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JUNE 1992

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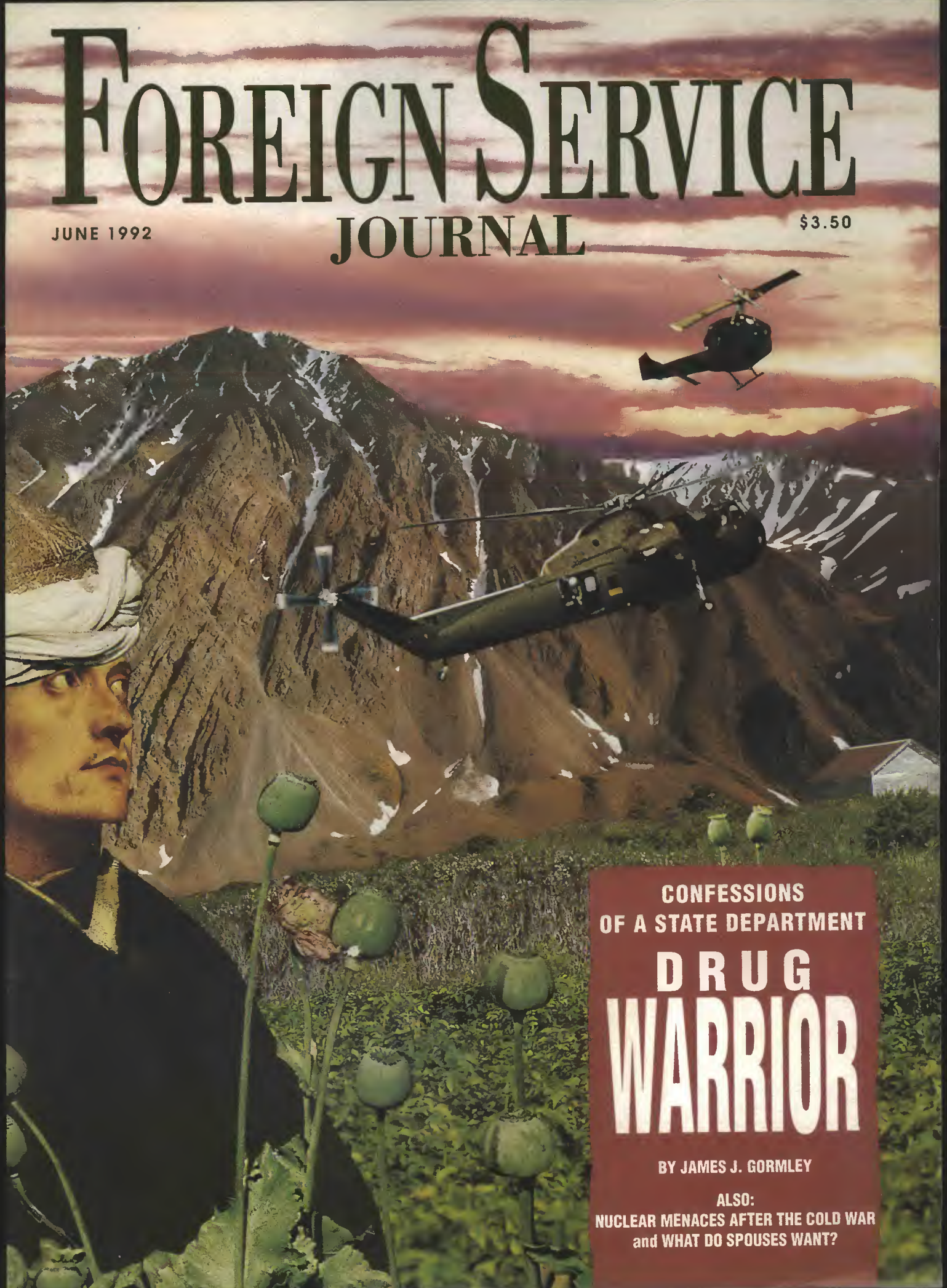

