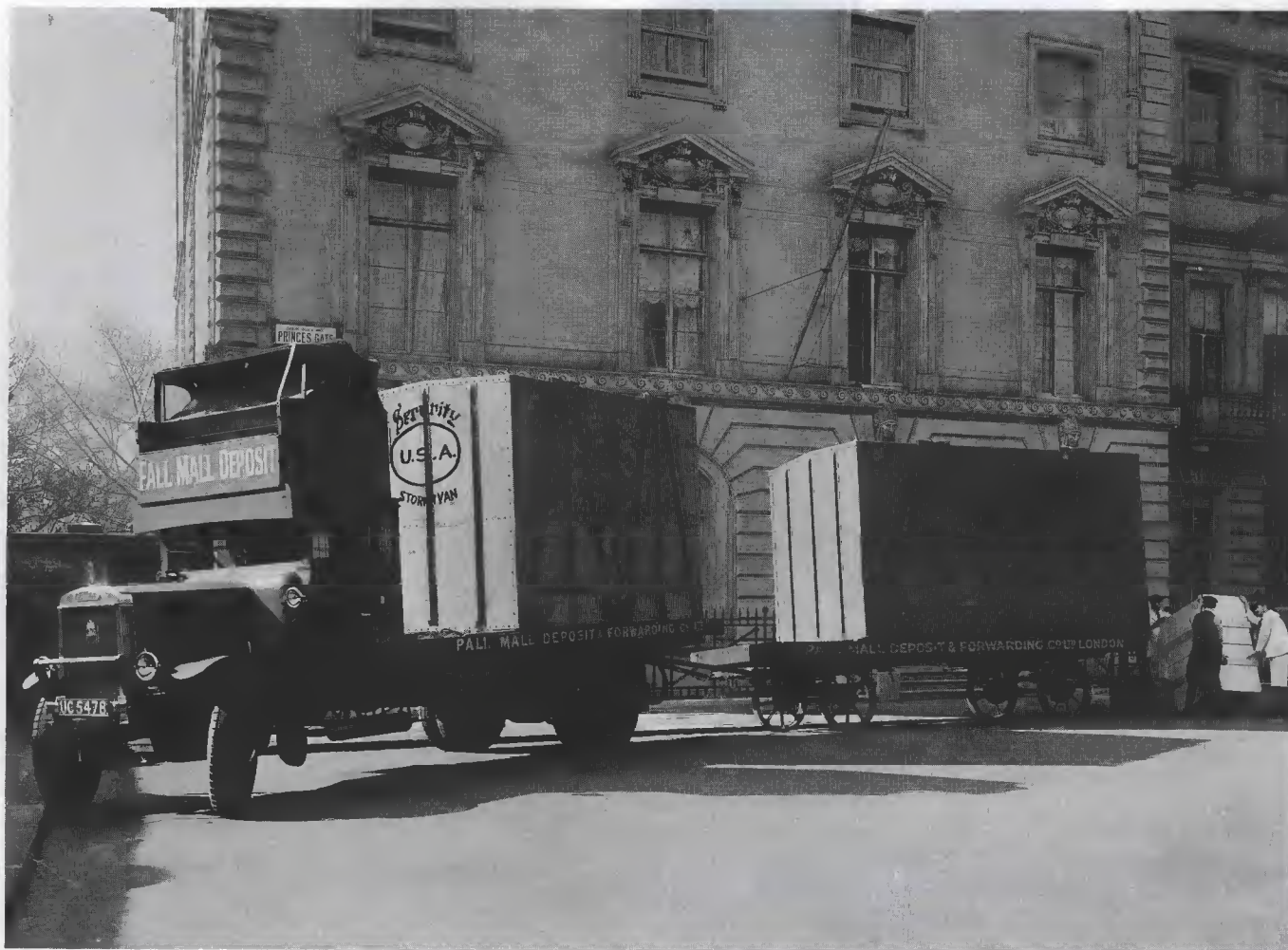
USIA and USAID can play a crucial role in supporting democratic and pluralistic trends, for example, through USIA's educational and cultural exchanges, particularly with emerging democracies. There will be continuing opportunities to adapt USIA's operations to a world of instant communications, a world in which ideas could pierce a Berlin Wall and bring it down. The complicated and shifting congressional mandate for USAID, and its recent management difficulties, have made it hard for the agency to carry out clear missions in ways that ensure that the American people's tax dollars are efficiently used. But we have a national interest in promoting the long-term, broad-based development that undergirds democracy and creates new markets for our workers.

ACDA's technical expertise, advice, and institutional memory will be just as important in the post-Cold War world, for example with regard to the verification of arsenal reductions. In a diffused world where the danger of proliferating nuclear weapons and missile technologies grows, we must have a non-partisan, highly professional ACDA.

Question: What do you see as the proper balance between the secretary of State, the national security adviser, and other top presidential advisers?

Response: I know that a number of scholars and policy-makers have offered proposals for reforming the NSC system, particularly in the wake of the Iran-Contra affair. We should never again find ourselves in a position where NSC staffers are able to operate outside of the cabinet government system. I recognize that the NSC process is not perfect, and that every president has attempted to reform or adjust it in some way to meet the challenges faced by his

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administration. Given today's challenges, I believe that our nation's foreign policy machinery should strongly reflect economic and environmental considerations. I would consider changing the statutory membership of the NSC to ensure that voices on these important issues are heard.

I believe that the secretary of State should serve as the president's principal adviser on foreign policy and as its chief implementer. The NSC adviser plays an essential coordinating role, ensuring that all the viewpoints and perspectives of the foreign affairs agencies are reflected in the policy process. In addition, the chief of staff to the president should be responsible for managing an effective White House staff process. Appointments are as important as process, of course. It is crucial that all senior advisers operate as a team, and are accountable directly to the president. They must be prepared to argue with each other—and with him—in mutual confidence, before (but not after) decisions are made.

Question: What criteria would you apply to the selection of politically appointed ambassadors? Under President Bush, roughly two-thirds of ambassadors have come from the career Foreign Service. What do you consider a good balance between career and political appointees?

Response: All ambassadors who serve in my administration, regardless of whether or not they are professional diplomats, must be selected on the basis of competence. I have noted that the number of non-professional appointees has increased during recent years, and I do not consider this to be a positive trend. A strong, professional Foreign Service is vital to our national security, and I strongly believe that its personnel system should provide its members a career path that ensures them the opportunity to reach the senior ranks. There must be a regular mechanism to guarantee that the best qualified envoys are nominated to represent our nation abroad and to serve in senior positions here at home. This process will, of course, include the appointment of citizens of distinction from other walks of life, who, together with our professional Foreign Service officers, can contribute to the infusion of new ideas and creative diplomacy. ■

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Foreign Aid:

Don't Ask Why, Ask How and to Whom

Some Americans view foreign aid as a dead issue—one that is not in the U.S. interest and one that should be tabled in these tough economic times. I would like to think they are way off base.

But maybe this thinking more accurately reflects the current sentiments of the American people than I think it does. At the very least, in this political year of "America First," we need to take a hard look at U.S. foreign assistance programs and examine whether and how they are going to meet America's agenda over the next decade.

The U.S. foreign aid program grew and developed during the Cold War and played a definite role in the effort to contain communism. As a Cold War veteran myself, I've been explaining the necessity for foreign aid for more years than I care to remember. But I am the first to admit that there has been a dramatic revolution in world affairs in the last several years that forces us to take another look at why we are doing what we are doing with our aid program and how we can do it better.

Some 40 years ago, there were solid reasons for getting into the foreign aid business:

- We believed democracy and human rights were values that ought to be accepted by governments and enjoyed by those governments' citizens.
- We were certain that market-based economics could bring financial growth to other peoples and, in doing so, expand opportunities for U.S. trade and investment overseas.
- We hoped that our humanitarian assistance would not only alleviate short-term suffering due to disasters in foreign countries but would also promote a long-term climb out of poverty for many nations.
- To be truthful, we also had political objectives. These were concerned with promoting stability in certain regions of the world and rewarding the friends who stuck with us and our policy tenets.

These four basic objectives, which directed U.S. assistance programs during the Cold War, are still valid

principles and goals. But on reviewing U.S. assistance programs during that era, it is striking how often the last objective—short-term political goals—overrode our value-based objectives. Foreign policy objectives are perfectly legitimate and very important, but they should always be closely allied with basic American values.

As an example: in El Salvador we made sure that our short-term political objectives were tempered by our concern for democracy and human rights. We provided significant levels of assistance but demanded movement toward democracy and respect for human rights.

On the other hand, in Zaire we allowed our political objectives to roll over our values as a nation of free people. We continued support for a regime long after it became clear that the magnitude of corruption there kept our aid from serving the purposes for which it was intended.

Even though the Cold War has ground to a halt, I believe that the basic needs that drove us to set up our foreign aid programs 40 years ago are still valid. That is not to say that the U.S. foreign aid agenda doesn't need redesigning. Beyond a doubt, the altered world demands a new approach. We can start the redesign process by identifying the characteristics of our changed and changing world.

The new challenges include new types of global tensions, focusing on terrorism, nuclear proliferation, economic warfare, and regional and ethnic conflicts, rather than being predominately East-West tensions. Economic factors rather than military ones are coming to dominate world affairs, while the United States has encountered internal economic and social problems that require greater attention and resources. The distinction between a developed country and a developing one is becoming blurred, while the opportunities for cooperation and collaboration between such

countries are growing. Foreign aid is becoming a marginal factor in our bilateral dealings with other coun-

BY DANTE B. FASCELL

tries. Finally, transnational threats, such as AIDS and other infectious diseases, and international environmental concerns, including global warming, are rising to the top of the international development agenda.

If foreign assistance is going to remain relevant in its most fundamental objectives, the changed international arena suggests that we need to revisit not the "why" of foreign aid, but the "how," the "what," and the "to whom."

The underlying principles and objectives of aid have not changed. What have changed are the specific problems that need to be addressed and the manner of doing so. While a complete answer to these questions requires a full-scale assessment of what has and has not worked with U.S. foreign aid, certain basic assumptions are clear.

The new emphasis on economic growth and market-based economics in developing nations offers the United States the opportunity to operate a foreign aid program that is more closely linked to American economic and commercial interests, including a wide range of trade and investment initiatives.

The magnitude of worldwide problems, such as global warming, requires a strategy that can be effective only when undertaken in conjunction with other nations. Multilateral cooperation is also the key to introducing democratic and market-based economic principles into the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Multilateral accord worked in Operation Desert Storm and it must be the basis for support for aid to the former Soviet republics.

Transnational threats and development problems are too complex for a single U.S. development agency to handle. USAID must draw on the technical expertise of other government agencies, plus American business and industry. This is already the approach that is proposed in the new U.S.-Asia Environmental Partnership.

With the demise of the Cold War, some people would have us pull back our involvement in the world. While we have seen dramatic acceptance of the principles of democracy and free-market economics, all we have won is the initial battle. The war will not finally be won until those principles are instituted in practice.

The "America Firsters" would have us retreat inside

our own borders. Geographically we may be somewhat isolated, but the modern world—of interdependent trade and financial relations, split-second telecommunications, and rapidly changing technology—prevents any country from truly being an island.

"America First" cannot mean focusing just on domestic issues. From drugs, to AIDS, to the environment, to jobs and competitiveness, there are no issues that are any longer solely "domestic." We must concentrate on doing our bit to help construct a world in which our values and commercial interests are accepted and can flourish.

Finally, we must be very clear on what we really expect from our assistance to other countries. If there

is a basic failing, it is that foreign aid has been oversold to the American people and too often has resulted in unrealized expectations by the recipients and proponents. U.S. aid did not bring down communism and has not alone transformed developing countries into developed countries. However, aid has played a supporting role when it was intelligently employed in conjunction with competent host country policies. It has also relieved suffering for millions of victims of disasters, both natural and man-made, throughout the world.

U.S. assistance cannot guarantee that the principles of democracy and free enterprise will be institutionalized in any area of the world, but our aid can facilitate the acceptance of these principles and improve the likelihood that they will endure.

It can do all this while reducing human suffering and benefiting U.S. commercial interests.

Foreign aid has never been entirely unselfish. We provide it in the long run because it benefits U.S. interests—and ultimately, the American public. With this in mind, we must get on with the task of revamping the mechanisms that will maximize the effectiveness of foreign aid.

Even with all the change in the world, we have not yet moved beyond the need for foreign aid. But, like so many other factors in American policy, we must adjust the program to meet the dynamics of the new world. ■



Humanitarian assistance was sometimes subordinated to security concerns, as the foreign aid program was used to further Cold War policy goals.

USAID PHOTO

Representative Fascell, a Democrat of Florida, is chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.



Reslicing the Pie:

Foreign Aid After the Cold War

The end of the Cold War has brought hard times to Washington's national security bureaucracies. Military spending is in a nosedive and large cutbacks of the intelligence establishment are considered inevitable. So far, however, foreign aid—also very much a legacy of the Cold War—has largely escaped the scrutiny of budget cutters. In FY 1993, the Bush Administration proposes to spend \$15.7 billion on bilateral foreign assistance, a figure which includes all economic, development, and military aid given directly to other countries. This funding level, roughly the same amount spent in the previous few years, will likely be approved by Congress.

Foreign aid is among the most reviled of all U.S. government endeavors, disliked by the American public and a favored whipping boy for congressional orators. But it survives because it has a constituency that counts—and endures. Despite the end of the Cold War, despite the emergence of new isolationist strains in American politics, and despite pressures to control federal spending, foreign aid is still strongly supported by key Washington leaders and by the foreign policy establishment generally. A late 1990 Gallup poll of leaders in the public and private sector, for example, found that 91 percent of those polled supported foreign aid. It is also supported, at times grudgingly, by many in the business world and mainstream media.

It is not hard to see why. In the face of ominous global trends—economic, political, and ecological—foreign aid remains one of the few tools available to U.S. policymakers to shape the world beyond America's borders. At the same time, however, it is a tool which has yet to be refashioned for the new era. Much of the current foreign aid budget is badly misdirected, still geared toward a Cold War agenda on the one hand and to sustaining de facto national entitlement programs on the other. The present "rationale and structure of foreign aid is outdated and needs to be changed," summed up Senator Patrick Leahy, chairman of the Senate's Foreign Operations subcommittee. A series of study groups has found fault with the foreign aid program as administered by USAID, with the latest

attack coming from a presidential study commission that found USAID's mission is unclear and recommended the agency be folded into the State Department.

Foreign aid spending accounts for only 1 percent of the federal budget and is hardly an enticing target for budget cutters. Still, it seems only a matter of time before foreign aid comes under greater attack. A report last year by the Congressional Research Service warned of the "dwindling" constituency behind foreign aid. Pat Buchanan's presidential candidacy, which has featured a strong anti-foreign aid message, may be a portent of things to come. To maintain support for foreign aid, both in Congress and among the public, the Bush Administration must reconceptualize the purpose of U.S. assistance in a changed world.

New threats in a new era

In significant ways, the global problems that confront U.S. foreign policy officials today are far more serious and perplexing than anything faced during the Cold War era.

- Over the next several decades the earth's population is expected to nearly double, increasing to 8 to 10 billion people. Simultaneously, the availability of arable land will decrease by as much as 20 percent, according to the Committee on Agricultural Sustainability for Developing Countries.
- Environmental degradation is mounting rapidly in many parts of the world. Soil erosion, water scarcity, and forest depletion threaten to hobble economic growth in the Third World, which is now the destination of nearly 40 percent of American exports. "The repercussions for the United States of inadequate development in the Third World extend beyond the loss of markets and investments," observed Robert Myers, an independent scientist and consultant. "When economic growth slows or stops, social strains emerge and political systems become destabilized. All too often the result is civil turmoil and outright violence, either within a country or with neighboring countries."
 - In the former Communist bloc, the euphoria of

BY DAVID CALLAHAN

1989 is long gone. CIA Director Robert Gates told Congress in January that, "Ethnic and territorial disputes in Eastern Europe have risen to the surface and threaten political instability and civil war, despite promising prospects for the development of democratic institutions and market economics." In the 15 new nations that comprise the former Soviet Union the situation is even more fragile, said Gates, with a possibility of "large-scale civil disorder."

- The AIDS epidemic is worsening quickly. According to recent estimates by the World Health Organization, 10 to 12 million adults are now infected with HIV and there are 1.4 million cases of AIDS. By the year 2000, the WHO projects that there will be 25-30 million HIV infected persons and 5-6 million AIDS cases. In Africa especially, these numbers portend a social and economic catastrophe of enormous magnitude.

The interlocking problems which confront the world—and particularly its developing regions—cannot be ignored by a United States which may wish to turn inward. Growing global interdependence means that, more and more, "even distant disorder can have effects that hurt, influence, or disturb the majority of people living within the United States," argued Harvard political scientist Joseph S. Nye Jr. To deal with emerging global perils, continued Nye, writing last year in the *Atlantic Monthly*, "we will want to influence distant governments on a variety of issues." Foreign aid is one of the few means available for bolstering U.S. influence abroad and, ideally, for shaping a better world.

Skewed priorities

Unfortunately, the U.S. foreign aid budget has yet to be reconfigured for the post-Cold War era, and assistance dollars are not being stretched more effectively to cope with emerging global problems. In the administration's FY 1993 aid request, for example, spending on security assistance dwarfs development aid. Even with the Cold War's end, security assistance will continue, under current plans, to be the single largest item in the foreign aid budget for years to come.

Also, despite widespread agreement that aid to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union is absolutely critical, this year's foreign aid request asks for nearly twice as much money to assist Egypt—population 55 million—as it does to aid the 20 or so nations of the former Communist bloc, with 350 million people. A modern day Marshall Plan for the East may not be practical given America's fiscal constraints, but the United States can and must do more.

"Fragile new democracies face daunting challenges," commented Secretary of State James Baker in early 1989. "They need, and deserve, from us more than mere words of encouragement." Baker's comments, made before the revolution of late 1989, could not be more appropriate today, when numerous new democracies are struggling to survive.

The economic rationale for aiding the former Communist bloc is equally compelling. "By failing to act, the United States may be locked out of the most important new market and source of raw materials of the 20th century," warned House

Majority Leader Richard Gephardt in early February, referring specifically to the Soviet Union. In Eastern Europe, healthier economic conditions make aid an even more promising investment.

Not long after the collapse of Communist rule in Eastern Europe, Senator Bob Dole made a reasonable proposal: Washington should cut aid to the top five recipients—Egypt, Israel, Pakistan, Turkey, and the Philippines—by 5 percent to free up new money to help newly democratic nations. "To me, it boils down to this," said Dole in January 1990. "Are big gains for freedom worth a small cut in a few huge foreign aid programs? I say yes." Dole's colleagues, however, said no. His proposal touched off a firestorm of criticism and was never seriously considered.

Two years later, the basic problem identified by Dole remains unchanged: since the foreign aid budget is not likely to increase anytime soon, the United States must cut existing programs if it wants to substantially fund new initiatives. With the Cold War long over, it is time to reslice a foreign aid pie which was baked during an earlier era.



Foreign aid is unpopular among the American public but has support among policy makers.

USAID PHOTO

Two principles should guide policymakers in this task: first, those elements of the foreign aid budget which reflect a cold war agenda should be rapidly phased out. Second, U.S. assistance to the Third World—the bulk of which now goes to a few allies—should be distributed more widely to cope with mounting developmental problems.

A new aid agenda

Without question, the key to foreign aid reform lies in the area of security assistance. Nearly a third of U.S. bilateral aid is spent on the Foreign Military Financing program, while another 20 percent goes for Economic Support Funds, which is often just another form of security assistance. The State Department's FY 93 request for "international security assistance" is \$7.4 billion—a figure which includes both the FMF and ESF programs.

During the Cold War, U.S. security assistance served to bolster key anti-Communist allies and to secure American access to overseas bases. Today, despite the Soviet Union's collapse, many of these aid programs live on. Turkey, Greece, and Portugal, for example, are slated to receive 22 percent of this year's FMF funding, or nearly \$1 billion. Whereas the aid to Portugal is essentially rent money for U.S. access to Lages air base in the Azores, the rationale for aid to Greece and Turkey has long been to shore up the military position of less healthy members of NATO. In justifying last year's \$350 million in military aid to Greece, for example, Reginald Bartholomew, the under secretary of State for International Security Affairs, said: "We have a continuing interest in assisting Greece with the modernization of its military to support fulfillment of its NATO roles." The expensive and endless U.S. project to modernize Turkey's large military forces has long been justified on the same grounds.

Amid Cold War tensions, a strong case could be made for bolstering NATO's southern flank. These days, however, it is becoming difficult to make a case for NATO itself. Common sense suggests that there is room for big reductions in the Cold War military aid programs to Greece and Turkey.

The case of security assistance to Israel and Egypt is more complex. These two countries receive nearly 70 percent of FMF funds and the lion's share of ESF monies. Together, they account for nearly a third of the entire FY 1993 foreign aid budget. In the words of Lieutenant General Teddy Allen, head of the Defense Security Assistance Agency, the overall purpose of this vast expenditure is to "preserve Middle East peace and security." Given the volatility of the Middle East, few can take issue with such a goal. But in pondering foreign aid in an era of austerity, a few questions seem worth asking: Does Israel still face the kind of grave external threats it did when the U.S. aid program began? Is massive U.S. aid to Egypt still required to secure its regional cooperation? In short, are the original rationales for the aid programs to Egypt and Israel still as compelling as they once were, or have they turned into entitlement programs—automatically renewed each year without much thought?

These questions do not have easy answers. But what is so worrisome is that nobody seems to be asking them.

Ultimately, security assistance must be evaluated in the larger context of U.S. foreign policy goals in a changing world. As noted above, the greatest challenges confronting U.S. policymakers are no longer security-related. At the core of a new foreign aid agenda, then, must be the recognition that shoring up a handful of allies, primarily through security assistance, is not the best way to spend the bulk of scarce foreign aid dollars. The foreign aid budget must be stretched further, and more widely, in an effort to reverse global trends which could produce chaos and economic decline by early in the 21st century. Several new spending priorities seem self-evident:

- **Population:** A world of 10 billion people is difficult to imagine given the strains which many Third World countries are already under. U.S. population aid, hovering around a quarter billion dollars annually for the past few years, should be at least doubled, in accordance with the guidelines of the U.N. Amsterdam Forum on Population in the 21st Century.
- **Agriculture:** "The environmental degradation of the planet is starting to show up at harvest time," observed Lester Brown of the Worldwatch Institute. "The cumulative effects of losing 24 billion tons of topsoil each year are being felt in some of the world's major food-producing regions." The implications of this trend cannot be underestimated. At a time that world population is increasing by 90 to 100 million people a year, the availability of arable land is rapidly decreasing. The United States should lead a massive international effort to stem this ominous development, as has been suggested by numerous experts and organizations.
- **Environment:** Environmental degradation, it is now widely recognized, poses a profound threat to growth and stability in the Third World. In recent years, USAID has shown a new awareness of this reality. "Development that depletes resources is not development at all," stated USAID Administrator Roskens in 1990. This awareness, however, has yet to translate into bold new U.S. programs for dealing with environmental degradation in the Third World, which continues at an ever accelerating pace. Formulating such programs should be near the top of the U.S. aid agenda.

The list of new foreign aid priorities could go on and would include, as already mentioned, greatly increased spending in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. It bears repeating once again, however, that none of these initiatives is possible without a major overhaul of the foreign aid budget. That overhaul should begin sooner rather than later. And if the State Department wishes to avoid more stringent congressional earmarking of the foreign aid budget, as its officials often state, it must take the lead in setting the new aid agenda. ■

Author of Dangerous Capabilities: Paul Nitze and the Cold War, David Callaban is now working on a book about the future of U.S. national security policy.

afsa NEWS

Changes to State EER form proposed

by *Chris Perine*
Member Services Director

AFSA has declined to accept changes to the Employee Evaluation Report (EER) recently proposed by the State Department. The changes come in response to the inspector general's recommendation that all EER administrative information should be on the first page of the EER in order to minimize data input. AFSA supports any change in administrative procedure that improves overall efficiency but fears that the proposed changes may have a negative impact on the evaluation process itself.

The current EER form is familiar to all employees, and those who use it and whose careers are affected by it seem comfortable with it. In our competitive system, this is no small matter. AFSA therefore concludes that every effort should be made to keep changes to a minimum. The current form draws its strength from its predominantly narrative format, and AFSA is concerned that the proposed changes to the EER form may produce a page consisting largely of checked boxes that could lead to simplistic and/or erroneous impressions by the members of selection boards.

In order to avoid the negative effects of unnecessary change while achieving greater efficiency, AFSA has suggested that the department explore the possibility of devising a separate form that would contain all the administrative information necessary for computer data entry into the PER system. The form with this administrative information could be separated from

the rest of the EER before the EER is forwarded to the selection board. Such a form would appear to meet the department's needs while alleviating AFSA's concerns.

At this time, we have not received a response to our proposal. However, we will continue to press for minimal change to a form that seems to work well.

Information Management agreement

by *Deborah M. Leahy*
Member Services Representative

After a false start in the fall of 1991, AFSA and management have reached agreement on the new Information Management Specialist career path. On August 1, 1992, the department issued a Job Vacancy Announcement seeking 80 Information Management Specialists. After AFSA made it clear that the program could not be implemented prior to negotiations and the department received many well-reasoned concerns from the field, the program was put on hold in order to allow the department and AFSA to address employee concerns fully.

When the program was first announced, AFSA was concerned that current systems managers and support communications officers would be severely disadvantaged when it came to assignments and promotions. The program currently being negotiated has three components and appears to answer that concern. The first component is the automatic conversion of all systems managers and support communications officers to the new information management skill code. Next, current personnel whose qualifica-

tions match those defined for newly hired IMS personnel will have the opportunity to be reappointed at the FP-7 or FP-6 level. The final step is an external vacancy announcement for new outside hires who will be brought on board at the FP-7 and FP-6 levels.

Another key component of this program is training. The department has assured AFSA that all current systems and communications personnel will receive all training necessary to maintain their professional competence and ensure that they are able effectively to compete for promotions with new hires. IM will provide a two-week transition course to introduce current personnel to the integrated IMS concept. In addition, current systems managers will be given an overview of the IM program in communications operations and current support communicators will receive an overview of IM systems operations. In most cases, these two-week courses will be scheduled to coincide with home leave, transfer, or R&R, when the employee will likely pass through Washington.

Throughout the negotiations, AFSA has been committed to ensuring that current employees, systems managers and support communicators alike, are not disadvantaged by the creation of new Information Management Specialist skill code. We believe that the key elements of the overall program demonstrate this commitment.

Mark your calendar!
Foreign Service Day
May 1, 1992

Filing a Freedom of Information request

by Turna R. Lewis
General Counsel

Have you been denied access to information maintained by a government agency? Do you want to know if the government has a file on you or your activities? Have you been investigated but not provided a copy of your file? The Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) tells you what government/agency information is available to you and provides procedures for information requests.

The FOIA is designed to curb secrecy in government operations. The act makes available all records of government agencies that are not specifically exempted by law or regulation. Any person can request copies of agency/government rules, opinions, orders, records, and proceedings.

For purposes of the act, a person is "an individual, partnership, corporation, association, or public or private organization other than an agency." The act establishes publication requirements of government agencies and requires agencies to disclose information that is not specifically exempted—internal personnel rules and practices of an agency, for example,

or personal or medical files, or information designated by Executive Order as national security information.

There are general guidelines that employees should be aware of when requesting information under the FOIA. You must provide a "reasonable description" of the information/records sought. The agency may try to deny access to information based on the ground that it relates to ongoing administrative action or civil litigation, but the FOIA does not provide that this is a sole basis for denying access to information. Those requesting information have a right to appeal a denial of information.

Agencies can charge fees for costs related to searching, reviewing documents, and duplication. Your initial request letter may request a waiver of fees if the subject matter of the request is a matter of public interest; for example, is there a genuine public interest in the subject matter of the documents? Why? What public segment is interested in the release of this information and how would the released documents contribute to public understanding of the subject? What do you expect the released information to reveal and what is the expected use? For example, if making a request related to investigation procedures of government employees, the public interest is the need to ensure that all investigations are conducted in

accordance with due process standards.

Those seeking information should request that they be informed of the cost of an information request before agency completion, regardless of whether they are requesting a fee waiver. Everyone should keep a copy of the information request letter and any response letters.

Employees interested in filing information requests should use the following addresses:

USAID:

Freedom of Information/Privacy Act Unit
James Harper
USAID

Public Inquiries Division, Room 2884.

State Department:

Attention: Freedom of Information
Ms. Josephine Jelenovic, Chief (Acting)
U.S. Department of State
Initial Processing Branch
Office of Freedom of Information, Privacy,
and Classification Review, Room 1512.