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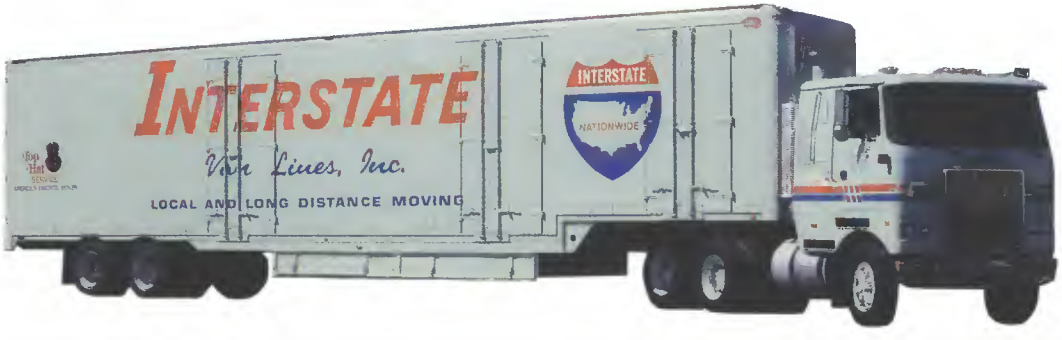

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AFSA VIEWS

Leading by Example

An Open Letter to The Honorable Edward J. Perkins, Director General of the Foreign Service

Dear Ed:

On the eve of your departure for the United Nations, it is proper that AFSA give an accounting of its efforts to support affirmative action. You'll recall that last year our "Outreach and Continuity Board" pledged itself to work for a both elite and more representative Foreign Service. Here are some of the things we've done:

1) **AFSA minority internships:** This summer and henceforth, AFSA will fund a minority intern at the Department of State. AFSA itself has this year hosted two minority interns, one from Wesleyan University and one from Bryn Mawr.
2) **AFSA Speakers' Bureau:** Working with the Association of Black American Ambassadors, AFSA has obtained full funding for a "Speakers' Bureau." The bureau will enable AFSA to carry the Foreign Service's message to minority and other audiences. Even previously, AFSA speakers were programmed to address minority groups at campuses on the East and West coasts.
3) **AFSA mentoring program:** Lest minority summer interns lose touch and drift away from the department, AFSA will assign one of its 3,500 retired Foreign Service members as a "resource person" to each intern when he or she returns to school. Ambassador Philip Habib has agreed to be one of our mentors.
4) **"Global Mission":** The handsome AFSA/DACOR illustrated booklet, "Global Mission" should strengthen our service's recruiting appeal to minorities and women—whom the publication well represents.
5) **Foreign Service Journal articles:** The Foreign Service Journal has published articles and editorials calling for more effective affirmative action. We do so again now. Because the recruiting "yield" at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) will be disappointing, we strongly advocate more intensive recruiting at elite schools, plus better funding and mentoring. We should not apologize for recruiting at our great public and private universities; the student bodies at our leading schools are far more representative of America in terms of race, gender, and class, than the Foreign Service is today.
6) **Leadership by Example:** The most important example of AFSA's following-through on its platform, however, is the example set by the AFSA board itself. Of the past year's 21 board members, 10 have been white males, and 11 have been women or minorities. The board is quite simply the most able group of colleagues from State, USAID, and USIS that I have ever worked with. What AFSA's leadership has accomplished we call on State's to do also.

We thank you for your efforts on behalf of a better Foreign Service. You take with you to the United Nations our admiration and best wishes.

Sincerely,
Hume Horan, President, AFSA

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

JUNE 1992 VOL. 69, NO. 6

"The Independent Voice of the Foreign Service"

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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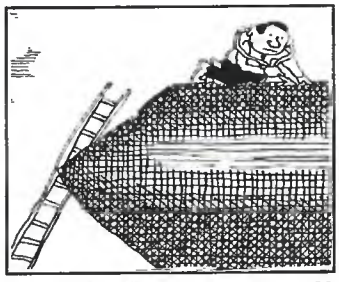

FEATURES

DEPARTMENTS

HOLDING BACK THE TIDE

To The Editor:

Hume Horan's column (April *Journal*, "AFSA Views"), though nuanced, envisioned FDR, Truman, and Eisenhower nodding approval of the outcome achieved by our leaders in the 40-year contest between the United States and the Soviet Union. Deputy Secretary Eagleburger refers to "our nation's historic victory over communism," in the AFSA newsletter to retired members. I was surprised and disturbed to read these things.