A meritocracy of scholars

April brings the yearly renaissance of the AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards. Established in 1976, these awards recognize outstanding academic performance and leadership qualities of high school seniors within the Foreign Service community.

Four panels composed of 24 representatives from State, USIA, USAID, AAFSW, retired Foreign Service personnel, and AFSA's Committee on Education read the student applications and make decisions based on high school transcripts, SAT scores, extracurricular activities, recommendations, and a personal essay. Following a ranking of the candidates, a final panel coordinates results and announces the high-scoring competitors.

Up to 20 students receive \$750 each as winners with approximately 10 others earning an honorable mention. A formal announcement of the Merit Award finalists will take place May 1 at the Foreign Service Day awards ceremony.

Sample letter

Pursuant to my rights under the Freedom of Information Act, 5 U.S.C. Section 552, *as amended*, I hereby request a copy of the following information:

(Be very specific in the description of the information being requested, e.g. date of investigation, name of investigator, nature of investigation)

If all or any part of my request is denied, please list the specific exemption(s) which are being claimed to withhold information. Please inform me of the name and title of the official denying any portion of the request and procedures for appealing a denial. In addition, should you determine that some portions of the requested material are exempt, I shall expect, as the Act provides, that you will provide me with the non-exempt portions.

I request a waiver of fees because (cite arguments in support of fee waiver). If there is a determination that the information sought to be released is not in the public interest and fees will exceed \$___, please inform me of the charges before you fill my request.

Furthermore, as provided by the Act, I shall expect to receive a reply within ten (10) working days after your receipt of the subject FOIA request.

(include name, address, phone number)

from the State vice president

The two faces of AFSA

by William A. Kirby

AFSA occasionally hears from members who wish we would concentrate more on our labor union activities and less on professional issues. Not surprisingly, we also have members who believe that it is somehow unseemly for the Foreign Service to act as a labor union; they would have us devote our resources to winning friends and influence for the Foreign Service within the business community, on Capitol Hill, and elsewhere.

It's hard to say where members would stand if asked to choose between these two faces of AFSA. The good news, however, is that there is no need to choose. Not only do the labor union and the professional association coexist very comfortably under one roof, but they routinely complement each other.

Take housing and travel regulations, for example. Our ability to achieve results in these areas will depend realistically *both* on our ability as a union to engage with State Department management on such government-wide regulations *and* on our ability to persuade key players on Capitol Hill of their corrosive effect on morale, and thus on recruitment and retention, and ultimately on the quality of the Foreign Service.

We are entering a period in the history of the service when the ability of AFSA to generate this dual energy will be vitally important. As AFSA President Hume Horan's editorials have

been stressing, the end of the Cold War presents the State Department (and the entire foreign affairs community) with unique challenges and opportunities.

AFSA the professional association hopes to act as a catalyst for the dynamism and creativity that have so far been lacking at State. We plan to produce a White Paper to spark constructive debate on the future of American diplomacy and what the Foreign Service needs in order to maintain its leadership role. (We have asked for members' input into that effort and have received a number of excellent contributions.) In the process, we will bring together informally people who do not normally have the chance to discuss these issues with each other. We will also be engaging actively with the new personnel commission led by Ambassador Veliotis to try to influence its recommendations in directions that are good for the career Foreign Service.

At the same time, AFSA the labor union will be keeping a close watch on developments to ensure that the personal interests of employees are

protected, whatever happens to the Foreign Service as an institution. It is impossible to foresee all the directions that change might take at a volatile time such as this, but two are predictable and can serve as examples.

First, efforts to enhance Civil Service careers will continue and are understandable—but not at the expense of Foreign Service positions or careers. The two systems are inherently different, pending radical changes in the Civil Service. Second, calls for a more unified Foreign Service will increase and will take many forms. AFSA is the only place where we can sit together with our colleagues representing other agencies and analyze such proposals for their impact on Foreign Service employees as such. AFSA cares about Foreign Service professionals regardless of agency and our positions will reflect that fact.

In short, each AFSA member belongs to both a professional association and a labor union and will derive greater benefit from the mutually reinforcing efforts of the two working together than would be possible from either one acting alone.

newsbriefs

Foreign Service Day activities

Calling all authors: This year for the first time Foreign Service Day activities on May 1 will include a display of books by Foreign Service authors. DACOR and AFSA are cooperating in this activity and authors can send two copies of their works to either organization, but not both. Order forms may be included, but there will be no direct sales on Foreign Service Day. Contact Dick Thompson at AFSA for more information.

USAID retirees luncheon: A luncheon for USAID retirees will be held on Foreign Service Day. Contact Joseph Kemper at 703-370-0210 for information or reservations.

You can make a difference

Please note that the second annual drive for AFSA's two tax-exempt entities, the Scholarship Fund and the AFSA Fund, is now under way. The Scholarship Fund is a long-time AFSA activity that has benefited thousands of Foreign Service dependents and needs your special help at a time of escalating college costs.

The AFSA Fund is our educational and professional arm which, among other activities, has organized 13 conferences with business since 1989, brought noted speakers to the club, and supports our prestigious award program. Please support our young people and our outreach efforts.

Answers to the Foreign Service Quiz

(Questions appear on page 15)

1. William C. Bullitt (All previous ambassadors were commissioned to Russia.)
2. Fifteen posts were filled by FDR, 5 of which went to career FSOs.
3. \$70.00

from the USAID vice president

Cries and whispers

by Priscilla del Bosque

Last August at an extraordinary meeting of employees, I raised concerns about the leadership crisis facing USAID. At that time it seemed that USAID was being torn apart, its role and usefulness questioned by outsiders and insiders alike. Fierce battles for the agency's identity and were being waged. Employee morale plummeted with each new shock.

Since that time, the agency has gone through a painful reorganization, which was supposed to create a symphony rather than a cacophony of voices. Several other management reforms were also begun. The agency has also been put under the microscope of several examiners, including the GAO, a joint USAID-OMB "swat" team, and a presidential management commission, which recently issued a report recommending, among other

things, that USAID be merged with State. What has happened since then? Is there clearer direction? Are the discordant voices learning to sing from the same sheet of music?

Unfortunately, no. If anything, the shocks of polarization seem more frequent and more ferocious. Is USAID's primary mission to help developing countries progress or is it to subsidize U.S. exports? Will any narrowing of focus be accomplished by dropping priorities or by dropping countries? Are resources to be allocated based on country-specific strategies or global sectoral targets as determined by USAID/Washington? Will programs be managed by missions located in the field or by officers located in Washington? Is the role of the central bureaus to support the field or to run their own programs? Should USAID retain technical expertise in-house or should it contract out more of its thinking? With decentralization, is there room for each bureau to decide how it goes about planning and developing

its programs or is there a need for centrally determined standards?

Fundamental issues such as these have not been resolved. The various management gurus looking at USAID seem to be gravitating toward different solutions. Some employees say we have to hold on until we get new senior managers in place and then things will improve; others say nothing will correct the situation until we get a strong leader; yet others say the new structure is inherently flawed and will ultimately have to be undone.

The problem with these perspectives is that USAID has precious little time to get its act together. It is tragic that today, in this issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*—dedicated to views on development—we cannot be more upbeat about where the U.S. government's lead agency for international economic assistance is going and how it is going to get there. We can only hope that USAID has hit rock bottom, that competent reason will prevail, and that it won't be too late.

Garage redo

by Chris Perine

Meuser Services Director

The department recently began a significant renovation of the basement parking garage. According to State officials, this renovation will improve the safety and security of the parking facility as well as its overall appearance. The 900 parking spaces currently available to employees will be reduced to 790 when the renovation is complete. Most of the 110 spaces being eliminated will be offset by new spaces in Columbia Plaza, according to department officials. The reduction in spaces is deemed necessary in order to provide, for the first time, 66 "park-and-lock" spaces for employees in designated senior positions.

AFSA is concerned that the department has proceeded without providing AFSA notice. While supporting all efforts to improve the safety and security of facilities, AFSA is concerned that certain aspects of this renovation

(particularly the loss of carpool spaces to accommodate 66 VIPs) may be divisive and harmful to employees in very practical ways.

In Congress

by Rick Weiss

Congressional Liaison

Although Congress is moving to amend the budget compromise of 1990 to reallocate some defense spending into domestic programs, 1993 may be considered a good year for international resources. By FY 1994 the budgets for State, USAID, and USIA may be hit harder for domestic spending needs.

The Department of State was both commended and criticized in recent hearings. Chairman Howard Berman (D-CA) of the International Operations Subcommittee, House Foreign Affairs, praised management for "their rapid response to our need to open embassies in all the republics in the former Soviet Union." He continued,

"I am left, in looking at the department's plan, with the question of whether all our objectives can be met within the current State Department budget."

State did not come off as well with Chairman Ernest Hollings (D-SC) of the State, Justice, Commerce Appropriations Subcommittee, who castigated State for "selling off America's industrial backbone in order to buy friends abroad." During the Senate debate on the new secretary of Commerce, Hollings declared that "Congress, in frustration with President Carter, resorted to putting in a provision requiring that the economic counselors in our embassies would report directly to the Secretary of Commerce and not to the Secretary of State. We have been trying to rein in a State Department that seemed determined to sell out everything in this country. They would grin and bow and scrape to our allies, and they'd talk about our special relationships."

The director general:

Responses to AFSA's questions on affirmative action

Note: The following was received from Director General Edward J. Perkins in response to questions from AFSA on the department's affirmative action policies.

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

Response: No. Examination scores have not and should not be altered. We are committed to maintaining the integrity of the written examination as a job-related screening device. However, any examination that shows an adverse impact on particular groups must be carefully evaluated for its usefulness. The examination should be utilized in conjunction with a number of other employment criteria in order to ensure the diverse Foreign Service workforce that is desired. Effective recruiting—especially the community-based, grassroots recruiting effort that we need to heighten awareness of international affairs and the Foreign Service—holds promise as a tool to deal with the fundamental problem but will not have an immediate pay-off. We are devoting our resources to improving that effort. Meanwhile, the department is providing the resources necessary to give larger numbers of candidates, and therefore larger numbers of women and minorities, an opportunity to participate in the crucial Assessment Center stage of the selection process.

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

Response: No. Promotions are not and have not been allocated on the basis of race or gender. What is absolutely essential, however, is the obligation of the department to look closely at the impact of promotions to determine if there are institutional barriers that inhibit the ability of minorities and women to be promoted. Involved in this are the special efforts; e.g., review of the selection criteria and periodic review of the decisions of selecting officials to make certain that minorities and women are given an equal opportunity to compete effectively for promotions.

Question: Should any group of FSOs be allocated a certain number of positions on the basis of their race, sex, or ethnic origins?

Response: No. But it is an unfortunate fact that minorities and women are underrepresented at the most senior levels of the Foreign Service. We are committed to ensuring that minorities and women are given thorough and careful consideration for positions as DCM, principal officer, deputy assistant secretary, office director, and deputy director.

Symposium on export promotion

by John J. Harter
Conference Organizer

The United States promotes exports much more effectively than it did a few years ago—but it should strive to improve its performance further, according to several participants in AFSA Symposium on Export Promotion, which took place at the Department of State February 6.

Senator Jay Rockefeller (D-WV), the featured luncheon speaker, said he will pursue the export promotion bill he introduced in the Senate last year as a vehicle to encourage the government to be more aggressive in supporting the U.S. exporters.

John D. Macomber of the Export-Import Bank, the keynote speaker, emphasized that American exporters are in a strong position to tap fast-growing markets worldwide. "The opportunities are truly enormous," he

said, "and trade is ever more crucial to American economic health." Macomber said many U.S. producers are much more competitive vis-a-vis foreign producers than they were a few years ago.

Susan C. Schwab, director general of the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service, said many U.S. firms that are infrequent exporters have a potential for substantially increasing their participation in foreign trade. The Department of Commerce seeks to counsel such enterprises on the precise steps they may take to assess their competitiveness in world markets and to expand their export operation.

Several participants noted that international trade is rapidly becoming a more pervasive force in the American economy. As recently as 1970, for example, foreign trade accounted for some 7 percent of the U.S. gross national product; but the comparable figure last year exceeded 17 percent. Industry representatives suggested that government efforts lack cohesive-

ness and the government has not yet made the institutional adjustments required to cope with the changed circumstance.

Several symposium speakers commented that ambassadors and commercial attaches have been increasingly helpful to American businessmen in other countries over the past two years. They lauded the particular interest of Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger in export promotion.

The Symposium was made possible by grants from GTE, General Dynamics, and Brown & Williamson and additional financial support from Fluor, American Express and McDonnell Douglas.

AFSA members who would like copies of the soon-to-be published highlights report should address their requests to AFSA headquarters. Reports on earlier conferences on oil, pharmaceuticals, and Mexico are also available.

Association or labor union?

An exchange

Note: Below is an exchange of letters about AFSA's role. The first came from Christopher Midura, a USIA officer in Guatemala. Bud Hensgen's response on behalf of AFSA/USIA follows.

Dear AFSA:

Thanks for the information on AFSA and the election card. I have sent in the card and will vote in favor of AFSA's becoming the official bargaining agent for USIA Foreign Service officers and specialists. However, I do have a few comments.

I believe Mr. Hensgen is correct when he says AFGE is a union and only a union. It is affiliated with the AFL-CIO and takes under its wing many (often conflicting) interests within the agency. I disagree, however, with his comment that AFSA is both a union and a professional association. From my perspective, it appears to be both a professional association and an elite (even elitist) club. It is not, and never has been, a union.

To my mind, a union is willing to fight on behalf of its members (who may be clerical workers, Civil Service professionals, or Foreign Service officers) by standing up to management when the need arises. I do not necessarily agree with those who claim that AFGE's "confrontational stance" has been harmful to the interests of officers at USIA. To the contrary, from what I've seen, USIA officers receive supervisory and budgetary responsibility and promotion faster than their State Department colleagues.

Yes, AFGE can be loudly confrontational, and I'm not convinced that the interests of Foreign Service officers are well represented by AFGE leaders, who have many other concerns. However, as a member of an affiliated union, I feel a part of the union movement and I can point to a certain solidarity with other workers at USIA and throughout the country. This I would

give up with AFSA, and I'm still not entirely sure what I would gain.

While AFSA no doubt has a far more sensitive finger on the pulse of Foreign Service-related issues, it appears to me to be too accommodating on many of these. I don't believe that avoiding confrontation with management is a worthwhile goal in and of itself; it is effective as a tactic only when it serves to win changes that improve our lives and careers. AFSA, at least in terms of USIA, has not done enough to clarify what it would represent to us, apart from reducing the rhetorical volume level.

I'm also wary of what I perceive to be AFSA's overemphasis on seeking to influence U.S. foreign policy; this is not what I pay my union dues for. I want a representative organization that will press, to give an example, for the creation of fulfilling jobs for professional spouses, not one that is concentrating its best efforts on devising strategies for U.S.-European relations

I do not see AFGE leadership making the necessary effort to promote excellence in or to improve the image of the Foreign Service. Moreover, while there is nothing wrong with political action per se, repeated mailings of form-letter requests for contributions to the union's PAC do not substitute for goals and a sense of purpose.

in a post-Cold War world.

AFSA, as a professional association, is by its nature separatist. It sets the Foreign Service apart from our Civil Service colleagues and places us in a different category. A switch to AFSA will, I fear, smack of elitism, and, although it will allow for a more singular focus on the issues of direct concern to the Foreign service, it may also make us look like—for lack of a better word—snobs. Since Congress has the last word on budgetary matters affecting our lives both profes-

sionally and personally (and since congressional perceptions of the Foreign Service tend toward an unsympathetic, stereotypical view of diplomats as pampered cocktail party attenders), I do not think this would be a wise image for us to convey.

My introduction to AFSA as a JOT came during an uncomfortably pompous luncheon at AFSA headquarters. Whereas AFGE has presented itself as a union, admitting to all of the political baggage that goes with that type of organization, AFSA came across as a diplomatic supper club. Soon thereafter, I joined AFGE.

I am now ready to switch. Being a member of a union is useful only as long as the union remains responsive to its membership, and I have not had good experiences with AFGE in this regard. Also, I do not see AFGE leadership making the necessary effort to promote excellence in or to improve the image of the Foreign Service. Moreover, while there is nothing wrong with political action per se, repeated mailings of form-letter requests for contributions to the union's PAC do not substitute for goals and a sense of purpose.

So bring on AFSA. One last concern, however: I wonder if adding USIA to AFSA might not create as many problems as it solves. Our interests as USIA officers are not entirely the same as those of our State colleagues—in fact, I have encountered confusion among many State Officers regarding our basic purpose within the foreign affairs community. Conflicts may arise between State and USIA within an expanded AFSA, and USIA officers will (again) be in a clear minority. Might we only be recreating AFGE, with pinstripes?

Dear Chris:

In AFSA USIA we agree with you that a union is willing to fight on behalf of its members (who, in this case, would not be just Foreign Service officers but all members of the Foreign service, including specialists) by standing up to management when

necessary. Through AFSA, however, we expect to develop the kind of professional working relationship with management that will obviate the need for loud confrontation. We want to open a fluid, collegial dialog with management that will enable all of us freely to air concerns and to work together to find mutually beneficial solutions to problems as they develop, not wait until they blow up into confrontation.

We feel that the us/them dichotomy of traditional labor-management relations is an outmoded approach. It is an attitude suited to confrontations between unequal parties and reflects a lack of commitment to open communication. As professionals, members of the Foreign Service need not assume defensive positions in relation to management, but rather should behave in a pro-active, assertive way that demonstrates our equal ability to propose changes in policies and working conditions which will enhance our ability to accomplish the mission of the Foreign Service.

We would like to think that through this closer and more open relationship we will be less likely to reach a point at which we cannot find common ground. Rest assured, however, that should the need arise, AFSA is prepared to come out swinging and face conflict.

Another concern you express in your memo is about the potential for separatism between FS and GS personnel. On this point let me assure you that, far from seeking separatism, AFSA USIA will be looking to improve relations and understanding between those two sides of our house. One example of how we would like to do this is through broadening the opportunities for GS personnel to serve overseas. We feel that an increased number and variety of excursion tours would heighten understanding of each others' work challenges and constraints and improve working relationships in Washington and overseas.

Far from fostering elitism or snobishness, AFSA USIA aims to demonstrate a commitment to work with any person or group in all actions that will make our work more effective.

We know that for our work to be effective we need the support of all interested parties, and we intend to work to earn it. I would also note that AFSA USIA has, and, after it becomes the exclusive bargaining representative for USIA Foreign Service personnel, will continue to work with AFGE on all matters of mutual concern.

You also expressed concern that working on professional issues might detract from our attention to traditional bread-and-butter bargaining issues. In AFSA USIA we see the two as virtually inseparable, and this is one of the main reasons we have seen the need to revitalize AFSA USIA. The experience and expertise of Foreign Service personnel qualifies us, in fact obligates us to contribute ideas to policy debates in foreign affairs. This is something a professional association can do that a mere union can't. The deteriorating budget situation is one area in which we need to articulate aggressively the arguments which clarify for Congress and the taxpayer the vital role and importance of the Foreign Service. Who else can we realistically expect to make the argument that effectively connects representational square footage to the conduct of public diplomacy?

Beyond that, we need to contribute to shaping policy decisions within our agency. The way spending has been skewed toward Washington and away from the field over the past 10 years threatens to undermine our entire operation. Washington-based bureaucrats and Schedule Cs need our input to correct these misguided policies. We think AFSA, through its work on Capitol Hill and through the Foreign Service Journal, gives us many powerful vehicles to communicate our ideas and participate in policy formulation. Getting in on policy formulation is one way to save headaches in implementation.

We in USIA are fortunate that many Foreign Service practices and regulations have been interpreted more favorably than for our State colleagues. AFSA USIA intends to see that USIA management continues along this path. Rather than fearing any deteriora-

tion in USIA working conditions by getting closer to AFSA, we would like to think that our participation in AFSA could help improve conditions for our State and USAID colleagues. It's an old union slogan that there is strength in numbers; we'd like to contribute where ours do the most good: in AFSA, where both our bargaining issues and our professional concerns can be addressed.

AFSA today is a diverse, integrated, and assertive organization. AFSA's USIA members contribute greatly to those attributes. In light of the growing number of issues of particular importance to Foreign Service personnel (such as overseas housing regulations, paired-city travel restrictions, and your famous travel vouchers), and the impact of these and other issues on the conduct of U.S. foreign policy, we see a real need to join forces with the organization that can best and most wholeheartedly fight for our interests. Your letters expressed the kind of frustration that we believe lurks in the hearts of many of our colleagues. We hope that you will consider using some of your energy and concern to help us meet the election challenge and the rest of the work that lies ahead.

Standing Committee activities

by Lauren Hale
USIA Standing Committee

The AFSA USIA Standing Committee worked on both bread-and-butter and professional issues during January and February.

Anne Stenzel has pulled together a group to study topics for our agenda if AFSA becomes the exclusive bargaining agent for USIA. Bill Harwood has been looking into the paired cities travel issue. Jean Studder and Anne Stenzel are researching the USIA position on overseas housing. Chris Fitzgerald has been following the controversy over the International Cultural and Trade Center, where USIA was to have moved its headquarters. AFSA staff members Chris Perine

and Mark Smith have been working with the group.

On January 31, about 45 Foreign Service members participated in a discussion of OERs with State and USIA members of the recent USIA Senior Foreign Service and Foreign Service generalist selection boards. Participants covered a wide range of topics, including the importance of foreign language skills, experience in successfully handling a variety of jobs in dif-

ferent geographic areas, and how best to use the rated officer section of the OER. There are plans for a similar panel on USIA Foreign Service specialist OERs.

AFSA President Hume Horan and members of the USIA Standing Committee have discussed with House and Senate staffers an article by Joe Johnson, Jim Smith, and Bud Hensgen proposing a 10-point approach for coordinating USIA and USAID efforts

to support emerging democracies. The article has been sent to all AFSA members in USIA.

Lynn Cassel is coordinating USIA participation in an AFSA White Paper on the Foreign Service. Bud Hensgen and USAID's Priscilla del Bosque are working to ensure that a forthcoming Georgetown University study on the future of the Foreign Service is not limited to the State Department perspective.

Foreign Service brochure available

AFSA and DACOR (Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired) recently published a 28-page brochure on the Foreign Service in the 1990s. *A Global Mission* profiles typical Foreign Service careers and highlights different aspects of an overseas mission. This publication is intended to enhance understanding of the Foreign Service among a broad audience and help build interest among young people in Foreign Service careers. The project would not have been possible without a generous contribution from DACOR as co-publisher, plus important support from The Dillon Fund, Chevron Corporation, and Philip Morris Inc.

AFSA members who would like a copy are encouraged to pick one up from AFSA in room 3644 of the State Department or from the 2101 E Street office. Mail requests may be sent to AFSA Brochure, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

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Fostering Democracy in Nepal



Helping a Fragile New Order Take Root

The end of the Cold War and Nepal's dramatic change from autocratic rule to democracy in 1990 presented the U.S. mission to Nepal with an unusual opportunity to apply an often discussed U.S. foreign policy priority: fostering democracy around the world.

At no time in the last 45 years of U.S. mission activity in Nepal, except for a short-lived period of multi-party democracy in 1959, has the absolute monarchy of the world's only Hindu kingdom offered such a fertile political setting for a concerted program of democracy building.

The winds of political change that swept the world in the last few years reached this Himalayan kingdom just two years ago. In the spring of 1990, an alliance between the Nepali Congress and the United Left Front (ULF), a grouping of Communist parties, led to a dramatic and successful democratic movement that brought down the autocratic "Panchayat" regime and replaced it with a coalition interim government, formed principally by members of the Congress Party and the ULF. With remarkable speed and order, the new political leaders, recently emerged from years in prison, exile, or underground, promulgated a new democratic constitution, defined a constitutional role for their monarch, and set the stage for the first national multi-party election in more than 30 years. That election, held in May 1991 and judged "free and fair" by international observers, put the Congress

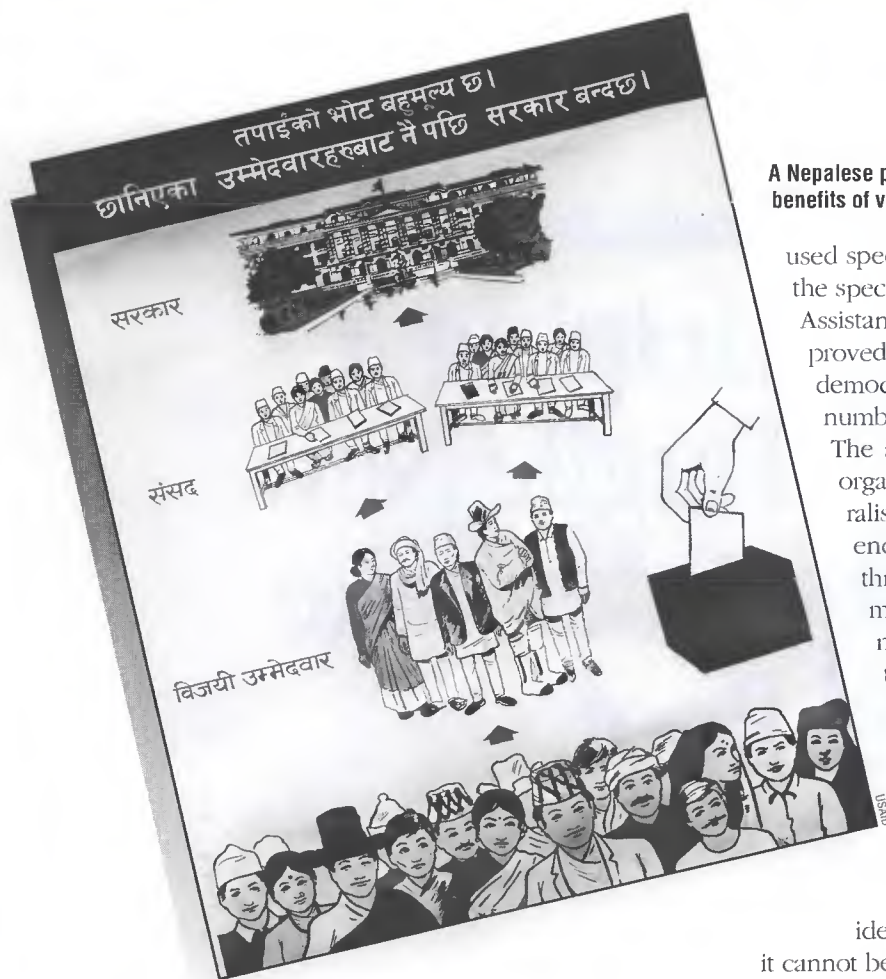
Party in power with a comfortable majority in Parliament and gave the United Marxist-Leninists, the largest of the Communist parties, sufficient parliamentary seats to serve as a strong opposition. In just over a year, Nepal's democracy was off and running.

Ripeness or readiness?

The country's new democratic leaders, however, face formidable challenges—not only in building and consolidating their infant democracy but also in tackling the manifest problems endemic to a nation generally considered among the 10 poorest countries in the world. Indeed, many observers wonder whether a country with such staggering problems of poverty, disease, child mortality, and illiteracy as Nepal can sustain a democratic political system without first reaching a higher plateau of social and economic development. But the Nepalis—and the U.S. mission to Nepal—believe the country can make its new democracy work, because its leaders are committed to doing so. Such commitment is, in the words of Larry Diamond of the Hoover Institution, the "only real precondition" for democracy.

Democracy may be off and running in Nepal, but it is hardly institutionalized and, therefore, certainly not yet assured. Recognizing the fragility of democracy in Nepal, the mission lost no time in moving democracy-building to the core of our diplomatic activities as soon as the Movement to Restore Democracy had succeeded. In the same

BY JULIA CHANG BLOCH



A Nepalese poster shows the benefits of voting.

used specialized foreign assistance accounts, such as the special "116(e) funds" authorized by the Foreign Assistance Act, to support human rights and improved legal processes. Moreover, the promotion of democratic norms and practices are implicit in a number of regular USAID development projects. The agency's support for private and voluntary organizations has strengthened democratic pluralism. Its irrigation and forestry projects have encouraged local initiative and participation through introduction of user groups and community-based ownership schemes. It has promoted decentralization on many fronts, particularly in the Rapti Integrated Rural Development Project. And collaborating with the Asia Foundation, it has advanced the independence of the judiciary by improving legal education and research.

Shared vision

Democracy building encompasses ideas and values as well as economic assistance; it cannot be divorced from politics. While USAID helps build the practices and institutions of democracy and a free-market economy, USIA plays a critical role in communicating democratic ideas and information about free-market principles. The embassy's political knowledge, as well as close relationships and policy dialogues with the country's leaders, undergird all USAID and USIS efforts.