My own service, which came between 1951 and 1984, included three postings in Vietnam and also on such other front lines as Korea, Laos, Zaire, and Pakistan. At the time, my colleagues had a sense of holding back the Communist tide. But now that the tide has receded, its threat appears to have been overestimated: communism's demise appears due not so much to our efforts as to its own flaws. Furthermore, instead of emerging from the contest unscathed, we seem to be undergoing a measure of disintegration ourselves, with our budgetary deficits, social problems, unemployment, and loss of international competitiveness. Nor are all our foreign affairs problems yet resolved.

The Communist challenge, indeed, called forth a high level of dedication from the Foreign Service, even if our direction was a little unsure. But triumphalism, which has overtones of the anti-Communist dogmas of the past, can only obscure the seriousness of our situation and the magnitude of the task still ahead.

Theodore L. Lewis
Germantown, Maryland

GOOD PEOPLE, BAD SYSTEMS

To The Editor:

Enough fine people have taken offense at my half-quoted views in *Government Executive* (April *Journal* "Letters" and January *Journal* "AFSA News") that I hope you'll allow me to cite my full views. I did indeed state that USAID is the worst bureaucracy I have worked in. However, every time I made this comment, before many audiences, I have added that USAID also has the best people I've ever worked with and I do not understand how so many bright, dedicated people put up with so much paperwork and runaround. From this fuller (but unfortunately edited) reflection of my seven years at USAID, your readers would see that it's the incredible bureaucratic systems of which I'm critical and not the best people I've ever worked with, who must daily labor in a bureaucratic swamp in order to do good and advance American interests in the backwaters of the globe.

Mark L. Edelman
Deputy Administrator, USAID

101 TROMBONES AND MORE

To The Editor:

Perry Laukhuff's experience in Paris in 1940 when his car got caught in a Nazi German parade (March *Journal*, "Postcard from Abroad") reminds me of a similar incident.

In June 1933 my family of five (I was then 11 years old) was traveling through Europe in an overloaded Buick that kept overheating. As we entered Aachen, Germany, we suddenly discovered that the main street was lined with flag-bearing Germans waiting for a parade.

No other cars were to be seen, and the traffic cops made frantic signals for us to disappear from the scene. Just as we were about to leave the parade route the car stalled. . . . As we promptly learned, Adolf Hitler was about to make his appearance. It took several tense minutes before we managed to move the car out of the main thoroughfare. . . . We located a garage only a block away. Soon, as a mechanic attended to the car, we heard the roars of the crowd greeting Adolf.

Talcott W. Seelye
Bethesda, Maryland

To The Editor:

When I read Perry Laukhuff's recollection, I recalled a similar incident of my own. On October 7, 1969 another junior officer and I were dispatched from our mission in West Berlin to East Berlin to take the pulse of the spectators a parade to mark the 20th birthday of the German Democratic Republic. We took up our station on the curb where Unter den Linden crosses the Spree. . . . As the last of the tanks rolled by, the civilian contingents, including the latter-day Hitler Maidens of the Free German Youth, shuffled into view. At that point, the *Vopos* or People's Policemen guarding the route decided that "people's democracy" actually meant participatory democracy. They turned on us, and, using their batons as prods, pushed us out into the line of march. My colleague and I soon found ourselves in the front ranks of a trade union contingent marching listlessly under a banner proclaiming something like "Workers of the World Unite."

We soon found ourselves quickly approaching the reviewing stand packed with most of the central committee. . . . As members of the Free German Trade Union, we were called upon to raise our left fists three times to a smiling Walter Ulbricht, shouting *"Hoch, Hoch, Hoch"* as we did so. I then noticed the TV camera on the stand pointing directly at us and, consumed with dread, thought of my colleagues in West Berlin watching the proceedings on television.

This incident went unreported upon my return to the West later that day. But now it can be told.

Victor Gray
Foreign Service Officer
National Defense University,
Washington

WRONG REGIME

To The Editor:

As a former Uganda desk officer, I can attest to the fact that Elliott Abrams remains extremely popular in that country (January *Journal*, "The Elliott Abrams Story"). It should be noted, however, that this popularity stems from his outspoken criticism of human rights under the second Milton Obote regime and not the Idi Amin regime, as

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Jim Entwistle
Bangkok, Thailand

INFAMOUS REVIEW?

To The Editor:

Charles Maechling's petulant tirade against my book, *Visions of Infamy* (February *Journal*, "Books") is about what to expect when a work that attempts to offer fresh and unconventional insight into the origins of the Pacific War is reviewed by someone who looks back on World War II military planners as chocolate soldiers unaffected by anything outside their professional training and discipline. "Military staffs do not take their inspiration from fiction," he sniffs.

Maechling may have lived in monastic seclusion when he served as a junior secretary in the Joint Staff Planners, but I daresay that others in both the Navy and the Imperial Japanese Navy could not help but absorb and express the total culture of their respective societies.

My conclusion, which the reviewer consistently exaggerates in order to make it look ridiculous, is that two books published in the 1920s by the British naval authority Hector C. Bywater influenced the Imperial Japanese Navy in general and Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto in particular in planning the offensive of December 1941.

I do not argue, as Maechling irresponsibly contends, that Bywater's writings "virtually dictated" the thinking of the Imperial Navy. Maechling's prejudice is further laid bare by his dismissal of Bywater's work as mere fiction, as if I had argued that Japanese and American planners were influenced by *Forever Amber*. Hector Bywater was no mere spinner of tall tales. He was, in fact, the world's leading naval authority in the period between the two world wars.

There is not space to reply to all of Maechling's demagogic attacks, but let me mention just one. He denounces as "rank speculation" my belief that Bywater influenced war planners in developing the concept of an island-hopping campaign through the Marshall and Caroline islands as a response to a possible aggressive move by Japan. I devote an entire chapter of my book to this important matter, but suffice it to ask: is it "rank speculation" for me to quote Admiral William V. Pratt when he wrote that many fellow American officers regarded Bywater as "a prophet"?

I grant that influence is always one of the trickiest matters for the historian to grapple with, yet I suspect that a reviewer less prejudiced than Maechling might have found *Visions of Infamy*—as have other critics—somewhat more plausible.

William H. Honan
Cultural Correspondent, New York Times
New York, New York

CURIOUS OMISSION

To The Editor:

Having followed the debate on "agency harassment" (January *Journal*, "Letters"), one example of "reverse harassment" has been curiously omitted: USIS FSOs are promoted from the FS-4 to FS-3 grade upon tenuring. As a State FSO tenured three years ago, I'm still waiting for my "merit" promotion.

Incidentally, it is most definitely not the career goal of all FSOs to become an ambassador. And speaking as an administrative generalist, what about the hundreds of specialists who are also "shut out" of the competition for ambassadorial appointments? Methinks USIS doth protest too much.

Michael K. St.Clair
Maseru, Lesotho ■

Corrections: *Due to a production error, a photo caption in some editions of the May* Journal *gave an incorrect date for the U.S. taking of Iwo Jima. The year was 1945.*

A poem by Edward Findlay was omitted from the Table of Contents in the May Journal. *The poem appeared on page 40.*

EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGES

The Washington Post, April 7, 1992

Secretary of State James Baker may have given up some use of government airplanes, but both he and deputy Lawrence Eagleburger are provided government cars when they travel around Washington.

There are 15 cars—leased at $60,000 a year—and 15 drivers—paid a total of $332,000—in the executive fleet, which is used on a first-come, first-served basis. The department has 800 $15-a-month parking spaces and several executive dining rooms, plus a formal dining room used for diplomatic receptions and dinners. The secretary is billed by the executive dining service for his food, which he often eats in his office. The department has two small exercise rooms.

EMBASSY BOOM

The Washington Post, April 20, 1992
By Dana Priest

One of the agencies most affected by the end of the Cold War has been the State Department. Change at the State Department begins in the lobby, where each nation is represented by a flag. Flags for Ukraine and Russia are there, but many of the other republics have not yet settled on a national symbol.

Turkmenistan decided on a flag with the remnants of five traditional rugs. "It's a rather difficult flag to duplicate," said a spokeswoman.

The State Department also has a new 12-person Office of CIS Assistance, headed by Richard Armitage. This office will organize technical and humanitarian assistance and will work on such issues as defense conversion and economic reform.

State has opened 14 new embassies in the former Soviet Union and one in Albania. The White House cleverly avoided the average eight-month ambassadorial confirmation process by sending chargés d'affaires whom the president intends to nominate as ambassadors to many of the embassies. In all, the number of U.S. diplomats in the former Soviet Union is expected to grow from its Cold War average of 233 to about 340. The State Department estimates it will cost about $28 million to open and operate the 15 new embassies this year. Next year, when they are fully staffed, most by seven diplomats, the cost will hit $48.7 million.