In Nepal the mission has developed into a cohesive force whose shared vision overcomes the differing mandates, rules, and regulations of individual agencies, so that the resources and capacities of each and all are used to the full. Responsibility as well as credit are shared equally, and the buck stops with the ambassador.

What has made democracy-building work in Nepal may not work elsewhere, but several key features may have universal application:

- Non-partisanship: The U.S. government can take a more prominent role in democracy-building than in projects with less importance to foreign policy. But whenever the U.S. government takes on a high profile, officers must watch for political sensitivities, should the United States be seen to be interfering in a partisan way in local affairs. In Nepal, we have been careful to ensure that our democracy-building activities are open, transparent, balanced, and non-partisan. Our objective clearly is to help strengthen democratic processes and institutions, not to ensure the victory of one political faction over another.
- Country-specific programming: Nepal's democracy need not and cannot be a clone of America's. We have

way, we had made support for peaceful democratic change the central focus of our bilateral relations when the movement first got under way. We improvised a mission-wide Democratic Pluralism Initiative to respond as quickly and effectively as possible to the rapidly evolving political situation. The process was a delicate one, requiring a keen sense of what democracy really entails and how it actually fits with local and historical conditions. In the past two years, this mission has gained valuable experiences from our democracy-building efforts, and in the process, our Democratic Pluralism Initiative has gained recognition as a model program.

The role of foreign aid

Democracy building does not fit neatly under USAID's conventional development activities, so the agency's missions in the field are by and large uncomfortable with providing direct support for democratization. Yet, historically, U.S. foreign policy and foreign assistance objectives have implicitly linked democracy and economic development. When President Truman first gave prominence to the concept of aid for economic development as he launched the Point Four program in his 1949 inaugural address, he also explained that such aid would "further the advance of human freedom [and] the secure growth of democratic ways of life."

USAID in Nepal, too, has consistently acknowledged the link between development and democracy. It has

been able to recognize this and program the democracy initiative to support the democratic processes and institutions that are appropriate to Nepal's particular history, culture, and socio-economic conditions.

- Flexibility and timeliness: Nepal's democracy movement succeeded suddenly and completely. Political and social institutions changed almost overnight, new and inexperienced political leaders emerged, and politics and governance became far more complex. We recognized that the country's democracy was most vulnerable at this juncture, and therefore made our response as flexible as possible. The mission's democracy initiative Coordination Committee, comprised of representatives of USAID, USIA, and the embassy's Political Section, and chaired by the ambassador, dealt with the often intractable and conflicting rules and regulations of different agencies that stood in the way of timely and appropriate responses.
- Focus on human resources: As Nepal's democracy stabilized and the newly elected government took power, the mission began to refocus the Democratic Pluralism Initiative on the longer-term requirements of democracy-building. The most important of these was effective leadership. With political parties banned for more than 30 years, their activists incarcerated, exiled, or underground; with judicial, legislative, and bureaucratic institutions long dominated from above; and with labor and social organizations often established along political lines, it is not surprising that of the original 14-member Cabinet, few had had any administrative or management experience, and only one, a former Fulbrighter, had visited a foreign country outside of India. The new, 205-member Parliament shares similar characteristics.

In response, the U.S. mission is working to increase Nepal's contact with the United States and its socio-economic and political systems. This contact is critical to the consolidation of democracy, because through educational and cultural exchanges, a new democracy's leader's and citizens become habituated to democratic norms, values, and practices. By pooling USAID and USIS resources, the democracy initiative has increased Nepal's International Visitors' Program by 125 percent, facilitating ministers' travel to the States and sending Parliamentarians, journalists, jurists and lawyers, and entrepreneurs to see American democracy in action.

- Donor coordination: To maximize scarce resources and avoid duplication, the mission coordinates regularly with other donors involved in democracy-building, in particular the British, Danes, and Germans. Coordination has enabled Nepalis to learn from a variety of democratic systems. And when more than one donor is involved in a project, there is added credibility, as

well as leavening for political sensibilities.

Cushioning the shocks

In Nepal, the obstacles to democracy's taking root are overwhelmingly economic. In such a poor country, whether democracy gains legitimacy or loses it will depend on how effectively it deals with economic and social problems. In the final analysis, it is economic performance that counts. The Nepali government is facing the same dilemma as the Russians and East Europeans—whether the people will swallow worsening living conditions today for a better tomorrow. Indeed, prices have gone up in Nepal with the new government's first tentative steps toward economic liberalization. How much time will the Nepalis give the government to deliver the goods expected in a democracy?

Here foreign aid can make a real difference. It can help make critical policy changes such as privatization and administrative reform politically palatable by cushioning, for example, the potential loss of jobs that such changes might bring. Nepal's new government needs U.S. assistance and deserves no less.

Democracy is spreading with astonishing speed across the globe, but it has not yet taken hold, and Nepal is no exception. In Nepal's back yard, Asian countries have seen democracy going backward rather than forward, and the majority of the world's population, particularly those in the developing world, continue to live under authoritarianism and totalitarianism. In the chaos and ethnic conflagration now increasingly associated with emerging democracies, Nepal stands out as a showcase of a least developed country in transition. In the past two years, Nepal has been undergoing a relatively peaceful transformation, gradually but steadily converting its absolute monarchy into a constitutional, multi-party democracy. If democracy can succeed in Nepal, one of the world's poorest countries, then there is hope for democracy throughout the developing world. ■



Julia Chang Bloch is U.S. ambassador to Nepal.

COMING TO TERMS WITH A UNITED EUROPE

New German Politics, Old U.S. Perceptions

BY VICTOR GRAY

Little more than a year after unification, we are beginning to see stories in the *Washington Post* and on NBC Nightly News about American concerns over Germany's "role." The whiff of Germany bashing is in the air. One has to wonder whether those concerns relate to current policies or whether they derive from deeper-seated anxieties about the past.

I suspect the latter, for many non-Germans consider Germans inherently evil and aggressive, subject to neither repentance nor redemption; they are, as one professor recently quipped, the "Klingons of history," and possess "a record rather than a history." This belief in a uniquely and fatally flawed German character is at the heart of what these non-Germans would call the "German Problem." It is also, I believe, at the heart of Washington's "concerns" and Britain's "apprehensiveness" about German "assertiveness."

Germans, too, have unspoken anxieties that could color perceptions about current policies. These derive from history and, in particular, geography—neither of which Germany seems able to shake. Taken together, they shape what is to Germans the "German Question," that is, "Where is Germany?" (Or, put

another way: "What is Germany?") The answer should describe Germany's role in the newly reunited Europe.

Some plain talk is in order about our "German Problem" and their "German Question," if we are to avoid talking past each other on the policy issues about which we should be on the same wavelength—be it on trade, aid to the East, or European integration. We are beginning a new relationship with a united, more confident and, yes, more powerful and assertive Germany. If we are to avoid unnecessary complications in what will be a defining relationship for Europe and the world, we must clear the air about the past.

OUR "GERMAN PROBLEM"

That dark, 12-year chapter of German history gives rise to questions: Are Germans unique? Can they change? In a January 23 editorial entitled "Germany's Memories," the *Washington Post* opined that German society "finds itself uncomfortable and strained at the imperative to confront and deal with the past" and that "in recent months there have been hints of reduced enthusiasm for this struggle." Yes, Germans are discomfited and strained to look at the crimes of the *Nazizeit*. But they have looked at them

directly, long, and hard, for most Germans recognize, as the late Ambassador Arthur Burns put it after four years in Germany, that they "cannot both be proud of Beethoven and forget Hitler's crimes against humanity."

The result is a healthy, restrained patriotism grounded on Thomas Mann's preference for a "European Germany" rather than a "German Europe"—a preference that has provided continuity to German foreign policy for four decades.

To be sure, there have been failures—the unreconstructed Nazis of the old generation and the neo-Nazi skinheads of the new. But the violent xenophobia of the skinheads is paralleled in kind and in scope in countries such as France and Belgium. And the United States, too, had its own dark chapter of slavery and still regularly coughs up the likes of an Aryan Nation or a David Duke. Although the unparalleled scope and method of the Holocaust might illegitimize any analogy, still, these recent phenomena suggest an important lesson for all of us. We, too, should constantly remember the Holocaust and beware the "heart of darkness" that lies in us all. Perhaps, as Professor David Calleo suggested, the proper conclusion to draw from the



AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTO

The wall comes down.

Holocaust is “not so much that civilization was uniquely weak in Germany, but that it is fragile everywhere.”

THEIR “GERMAN QUESTION”

Geographically and demographically Germany and Japan share two characteristics that got them and the rest of the world into deep trouble in the 1930s. They both have large populations on a small land area, and they are both highly dependent on imported raw

materials, particularly oil. But they are not alone in possessing these characteristics. Britain and, at least before the First World War, France faced similar conditions and reacted with their own forms of expansionism by staking out 19th-century colonial empires. Expansionism is not always and everywhere the solution to the problems of overpopulation and paucity of resources, however. Immigration and trade come quickly to mind. So, too, does birth control. As a

matter of fact, Germans have been so efficient in controlling their birth rate that—at least prior to reunification—their new fear was that there wouldn’t be enough of them to go around in the future. Indeed, it was the chronic post-war labor shortage that caused Germany and France to open their doors to millions of “guest workers.”

But geography has also treated Germany and Japan very differently. Living on an island far off the beaten track of great power rivalries, the Japanese have been afforded the luxury of being able to choose when they want to mix in those rivalries. Germany, on the other hand, sits smack in the center of Europe, surrounded by traditional powers—Britain, France, and Russia—which once sought to play off each other through a balance of power to which the greatest threat was a strong Germany. In the German view, according to Calleo, “preserving the European balance, while extra-European giants formed all around, meant condemning Germany to mediocrity, all of Europe to external domination.” That, he added, was the “German Problem as the Germans saw it.” Not surprisingly, they saw themselves more often than not as victims rather than aggressors, a perception that, in light of the Holocaust, probably shocks most Americans.

The bipolar balance of the Cold War also dealt more harshly with Germany than with Japan. With the exception of the Kuriles, Japan was kept intact physically. Germany, on the other hand, was torn asunder both physically and psychologically. The old gods were dead and, in their “Year Zero,” Germans were called upon to make themselves over from scratch. It was a painful fate—one they had brought upon themselves. But, for the Germans, faced with the need for a more irrevocable break with their recent past, all things were possible. And, thanks particularly to a few surviving “good Germans” like Konrad Adenauer and Willy Brandt, they made, I would argue, the best of those possibilities.

LIFE AT GROUND ZERO

For much of the Cold War, however, it must have seemed to many Germans, including those in the West who were

truly thankful for their freedom and prosperity, that their aspirations were again being sacrificed on the altar of a balance of power. This is not only because of the physical division of the country, forcing 16 million East Germans to live under a totalitarian regime. It is also because of the psychological pain of living on the front line, the ground zero of the nuclear age. Imagine living in an Oregon-sized country with more than 300,000 friendly but foreign soldiers and several thousand nuclear weapons. Is it any wonder that Germans questioned the wisdom of some nuclear weapons systems, the range of which limited their use to German soil? Is it any wonder that Germans placed a greater stock in detente than we did? And is it any wonder that pacifism became a commonplace in German politics? What is a wonder is that we, who now profess "concern" about German "assertiveness," so recently viewed that pacifism as dangerous.

Where do we go from here, now that the Cold War is over and those nuclear weapons are being removed from Germany? First, we have to recognize that there has been a sea change in German-American relations—a change so rapid that neither country has had time to prepare for it. Only now are we groping to adjust to Germany's new and still evolving role. Germany is no longer the same. Neither is Europe. And the changes in each are interacting in a dynamic, synergistic fashion.

CENTRAL EUROPE REBORN

The ongoing Revolution of 1989 has set in motion both old forces, frozen in place for half a century by the Cold War, and new forces, the power and direction of which remain difficult to gauge. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War must top the list of unexpected events with unpredictable consequences. Concomitants of that collapse are, of course, new freedom and instability in Central and Eastern Europe. What we so recently called simply Eastern Europe no longer exists; instead we have seen the reemergence of what the Germans call *Mittleuropa*, that area of common culture encompassing Germany, Austria, Switzerland (at least the German-speaking cantons),

**The unification
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Hungary, the Czech lands, southern and western Poland, and, yes, Slovenia and Croatia. To the East lies the true Eastern Europe of Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, Slovakia and northeastern Poland. To the south lie the Balkans, once again living up to their reputation as a powderkeg.

The unification of Germany itself, that 329-day fast-forward of history, brought economic and social consequences that Germans East and West will have to grapple with over the next decade. In European terms, however, the consequences may be even more important, for Germany is no longer the eastern frontier of the West but rather back in the center of a suddenly reunited continent. That, in turn, is leading to yet another shift of seismic proportions—a rapid broadening to the east and north of the European Community. It is an opening that the Germans, in particular, are intent on pushing for their own pragmatic reasons—principally, stability in the East.

The European Community is also the locus for another monumental change that has been in train for nearly a decade but largely overshadowed by the Revolution of 1989 in the East. I am speaking, of course, of the EC '92 process. It was the "deepening" that was posited by the advocates of "Little Europe" as a step that had to be completed before there could be a further "widening" of the Community. Under the pressure of events, however, including the growing assertiveness of a reinvigorated Franco-German axis, the dividing line between widening and deepening has been dramatically eroded. Perhaps more importantly, the process has been transformed into increasingly rapid movement—still

resisted by the British and Dutch—toward political union, the centerpiece of which will be a common foreign and security policy.

These trends within the EC have inevitably led to new tensions within the trans-Atlantic alliance and the already noted uneasiness in Washington. But another change has greatly diminished Washington's ability to influence events in Europe, namely, the worsened domestic economic situation in the United States. To be sure, we won the Cold War and emerged as the sole nuclear superpower. But, as Deputy Secretary of State Larry Eagleburger so poignantly put it, we crossed the finish line in that contest just steps ahead of the Soviets and, economically, nearly as exhausted. Thus we find ourselves, for example, struggling to meet the economic assistance needs of the Central and Eastern Europeans and the former Soviet Union and criticized by the Europeans for not doing enough. More importantly, the American people are turning inward and are less inclined to bear the burdens of international leadership. The uncertainty about American intentions and reliability tends to fuel the desire of Europeans for an independent security identity. In sum, if we are not careful, we and the Europeans could find ourselves caught in a self-fulfilling prophecy of estrangement.