ACTION AND ADVENTURE

The Wall Street Journal, April 17, 1992
By Gerald F. Seib

Making do has become an art form for seven hardy American diplomats since last February, when they began the process of starting an embassy in the remote, oil-rich, nuclear-armed state [of Kazakhstan]. "This assignment will appeal to people who like action or adventure," says William Courtney, the top diplomat here . . . who expects to be formally named ambassador to Kazakhstan. He has already had to politely decline the honor of eating boiled sheep's head, steer clear of pistol-packing Muslim tribesmen, and figure out how to import American-made cars into a country a continent removed from the closest U.S. car dealer.

One morning he cheerfully welcomes a guest into his "office"—basically a table in his room at the dreary Hotel Kazakhstan. As [the embassy building] is being fixed up, Courtney and his staff are working—and living—here in the hotel. Incongruous touches of Americana are all around: a jar of Tang and the standard-issue picture of Secretary of State Baker. The State Department sent in a special cargo plane loaded with everything from copying machines to bottled water to a week's supply of emergency U.S. Army rations.

On this cold morning, Courtney has started his day with a visit to the embassy "communications center," a hotel suite jammed with special satellite communications gear. To talk to the State Department, the diplomats must wait for the precise moment a satellite passes overhead, then beam up from a portable ground station pointed out a hotel window. They quickly conduct essential phone conversations and then connect their laptop computers to send and receive the day's written messages.

Back in the quiet of his room, Courtney is pondering ways to make life easier for his troops in this city of 1.1 million people. It is hard to find such basics as a dry cleaner or decent dentist, so embassy staffers will need periodic breathers in the West. But Alma Ata has no foreign airline links to the outside world, so transportation is tough. Embassy staffers are fretting about whether they will get air-conditioners for their eventual offices: the summers are hot and gritty.

RUSSIAN WORKERS RETURN

Los Angeles Times, April 9, 1992
By Elizabeth Shogren

Seven Russians have started work at the Moscow embassy, but there are plans to have 50 Russians employed as translators, drivers, maintenance workers, and clerical personnel by the end of July. Bringing full-time Russian employees back into the embassy compound signals a new relationship of increased trust between Moscow and Washington and also the intention to beef up the embassy staff to handle the $24-billion package of international aid.

There are, however, strict rules governing the actions of the new Russian employees. Thick tape in green, yellow, or red has been put across every door at the embassy. . . . Green means you can go in, yellow means you can enter only with an escort, and red means don't even think about it.

The average cost to the government per person for the [former] U.S. support staff at the embassy is $120,000 a year, said an embassy worker. . . . [The Russian worker's] monthly salary, in comparison totals $66 at the current exchange rate. ■

War News

Published in the ***Journal****, June 1942*

Close escape

One of the most sensational escapes made by Foreign Service officers from the war zones was that of Consul General Kenneth Patton, Consul Harold Robinson, and Vice Consul Charles Thompson from Singapore on February 10-12. All evacuees had left, Foreign Service wives having made a dramatic departure on January 30 to Batavia [Jakarta], and only by luck were the few remaining officials able to get away. Bombs had fallen in the gardens of the Patton residence on the outskirts of Singapore, which at the time housed the Consulate General, and the rear of the house was partly demolished.

Our consular officers boarded ship but, due to some slip-up in convoy plans, remained in the harbor for two days. From the ship's rail they watched the seething caldron of Singapore, nearly the entire city being cut off from view by walls of flame near the harbor's edge.

The day after the convoy got under way, a fleet of 42 Japanese dive bombers circled overhead the entire morning. Their ship reached Bangka Straits just a few hours ahead of the Japanese fleet, which the same day attacked Palembang, oil center of Sumatra, and they safely reached Perth some days later.

My kingdom for an auto

The automobile situation is beginning to tell on almost everyone these days. Every driver wears a strained expression—waiting for the last spare tire to go flat, wondering how long the old car will stand up. The Rationing Board turns thumbs down on requests for new cars by officers, except in a few cases where domestic motoring is done on official business. When the old car gives out, the FSO walks or busses to the department.

The officer in the field fares well. The department endeavors to obtain licenses to export new cars, tires, and tubes for FSOs in the field. Records show that 488 privately owned motor cars are operated at 161 posts. These cars were driven 4,392,391 miles during 1940. . . . Almost without exception, officers use their own cars for official purposes. ■

FOREIGN SERVICE QUIZ

(Answers appear on page 7 of the pull-out section)

1. Name the U.S. diplomat who, on being offered a posting to Paris, responded with the following comment: "I am old and good for nothing; but as the storekeepers say of their remnants of cloth, I am but a fag end, and you may have me for what you please to give."