TIES THAT BIND

In this vastly changed situation, German and American interests cross in ways that suggest not estrangement but cooperation. First, Europe remains extremely important to the United States despite the virtual disappearance of the Soviet/Warsaw Pact threat. We will want to remain engaged. This desire is reciprocated by the Europeans, in general, and the Germans, in particular, who recognize the new potential for instability to their east. They recognize, too, that the European security identity, still embryonic, is nowhere near being able to handle the most likely consequences of that instability. If anyone needed proof, Yugoslavia is there for all to see.

The *Post* recently cited Germany's "forcing" of EC recognition for Croatia and Slovenia and its "uncontested ex-

ension of economic influence over Eastern Europe" as causes for concern. Granted Germany's handling of recognition probably showed that it needed some lessons in "leadership etiquette," but need we really be concerned that Germany harbors great power ambitions in the Balkans? Hardly! Germany's motives in this case relate to much more recent relationships—the fact that the second largest guestworker population in Germany is Croatian and Slovenian, numbering in the hundreds of thousands and growing by more than 10,000 asylum-seekers a month. Indeed, Germany, with some of the most liberal asylum legislation in the world, has taken in more than 600,000 asylum-seekers in the past four years, 200,000 of them last year alone.

It is the fear of an even greater wave of refugees that is at the root of German efforts to stabilize the East through aid and investment. But far from seeking to extend its influence uncontested, Germany is seeking desperately to multilateralize economic assistance to the East. It has its hands full with the

economic consequences of unification—including the need to raise interest rates to the detriment of recovering economies like ours. Pointing out again and again that it is the European Community and not the West European Community, Foreign Minister Genscher has been in the forefront of efforts to push the EC toward granting associate and eventually full membership to Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. If ever our interests coincided, this is it! We should applaud German leadership on this score, and American businesses should go a step further. They should invest in those countries and, indeed, in East Germany itself. Opportunities abound, and Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, and Slovaks might welcome an alternative to the Germans.

HARMONY IN TRADE

In trade as well as investment the shared interests of the United States and Germany have led to a reasonably harmonious bilateral relationship. Our bilateral relationship is very much in balance but not without its problems, all

of which should prove manageable. At the end of 1988, for example, U.S. investment in Germany, most of it in the automotive industry, totaled \$20 billion, while German investment in the United States was about \$27 billion. With new investment opportunities in East Germany and higher German interest rates in the past year, those figures should now be in even closer balance; the downside of this trend, as critics of the higher German interest rates are quick to point out, is that we can no longer expect the German economy to be the "locomotive" for weaker economies such as ours—at least not until the economic problems of unification have been overcome.

It is probably in trade, however, where our economic relations with Germany differ so markedly from those of either country with Japan. German-American trade is essentially in balance not only quantitatively, with German exports to the U.S. totaling \$25 billion and U.S. exports to Germany totaling \$20 billion in 1988, but also qualitatively, with both countries exporting

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primarily manufactured products. Again, short-term trends, notably a weakened dollar and diminished consumer confidence in the United States, are acting further to balance trade. With about a third of its production going abroad each year, Germany must be counted among the true believers in free trade and, with the notable exception of agriculture, should be an ally within the EC and among the three trading blocs in opposing artificially high barriers. Like ourselves, the Germans also face an increasing challenge from the Japanese.

'EUROPEANIZING' SECURITY

The Germans are pursuing three tracks in security, none of which need run counter to our interests. First, with the French, they are pushing for a merger of the EC and Western European Union (WEU) into a more or less independent European pillar of the NATO alliance. Second, they are seeking to strengthen the Conference on European Security and Cooperation (CSCE) with an eye to filling the security

**Additionally,
the WEU is better
positioned to undertake the
sorts of "out-of-area"
commitments of force we
have sought from our
European allies for
decades.**

vacuum in Central and Eastern Europe and perhaps eventually creating a pan-European security system. Third, not wanting to create a security vacuum in the West or fuel desires among the American public to "bring the boys back home," they seek to maintain U.S. engagement in Europe through NATO.

We, too, should have an interest in "Europeanizing" German security policy. The fact that it is already a shared Franco-German goal should comfort Germany's neighbors and increase stability on the Continent. Indeed, having

absorbed well their history and geography lessons, Germans have made this Europeanization policy a linchpin of their foreign policy since the days of Monnet and Adenauer. And, at least rhetorically, it has also been a linchpin of American foreign policy since the days of George Ball's "dumbbell theory." Why, as we are about to achieve it, would we want to turn away from a united Europe? Additionally, the WEU is better positioned to undertake the sorts of "out-of-area" commitments of force we have sought from our European allies for decades.

With regard to the possible transformation of the CSCE into some sort of security structure, perhaps linked to NATO or the WEU, we Americans have displayed the same standoffish attitude we did toward the convening of the Helsinki Conference in 1975. The CSCE is the only European existing organization that includes *all* countries—48 at last count. Particularly important to us, it is also an organization in which the United States is a member. We are, of course, also a signatory of the CSCE-



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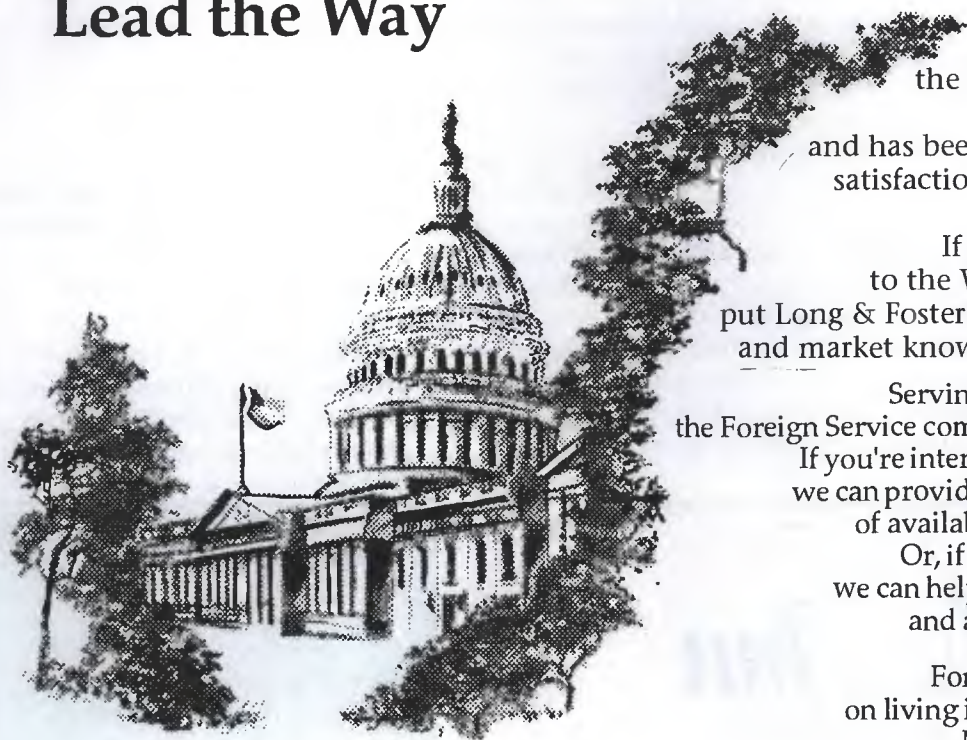
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sponsored 23-nation Agreement on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE). Would it not make eminent good sense to try to universalize the provisions of CFE by seeking adherence to the agreement by current non-signatories such as Ukraine? Would it not also make good sense to try to expand and codify the work the CSCE has already done in the area of Confidence and Security Building Measures? I think so and agree with Ambassador James Goodby, who negotiated so many of those Confidence and Security-Building Measures, that "used in full recognition of its limits, but also its possibilities," the CSCE can "really help to lay to rest the bitter legacies of the past and create conditions for a Europe—and a Germany—whole and free." It is clear that Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher agrees. Writing in the October/November edition of *European Affairs*, he had the following to say:

"They [the United States] are tied to us through NATO, and they are represented at the Conference on European Security and Cooperation in Europe. The CSCE will gain even greater impor-

tance in view of the current developments in the Soviet Union, and its organs will have to be strengthened. Its present function is as a conflict-avoidance center and an emergency mechanism, but it ought to develop into a kind of European Security Council."

We can probably expect Genscher and others, notably the Eastern Europeans, to advance such notions at the CSCE review meeting in Helsinki March 24. Speaking at the January 30 CSCE foreign ministers meeting in Prague, for example, Genscher and Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel decried the "continuing structural weaknesses" of the organization and called on the CSCE to "create the opportunity for CSCE blue-and-green helmet missions to keep the peace and protect our foundations of life." In the more distant future, it is even possible to envisage a coalescence of seemingly disparate organizations such as the CSCE, NATO, the EC and WEU into a UN-recognized regional organization that is both pan-European and trans-Atlantic. Would that be so bad for us or the Germans?

There has been a healthy continuity in German foreign policy for the past four decades. That continuity—centered on the idea of a "European Germany"—has survived unification and a Europe-wide revolution. It is Germany's best hope of liberating itself from the negative consequences of its history and geography. It would be ironic in the extreme if we allowed ourselves to let the emotionalism of that past cloud a sober assessment of the breadth and depth of our shared body of interests, a recognition of which should lead to greater cooperation in building a new Europe, a new world. That task is too important to allow the rise of petulant Germany-bashing. ■

A Senior Foreign Service officer currently teaching at the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Victor Gray spent a dozen years working on Central Europe and served five years in Germany. The views expressed here are solely those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. government.

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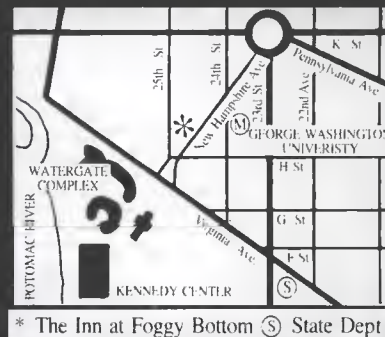
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Loy Henderson and the **COLD WAR**

An Interview with the biographer of 'Mr. Foreign Service'

BY JOHN J. HARTER

Introductory Note: Loy Henderson's Foreign Service career spanned nearly four decades, from 1922 to 1961. Known as "Mr. Foreign Service" to a generation of U.S. diplomats, he served, *inter alia*, as chargé d'affaires in Moscow during the mid-1930s, U.S. minister to Iraq during World War II, director of the State Department's Office of Near Eastern Affairs after the war, ambassador to Nepal in the late 1940s, ambassador to India during the Korean War, ambassador to Iran during the early Eisenhower years, and Secretary Dulles's top management officer at the Department of State in the late 1950s during the tumultuous period of "Wristonization," which fused the career Foreign Service officer corps with Civil Service personnel in the State Department.

I was fortunate enough to have spent many hours with Ambassador Henderson at his Cleveland Park apartment during the 1970s listening to his reminiscences about his career and the Foreign Service. Henderson's gospel, as I understood it, was that the best Foreign Service officers ultimately attain an exceptional perception of world affairs based on prolonged immersion in several foreign cultures, close observation of numerous leaders in crisis situations, and shared experiences. Those who become attuned to the resulting Foreign Service discipline grasp the extent and limits of professional diplomacy in a manner usually beyond the reach of those who have not shared their special culture.

Ambassador Henderson recognized that Congress, the press, and various



Henderson

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT

special constituencies will inevitably exercise enormous influence over the White House and the secretary of State in directions that are not necessarily prudent or in line with collective Foreign Service judgment. Hence, a seasoned diplomat may feel great tension between conscience (or personal judgment) and obligation to hierarchy, and he or she should never sacrifice integrity in resolving the conflict.

It follows that, in Henderson's logic, a Foreign Service officer must always report and analyze truth as he sees it, fully aware that the emperor may slaughter the messenger who bears bad news. But once his view has been presented, he must acquiesce in and apply the decision of higher authority.

The corollary, in his view, was that the author of an honest and daring

report deserves career protection. Henderson personally opposed selection-out as a routine personnel action. He knew from experience that the analyst who boldly reports facts and tendencies in other countries at variance with popular assumptions risks criticism that may filter into performance evaluation reports. He believed career Foreign Service officers should be protected from those with axes to grind (including other Foreign Service officers)—even if (or especially if) their analyses run counter to popular presumptions.

H.W. Brands, associate professor of history at Texas A&M University, is author of *Inside the Cold War: Loy Henderson and the Rise of the American Empire, 1918-1961*, published by Oxford University Press in 1991.

Following are excerpts from my recent interview with Professor Brands at his home in Austin, Texas.

Harter: What was your impression of Henderson before you started your book?

Brands: I really didn't have a clear impression, except that I knew his reputation as a hardline anti-Soviet diplomat. I also knew vaguely that he was perceived as an anti-Zionist, but I didn't have much of a handle on him beyond that.

Harter: Did your impression of him change as a consequence of your research?

Brands: Not really, but I developed a deeper understanding of what caused

him to do what he did, why he believed what he did, and why he made the policy recommendations he did. Having witnessed the Stalinist system in Moscow during the 1930s, he never forgot it—and during most of his active years after that (until 1953) the Soviet Union was governed by Joseph Stalin. Basically, for Henderson, Stalin *was* the Soviet Union, and chronologically, that was a pretty good equation. So Henderson believed that even during World War II, for example, when the Soviet Union was allied with the United States and collaborating with the United States against Germany, this was simply an alliance of convenience, and the Soviets still intended world revolution. As soon as they had an opportunity, he believed, they would pursue world revolution.

Harter: Did you conclude that he had *more* influence than you had anticipated, or less?

Brands: It's hard to pin down exactly what Henderson's independent influence was, but his persistence in pushing

his own views—and the fact that those views accorded fairly well with the views of an increasing number of other influential people in the U.S. government during the late 1940s—ensured that he had more influence than I had initially assumed. In fact, one reason I undertook the project was to figure out how much influence a career Foreign Service officer like Henderson could have and how one might push his views through the bureaucracy. I was surprised to see how astute he was at working the levers within the bureaucracy. . . .

Harter: But wasn't that because he was much respected by people he worked with?

Brands: Oh, most definitely! And on two really spectacular occasions, he was essentially fired for taking certain positions: he was relieved of responsibility in the Department of State for U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe during World War II, because he kept saying, "We must keep our eye on the Russians," and influential people within the Roosevelt Administration didn't

want to hear that. Later, he was essentially fired as head of the Department's Near East Division for opposing American support for the creation of a Zionist state in Palestine. I think the fact that he took those very unpopular stands—and was pushed out of office for doing so—increased the respect that other people had for him, because they knew he was a man who was not simply saying what senior officials wanted to hear.

Harter: What was the most valuable documentary material you found in your research?