2. Who signed seven of the first 14 treaties enacted by the United States of America?

3. Who is the only U.S. president to have served as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations?

4. Name the five U.S. presidents who served as ambassadors to the United Kingdom.

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DESPATCH

By Anne Stevenson-Yang

Aboard People's Air

If you're having a hard time getting the secretary's attention for a pet program, on your next home leave try flying coach to Texas. You may be sitting next to him.

To deflect potential criticism of government practices that may be perceived as wasteful, Secretary Baker recently announced that he would fly commercial airlines for personal travel whenever possible. Not only commercial, coach. Art Buchwald pointed out that this could be a security risk—suppose, by mistake, he were to eat some of the food. No matter. Margaret Tutwiler has said that Baker recently tried a commercial flight and thought it was fun. His portable cellular phone makes it possible to stay in touch even when airborne.

Baker's announcement came in response to a General Accounting Office report on travel by executive branch officials over 26 months, undertaken in the wake of the Sununumobile and released in early April. Baker announced that he was shocked by the GAO report and would be taking coach at times when he does not require 24-hour secure communication with the president.

The report said that Baker's 11 personal trips during this period, mostly to Texas and Wyoming on nine-seat planes attached to the Air Force 89th Wing, cost the government $413,276, of which Baker himself reimbursed the government $38,453, according to department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler. (Tutwiler took issue with the GAO figures, which tabulated $7,164 in compensation from the secretary himself and $9,845 from members of his family and friends.) The official formula stipulates reimbursement at coach rate plus $1, so Baker and the government are square. According to the report, Baker made a total of 64 trips in the period January 21, 1989 to March 31, 1991, of which 46 were official, 11 were personal, seven were mixed, and none was political. That makes for two trips fewer than John Sununu in the same period but more than any other official studied. There are no figures quantifying the president's travel, although the Marine Corps has announced it will provide the House with an accounting of costs for the HMX squadron based at Anacostia Heliport for presidential use.

Costs may not be as high as they appear. The hourly rates charged to the government for use of military aircraft largely represent fixed operating costs for the planes as well as per diem for the crew. "No money really leaves the U.S. Treasury, but the costs have to be accounted for," says Air Force spokesman Captain George Sillia. For security reasons, the State Department does not release information on Baker's private travel, but common sense would suggest that coach costs must also be incurred for his security detail when he travels on commercial flights, raising the real cost of such travel.

Sexual Harassment

A report released by the State Office of Equal Employment Opportunity and Civil Rights finds that 18 percent of the women working in the Department of State say they have been subjected to sexual harassment, along with 4 percent of the men, for an overall rate of 10 percent. The study of 4,000 Americans in the department, undertaken for State by Vantage Personnel Inc. and released in May 1991, defines sexual harassment as "deliberate or repeated unsolicited verbal comments, gestures, physical contact (or material) of a sexual nature, which are considered to be unwelcome by the recipient."

The report further comments that sexual harassment is most often manifested as jokes and innuendo and most frequently comes from colleagues, with supervisors being the second most frequent offenders. Some 22 percent of the women surveyed and 6 percent of men reported having personally experienced sexually harassing jokes, while "suggestive looks" got an 11 percent confirmation from women and 2 percent from men. Of the other behaviors surveyed, 4 percent of the women surveyed said they had been subjected to unwelcome "patting," 5 percent said they had been "cornered," and 7 percent reported that colleagues had "brushed against" them in an unwelcome manner.

About a fifth of respondents thought the department's response to sexual harassment issues was "adequate," 13 percent called the response "good," while only 12 percent rated performance inadequate or poor, while 46 percent of respondents answered that they were undecided or did not know how well the department responded to these matters. However, 34 percent of respondents said that they were likely to be "labeled a troublemaker" if the behavior were reported and 27 percent thought they would not be taken seriously. Furthermore, 38 percent said that they would not report harassing behavior but would prefer to handle it on their own. Most of the respondents took sexually harassing behavior seriously, however, with 51 percent calling it "a problem for both males and females," and 46 percent of females and 40 percent of males saying it is illegal activity that should be punished. Eight percent of men and 5 percent of women called it "invited activity." ■

SPEAKING OUT

By John A. Patterson

USAID Needs a Vision and a Mandate

The article, "A.I.D.'s Identity Crisis," by C. Stuart Callison and John G. Stovall in the January *Foreign Service Journal*, said a great deal about the agency's declining fortunes. USAID's changing objectives and sometimes less than clear sense of priorities were described very well, as was the rationale for an emphasis on Human Resource Development (HRD). One could make the case, however, that HRD is, contrary to their thesis, an important aspect of humanitarian assistance, to which most Americans subscribe, when all else is said and done. We can only hope that human resource development and capacity building will be prominent features of the U.S. foreign assistance program into the 21st century.