Brands: The most revealing documents were the dispatches he wrote from our embassies in Moscow, New Delhi, and Teheran—those that he had to produce quickly, day by day—and in some cases, as crises were developing, on an hour-by-hour basis. In contrast, there were the position papers he wrote in cooperation with others in Washington. Although interesting, those documents were less revealing of Henderson because they would sometimes take weeks or months to develop, and you would



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see six successive drafts that usually had to pass the scrutiny of several people. I also ran across interesting personal letters that Henderson wrote from Moscow during the 1930s to [former Ambassador to Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania] Arthur Bliss Lane and others, in which he vented his annoyance with Joseph Davies, our ambassador there.

Harter: Wasn't he also critical of William C. Bullitt, Davies's predecessor?

Brands: Oh, yes. He thought Bullitt was overly optimistic when he first went to Moscow in 1934, with an unrealistic view of what to expect from the Soviet Union. But later, Bullitt was disillusioned, and he became a harder-line anti-Communist, anti-Soviet person than Henderson. But when Bullitt was replaced by Davies, after a hiatus, Charles Bohlen and George Kennan—as well as Henderson—were alarmed at what they called Davies's Pollyanna view of the Soviet Union. Davies seemed to be reporting what the Roosevelt White House wanted to hear, and Henderson took it upon himself to deliver what he considered a more realistic view of what was going on in Moscow. I don't know whether anybody in the White House read those dispatches—and Henderson didn't know either.

Harter: I think it's generally assumed that neither President Roosevelt nor anyone else in the Roosevelt White House paid much attention to the Foreign Service. After all, they didn't have the National Security Council Staff in those days, and, by all accounts, Roosevelt was not an admirer of the Foreign Service.

Brands: That's true. Harry Truman was also suspicious of the "striped pants boys," as he called them, at least when he first became president. But Truman gradually gained appreciation for the Foreign Service the longer he remained in office.

Harter: Your book contains very little about Loy Henderson as a person.

Brands: Right. One reason the book focuses almost entirely on his work as a Foreign Service officer, rather than on his private life, is that it was very difficult to get any information about or insight

into his private life. He was consumed by his job. He had no children, and I had the impression he sometimes regarded the younger Foreign Service officers who served under him as his surrogate children.

Harter: The story of his twin brother, Roy, was very illuminating.

Brands: Yes. The death of his twin brother in the service of his country during World War I had a tremendous impact on him, and no doubt helped to account for his extraordinary sense of

...they knew he was
a man who was not simply
saying what senior officials
wanted to hear.

responsibility or duty to his country. He felt he had to do what both of them might have done.

Harter: Could you explain his rather ambiguous relationship with Jawaharlal Nehru, while Henderson was ambassador to India?

Brands: Well, I remember a comment by [C.L.] Sulzberger, either in an interview or in his memoirs, in which he described Henderson's relations with Nehru of India. To read Henderson's dispatches from New Delhi, you would have the impression that his relationships with Nehru were fairly correct—definitely not close, but professional. Sulzberger saw both men frequently during his trips to India, and he had the impression that Henderson despised Nehru, and Nehru knew it.

Harter: *Despised?*

Brands: That's the word Sulzberger used. Actually, I think it was too strong, because I think Henderson was professional enough to realize that his personal feelings for Nehru were irrelevant. But Henderson clearly considered Nehru's neutralist views short-sighted

and perhaps intellectually dishonest. I do think Nehru was very difficult to get along with: he could be charming, but he could also be insufferably arrogant. I think he usually didn't feel the need to charm the American ambassador, and Henderson didn't normally go out of his way to attract charm from others. And, of course, Henderson was in India at the time of the Korean War, when India wanted to play mediator between the two sides, particularly between China and the United States. It was Henderson's job, regardless of his personal feelings, to try to secure Indian support for U. S. and United Nations policy.

Harter: Which was not possible.

Brands: Right. But I think Henderson did a pretty good job of mitigating Indian criticism of the United States. I think India might have been much harder on the United States at that time had Henderson not represented American views to Nehru as effectively as he did.

Harter: You mentioned earlier that he was sometimes perceived as anti-Zionist. Do you think there was any basis for that?

Brands: Well, there were some oral histories that dealt with Henderson's role in the development of American policy toward Palestine. There was a clear division between those who agreed with Henderson's policy recommendations that the United States should not actively support the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, as opposed to those who thought the United States should. People like David Niles and Clark Clifford in the White House, who took a pro-Zionist line, considered Henderson an obstructionist at best and a deceitful, back-channels bureaucrat trying to defy the wishes of the American people at worst. They had nothing good to say about Henderson. Those who worked with Henderson—Evan Wilson, for example—thought Henderson was doing what he saw to be his duty in stating his view that American support for a Jewish state in Palestine would disrupt American relations with the Arabs, invite Soviet adventurism in the Middle East, and ensure instability and conflict between the Arabs and Israel over a period

of many years to come. And actually, most of what he predicted hit the mark!

Harter: He was very sensitive, even in his eighties, about Clark Clifford's criticism of him at that time, and later.

Brands: I think there was unfair criticism of him. He didn't object to the Zionists' having a state of their own. He objected to the United States' helping the Zionists get the state where they got it. As far as I can tell, he felt that if the Zionists created an Israel on their own, that was their business. But what he was trying to do was to prevent the United States from associating itself with the success of the Zionist state, and, of course, he was unsuccessful in that.

Harter: Your book portrays Loy Henderson as a principal author and sustainer of the Cold War.

Brands: Well, I did not exactly say he was an *author* of the Cold War, but I considered him very instrumental in *shaping* American Cold War policy. His influence lay largely in the fact that the rest of the American foreign policy apparatus eventually came around to his way of thinking. From the mid-1930s, he consistently stated the view that the Soviet Union could not be trusted. Even despite the alliance during World War II, he believed the Soviets were intent upon expanding their influence, and he insisted that the United States should do whatever was necessary to resist that. Henderson wasn't the only person saying this. Kennan, Bohlen, and various other folks made the same point. But Henderson was in particularly influential positions, almost by chance, so he was able to implement this point of view in a way that few other people could. He was sent off to Iraq in 1943 to get him out of the way, because of his hostile attitude toward the Soviet Union. Iraq was far away, and nobody else wanted to be ambassador to Iraq.

Harter: They wanted to bury him in the desert.

Brands: Exactly! But when Roosevelt died, they pulled him back to Washington to head up the Near East Division. In 1945 it wasn't apparent that the Near East was going to be a real cockpit of the Cold War, so, again, it was simply a

matter of chance, but Henderson made the most of this position, and when the crisis developed in Greece and Turkey in 1946 and 1947, he promoted the same views he had been promoting for 10 years, and people began to listen to him—partly because the Soviet Union was beginning to act as Henderson and others had long predicted it would.

Harter: That's what led to the Truman Doctrine.

Brands: Right. Henderson believed that Communist pressure on Greece and Turkey at that time represented precisely the expansion that one would expect of the Soviet Union. Obviously the writings and speeches of George Kennan and others were also influential, but few people exercised the sheer persistence and cumulative influence on American foreign policy over a long period of time that Henderson did. Henderson's view was that the United States had to support the development of Greece and Turkey against this Soviet expansion, because if it didn't, the Soviet Union would probably expand into Greece and Turkey, just as it had already expanded into Eastern Europe. When the British indicated in 1947 that they would relinquish responsibility for supporting the governments of Greece and Turkey—when they invited the United States to assume that responsibility—Henderson, as head of the Near East Division, mobilized his staff to present a series of position papers to explain why the United States had to assume the responsibility that the British were relinquishing. Henderson argued that position for more than a year—in fact, going back to the summer of 1945, and that position gradually came to be persuasive, until it was recognized as the Truman Doctrine.

By the way, Henderson also thought the United States ought to send more aid to Iran at the same time, but the Truman Administration didn't support him on that—at least to the degree that Henderson thought was necessary. So although the Truman Doctrine embodied less than Henderson urged, it nonetheless went a long way toward providing some of the assistance to governments in the Middle East that Henderson thought was necessary.

Harter: In retrospect, from this present vantage point, how would you assess the Truman Doctrine?

Brands: I think the narrow response to the crisis in 1947 was appropriate. Greece and Turkey needed military and economic assistance at that time. But I think Truman made a mistake in promulgating the Truman Doctrine in very open-ended terms, thus implying that the United States would support anti-Communist governments under almost any circumstances, because it later became difficult for U. S. policy to distinguish between countries that were of vital interest to the United States and those that were only of marginal interest to the United States. For example, in the late 1950s and 1960s, the United States supported the anti-Communist government of South Vietnam, applying the philosophy of the Truman Doctrine, even though South Vietnam was not intrinsically as important to the United States as Greece and Turkey were in 1947. . . . George Kennan, the author of the containment policy, spent the next 40 years trying to explain what he really meant by "containment"—that it shouldn't be applied everywhere under every circumstance, and especially not by the militaristic means that became the basis of containment in the 1950s and 1960s.

Harter: It seems to me that it's not fair to blame Loy Henderson for what happened later on the basis of what he urged in a specific situation in 1947.

Brands: Oh, I agree with that! I think there tends to be pressure on American presidents and other elected officials to state policy in very broad philosophical and moral terms, designed to appeal to the consciences of the American people. I think that doesn't come so naturally to career Foreign Service officers, who are more concerned with day-to-day operations. Henderson didn't draft Truman's 1947 speech, which made a broad-gauged commitment. That was not his approach: he was much more concerned with, "What do we do today?"

Harter: How, as a historian, do you view the Cold War overall, from the vantage point of 1992?

Brands: In my view, the Cold War

began in response to a particular set of circumstances that existed in the late 1940s and early 1950s. World War II entirely disrupted the balance of power in Europe. At the end of the war, Germany didn't exist as a meaningful political entity, and neither Britain nor France was a major player in European affairs. Only the United States and the Soviet Union could fill the vacuum in Central Europe, and they squared off against each other along the Elbe River. In oversimplified terms, that's what happened, and by 1950—or certainly by 1954, when Germany was re-armed and integrated into NATO, or by 1955 and 1956, when the Warsaw Pact was created—that situation in Europe was locked in. That stabilized the situation in Europe until the late 1980s.

Harter: How about 1953, when Stalin died? Wasn't the Cold War rationale more plausible before 1953 than later?

Brands: Well, I do think the policy had a certain rationale in the late 1940s, in response to emergency conditions in Europe and in Asia.

Harter: And that was the period when Loy Henderson was influential. Weren't his responses to the events at that time rational?

Brands: Right. But later—from the 1950s to the 1980s—the Cold War developed a momentum in American domestic affairs—related to the domestic economy and politics—that had relatively little to do with what was going on overseas. I'm convinced that after 1965, what was driving the Cold War were the political and economic imperatives in the United States—and to some degree social and psychological imperatives. There was a serious problem of how you convert a wartime economy to a peacetime economy, particularly given the background of 10 years of depression before World War II: how could we retain full employment? One way was to build a lot of weapons. So the Cold War had reasons for continuing that had nothing to do with foreign affairs. The crisis in foreign affairs was pretty well over by 1950—or at least by 1953, when Stalin died.

Harter: Would you care to say a few words, in summary?

Brands: Well, I would say that Henderson played a very influential role in creating the policies that underlay American actions during the Cold War. Those policies later developed a momentum that helped sustain the Cold War beyond the time when the policies themselves were appropriate. Henderson very vigorously argued his position, based on his personal experience and his reading of Soviet actions. Had his career continued into the 1970s, I think he would have been astute enough to realize that conditions changed, and that it was probably counterproductive for the United States to send half a million troops to Vietnam in the late 1960s. I would like to think that there are Foreign Service officers today who argue their convictions with as much energy and intelligence as Henderson did. ■

John J. Harter is a retired Foreign Service officer.



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BOOKS

Coming to Terms with Violence

EL SALVADOR'S DECADE OF TERROR: HUMAN RIGHTS SINCE THE ASSASSINATION OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO
Americas Watch, Yale University Press, 1991, \$25 hardcover

A MIRACLE, A UNIVERSE: SETTLING ACCOUNTS WITH TORTURERS
By Lawrence Weschler, Penguin Books, 1990, \$9.95 softcover

Reviewed by Thomas A. Shannon

Accountability for human rights abuses is the theme of these two books. The first is a detailed description of human rights abuses in El Salvador and a call to bring the perpetrators to justice. The second is the story of how two countries, Brazil and Uruguay, have attempted to come to terms with a violent past. Both underscore the difficulty of reconciling a society at war with itself and imply that justice might be beyond the government's capacity in these countries.

El Salvador's Decade of Terror is Americas Watch's latest catalog of man's inhumanity to man. Its terse and matter-of-fact style belies the carnage it depicts. Beginning with the 1980 assassination of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, Americas Watch moves from one sector of society to another, listing the victims of El Salvador's civil war and their fates. Dispatching with lives in short, declarative sentences, the book accurately transmits the numbing quality of El Salvador's violence.

Although Americas Watch devotes one short chapter to guerrilla abuses, it leaves no doubt about whom it believes to be the real cause and culprit of the violence: the armed forces. Americas Watch also points an accusing finger at

the U.S. government, which, it argues, tacitly accepted human rights violations at the beginning of the decade as the price of stopping communism in Central America. U.S. government opinion changed, Americas Watch claims, due only to growing public outrage following the rape and murder of three nuns and a lay missionary and the Sheraton Hotel killings of two AFL-CIO American Institute for Free Labor Development advisers.

Americas Watch acknowledges that successive American ambassadors have made improved respect for human rights an important part of our bilateral relationship. It also approvingly recounts the 1983 visit to El Salvador by then Vice President George Bush to demand an improved human rights performance by the armed forces. Nevertheless, it argues that American pressure has only slowed the violence and never achieved

has indeed suffered through a decade of terror, it ends with a two-page chapter on "Human Rights and Democracy," which offers the U.S. government no policy alternatives and weakly asserts that hope for improvement lies in the recently concluded UN-sponsored peace process.

Serious observers of El Salvador know that the peace process, and the reintegration of the guerrillas into civil and political society, are the only hope of ending the violence. Americas Watch's too easy dismissal of El Salvador's elections, and the Herculean efforts of Presidents Duarte and Cristiani to create a government capable of negotiating with the FMLN, indicate a blind spot which calls into question its understanding of the political dynamic that has cost so many lives.

Lawrence Weschler writes about Brazilian and Uruguayan efforts to come

Regrettably, Americas Watch's critical abilities far exceed its prescriptive ones. While showing that El Salvador has indeed suffered through a decade of terror, it ends with a two-page chapter on "Human Rights and Democracy," which offers the U.S. government no policy alternatives and weakly asserts that hope for improvement lies in the recently concluded UN-sponsored peace process.

more than half-measures of justice.

Americas Watch saves special scorn for U.S. efforts to improve the administration of justice in El Salvador by providing police and judicial training. By its lights, military impunity is the root cause of all evil in El Salvador, and justice will be achieved in El Salvador only when the armed forces are brought to heel.

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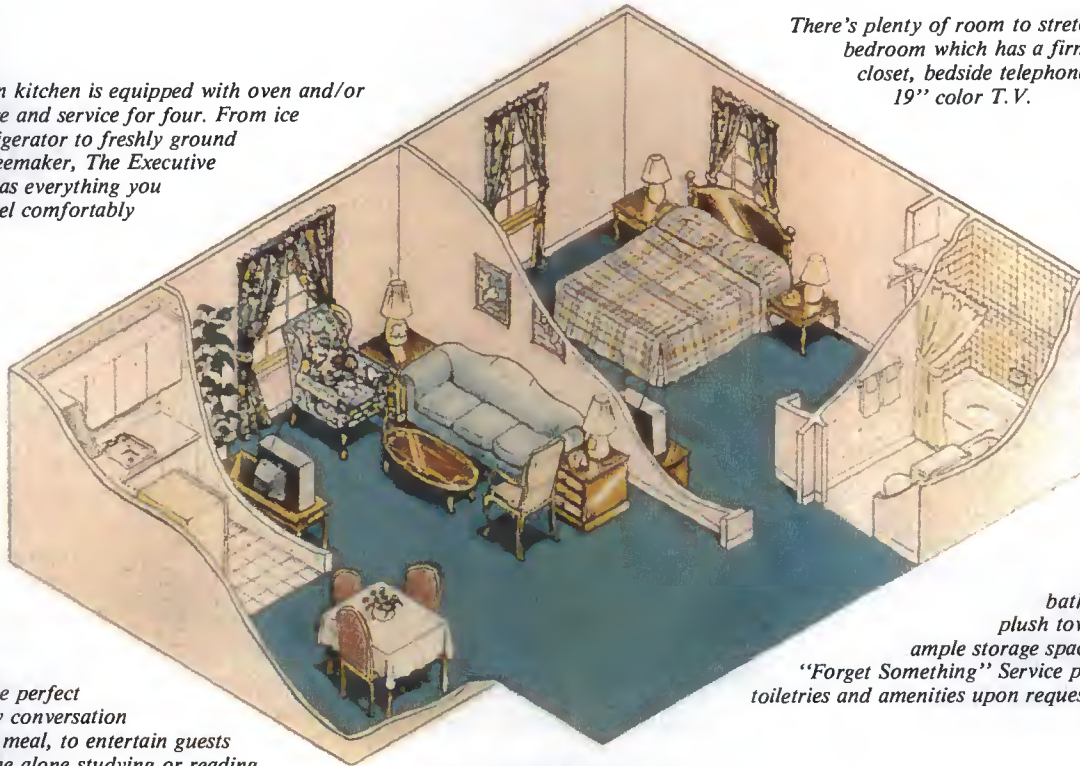
to grips with human rights abuses committed during military rule in both countries. Originally published as two long articles in the *New Yorker* magazine, the first half of the book describes the successful and clandestine writing, publishing, and distribution of *Brazil: Never Again*. This book, drawn directly from military archives, catalogs the arrest, torture, and, in some cases, killing of political prisoners by Brazil's security forces. This effort, secretly patronized by Cardinal Arns of Sao Paulo and the

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World Council of Churches, and undertaken by still anonymous lawyers and journalists, was designed to leave an irrefutable record of human rights abuse in Brazil.

The second half of Weschler's book details the failed attempt of human rights activists to pass a national referendum that would have overturned an amnesty law protecting members of the armed forces from prosecution for human rights abuses committed during Uruguay's military government. Overly long, and weak on analysis, this essay never clearly comes to grips with why the Uruguayan people, when given the opportunity to overturn the amnesty and bring to justice human rights abusers, chose otherwise. Weschler never captures the reverse class conflict that characterized the years of Tupamaro-military struggle, when upper-class Tupamaro guerrillas preyed on lower- and middle-class policemen and soldiers. Worse, his efforts to implicate by association the economic policies of the "Chicago

In the end,

Weschler leads us to infer what he has not meant to imply: that justice was not the first priority of Brazilian and Uruguayan societies. The relative weakness of the newly formed civilian governments, and deep ambiguity about who was to blame for the violence, led both countries to let the past be history. In contrast to the book's title, this is hardly "settling accounts with torturers."

school" and the U.S. government—through the Tupamaro kidnapping and killing of Dan Mitrione—lead him off the mark.

In the end, Weschler leads us to infer what he has not meant to imply: that justice was not the first priority of

Brazilian and Uruguayan societies. The relative weakness of the newly formed civilian governments, and deep ambiguity about who was to blame for the violence, led both countries to let the past be history. In contrast to the book's title, this is hardly "settling accounts with torturers."

Currently serving as special assistant to the U.S. ambassador in Brasilia, Thomas A. Shannon was previously human rights officer in Guatemala.

Notes from a Reston Position

DEADLINE

*By James Reston, Random House,
1991, \$25 hardcover*

Reviewed by Jack H. Shellenberger

For someone of my generation, James Reston's *Deadline* provides a savory and insightful recollection of the places and personalities that linger in memory and continue to shape our world.

"I have now lived in every decade of the 20th century," he writes, "and I wanted to tell a few stories about the long journey before my own last deadline. Besides, as an old sportswriter, I had always kept box score of runs, hits, and errors at the end of the game."

That is where Reston's memoir differs from so many works of the genre. He kept the score and saved the quotes. The book is divided into 18 parts, beginning with his Scottish boyhood and continuing through the depression years, World War II, the "unhappy" 1960s, the Reagan and Bush eras, and a summing up.

Those of us who, over the years, turned three times a week to the Reston column in the *New York Times* for readable, common-sensical discussion of the issues of the day will find the same qualities in *Deadline*, but with added personal detail. We get to know the Reston family, past and present, the Reston homes and outings, the griefs and triumphs, the vegetable garden.

But the author's long suit is the

access he earned and enjoyed to most of this century's influentials, particularly those on the international scene. Reston's personal encounters with Jean Monnet, Zhou Enlai, Churchill, the Dulles brothers, and U.S. presidents beginning with FDR are notable for the mix of reverence and humor he employs: reverence for the office, and humor, at times, for the occupant.

One of his favorites was Harry Truman's Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, who "liked reporters of his own choosing but hated the press. . . . He constantly insisted that newspapers couldn't even get names straight." Reston says he suggested attributing the Truman and Marshall Plans to Acheson. "He did not deny that this would be more accurate but was not amused by my mischievous suggestion, for in those days his intelligence was matched only by his unpopularity, and his guess was that anything with his name on it would probably be defeated."

After 50 years of the daily grind, albeit interspersed with travel and treating with world figures, Reston sounds very much at ease these days, in his study, in touch via TV with breaking

Those of us who, over the years, turned three times a week to the Reston column in the New York Times for readable, commonsensical discussion of the issues of the day will find the same qualities in Deadline, but with added personal detail. We get to know the Reston family, past and present, the Reston homes and outings, the griefs and triumphs, the vegetable garden.

events he need not cover, and blessed with an answering machine that says, "Mr. Reston is busy at the moment . . ." when, in fact, he may not be at all.

Jack H. Shellenberger is a retired Foreign Service officer.

BY OUR READERS

THE PRUNE BOOK: THE 60 TOUGHEST SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY JOBS IN WASHINGTON

By **John H. Trattner**, *Madison Books*, 1992, \$37.50 hardcover

This latest in the Prune Book series provides an overview of who and what make the federal government's science and technology establishments run. It profiles high-level science and technology positions in the White House, executive departments, various agencies, and congressional committees and gives the current affiliations of those who have held the positions at various times since 1969.

RETIREMENT COMMUNITIES: CHOOSING THE BEST ONE FOR YOU IN THE WASHINGTON AREA

By **Peter Vandevanter**, *EPM Publications Inc.*, 1991, \$12.45 from *EPM Books*, softcover

Retirement Communities is a guide to finding retirement homes in the Washington metropolitan area providing descriptions of 61 of the best communities, giving information on costs, admission procedures, pet policies, meal plans, and medical care.

THE ABSENTEE AMERICAN: REPATRIATES' PERSPECTIVES ON AMERICA AND ITS PLACE IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

By **Carolyn D. Smith**, *Praeger Publishers*, 1991, \$29.95 hardcover

Based on responses to questionnaires distributed among expatriate Americans, this volume explores the impact of growing up in foreign countries, focusing on feelings and opinions but also touching upon schooling, living arrangements, social life abroad, and other practical topics. ■

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IN MEMORY

Benjamin D. Blood, 77, died on January 20, 1992 at his home in McLean, Virginia.

Born in Wabash, Indiana, Blood received his doctor's degree in veterinary medicine from Colorado State University and a master of Public Health from Harvard.

In 1949, he joined the Pan American Health Organization as chief veterinarian. In 1964 joined the Office of International Health at HEW and from 1969 to 1974 worked at the U.S. mission in Geneva. Following his assignment in Geneva, he returned to Washington and retired in 1979.

He is survived by his wife, Hollis, of McLean, Virginia; two sons, Benjamin Jr. of Orlando, Florida and Brian, a Foreign Service officer assigned to Paris; two daughters, Beverly Keller of Bethesda and Bonnie Reilly of Charlottesville; 14 grandchildren, and two great-grandchildren.

Max E. Hodge, 66, died of pneumonia in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida on January 25, 1992. Hodge was born in New Haven, Connecticut and grew up in Roslyn, New York. He attended Antioch College and graduated from Oberlin College. He received master's degrees in international economics from the School of Advanced International Studies (now Johns Hopkins) and George Washington University.

Hodge began his Foreign Service career in 1950. He served in Frankfurt, Germany and Thessalonica, Greece during the 1950s as consular and economic officer. He was also a commercial attaché in Germany, Greece, and South Africa. He retired in 1974.

Hodge was a simultaneous interpreter in French and German. An amateur ornithologist, he was joint author of a book on the birds of Greece.

He is survived by four children, Winifred, of Champaign, Illinois; Chris, of Fort Washington, Pennsylvania; Nicholas, of Wilmington, Delaware, and Damaris of Indianapolis, Indiana; six grandchildren, a brother, Phillip of Minneapolis, Minnesota;

and a sister, Mary H. Frantz of Monroe, Wisconsin.

James Daniel Singletary, 70, an educator and retired USAID human resources development officer, died December 13, 1991 in Silver Spring, Maryland. A native of South Carolina, he graduated from New York State University at Buffalo, earned a master degree from SAIS of Johns Hopkins and a Ph.D. in education from the University of Chicago.

Singletary joined USAID in 1961 and served in Kabul until 1964 and in Saigon from 1965 to 1971. He was then assigned to USAID in Washington as a human resources development officer for Latin American and the Caribbean until 1985.

Before joining USAID, Singletary was a chairman of the Education Department at Bennett College in North Carolina. He held the same position at Prairie View A and M College in Texas from 1950-1956. He then became dean at Maryland State.

He is survived by his wife, Charity, of Silver Spring, Maryland.

Fletcher Warren, 95, who spent four decades in the diplomatic service, and served as ambassador to Nicaragua, Paraguay, Venezuela, and Turkey, died January 9, 1992 in Greenville, Texas.

A native of Texas, Warren graduated from the University of Texas in 1921 after serving in World War I. In 1921 he passed the exam for the consular service and was assigned to Havana. With the passage of the Rogers Act in 1924, he became a Foreign Service officer. From 1929 to 1938 he served in Barranquilla, Budapest, Managua, and Riga. In 1938, he returned to Washington as executive assistant to the assistant secretary of State. In 1942, he was assigned to Bogota, and in 1945 was appointed ambassador to Nicaragua. In 1947, he went to Paraguay, also as ambassador. After two years, he returned to Washington to become director of South American Affairs. He was later appointed

ambassador to Venezuela and Turkey. He retired in 1961 and returned to Greenville, Texas.

After his retirement, he became active in civic affairs in Greenville. In 1969, he served on the city council, later becoming the city's mayor. Warren also served at Texas State University as one of the first ambassadors-in-residence in the nation. He later received an honorary doctor of law degree from ETSU, as well as one from the University of the Andes.

He is survived by his wife of 70 years, Wilhelmina, whom he described as "his lifelong partner in service," his two brothers, John and Dow, and his sister, Frances Warren Grace, along with several nieces and nephews.

Wayland Waters, 74, a retired Foreign Service officer, died January 6, 1992, and his home in Walnut Creek, California

Waters entered the Foreign Service in 1940 and was assigned to Dublin. In 1948, he became a visa officer in Hamburg and in 1952 returned to Washington. In 1956 he was assigned to Vigo as principal officer and when the post was closed he became assistant commercial attaché at Madrid in 1957. In 1960, he went to Frankfurt as a commercial officer and in 1965, he returned to Madrid as commercial attaché where he served until retirement in 1970.

Henry Zimerowski, Jr., a consular officer, died in Washington on November 8, 1991.

Zimerowski joined the Foreign Service in 1975 and served as a consular officer in Ottawa, Krakow, and Paris before returning to the department to work as a Bureau of Intelligence and Research analyst on Western European affairs. He then worked in the Visa Office on issues involving refugees, asylum requests, and humanitarian parole requests. He also served as consular officer in Tokyo, and his last assignment was as a consular officer in the Citizens Emergency Center in the Bureau of Consular Affairs. ■



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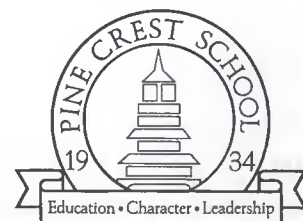
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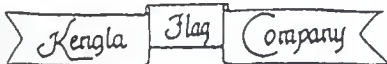
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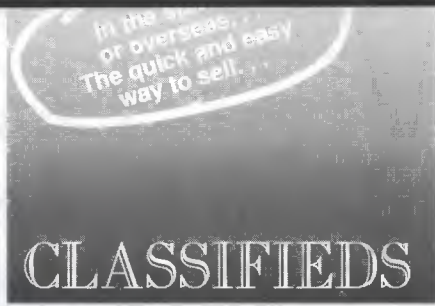
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