Cutting off its nose

Whether USAID can maintain its leadership as a development agency remains to be seen. One could argue that the agency is drifting, because at times it has lacked a clear vision and mandate. It suffers from declining budgets and low morale. It fails to show appreciation for the self-sacrifice of spouses, gives inadequate attention to the role of other donors, does not appreciate the changing nature of the security environment abroad, and ignores the need to do something about the congressional penchant to earmark funds and dictate the way programs are carried out.

The agency has lost ground over the years because of the need for clearer objectives. USAID has sent conflicting signals concerning its goals and has paid inadequate attention to its greatest resource: USAID employees. For example, we speak of decentralization of authority to field missions while at the same time placing power to manage Eastern European programs in Washington. We speak of honoring personal incentives, while permitting blatantly biased reporting by the inspector general.

To be effective, USAID's resources must be commensurate with its objectives. Since the objectives are numerous, adequate funding must be provided if we are to meet the stated development objectives for Eastern Europe, former Soviet Union Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Since budgets are increasingly tight, radical change may be in order.

The agency has lost ground over the years because of the need for clearer objectives.

Inspector General: The IG seems to proceed under the principle that individuals being investigated are guilty until proven innocent and that USAID is riddled with criminals. AFSA has spoken forcefully on this demoralizing situation and should continue to do so on our behalf.

Spouses: The role of spouses was not mentioned in a message on personnel issues from the agency last year. In this age of two-career families, that's a sad commentary. We must find the means to keep families together and not break them apart, as is implied by expanding separate maintenance allowances. Some donors consider the remuneration of spouses for their role abroad to be an integral part of the way they do business.

Congress and Special Interests: We all lament the hands-on attitude within Congress that leads members not only to set objectives for the foreign assistance program but to manage it as well. We have become everyone's football, and until the administration takes control of the agency's mission and determines how it is to proceed in the future, we do not stand a chance of surviving, no matter how many internal reorganizations are undertaken. We must show Congress that we have a vision and that we've organized ourselves to move into the 21st century.

Doing Business: Finally, while most developmentalists agree that our field missions are desirable, we may be forced to change. We simply do not adequately support these missions. We could follow the operational approach of many other donors, which administer foreign aid programs from their respective headquarters and not via overseas offices. In light of the increased importance of other donors, such as Japan and Germany, perhaps we should consider a World Bank-type organization run out of Washington with small field staffs for coordination and liaison. This may not be as efficient or effective but it would be cheaper, easier on family life, facilitate coordination with other donors, ease relations with Congress, and facilitate the inspector general's scrutiny.

A vision for the future requires ideas, not only for the agency's mission but for its day-to-day operations—including how it will take care of its people. We must do better on both counts or the agency will surely die. ■

John A. Patterson is a USAID officer in Manila.

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FAREWELL *to the* CLIPPER

Pan Am folds its wings

BY HARRY JOHNSON

In the summer of 1958 I had just graduated from high school and was working for my father's construction company at "Idlewild," a New York airport nicknamed after the neighborhood it was rapidly displacing. For much of the summer, on an unused runway along Jamaica Bay where I was pulling cable for landing lights, one of Boeing's new 707s, sparkling in the blue and white livery of Pan American World Airways, was doing "touch-and-go" landings. These tests preceded initiating the world's first viable commercial jet service (the British Comet, which had started flying a few years earlier, had a truncated career due to its nasty habit of breaking up in flight).

In the process of making aviation history, these latest versions of the Pan Am Clipper would also bring down one of western civilization's greatest accomplishments: that brilliant blend of technology, art, and hedonism known as the ocean liner. In passing, the Clipper did grievous injury to the quality of Foreign Service life, as it accelerated the replacement of first-class travel by ship with today's more modest, shall we say, accommodations.

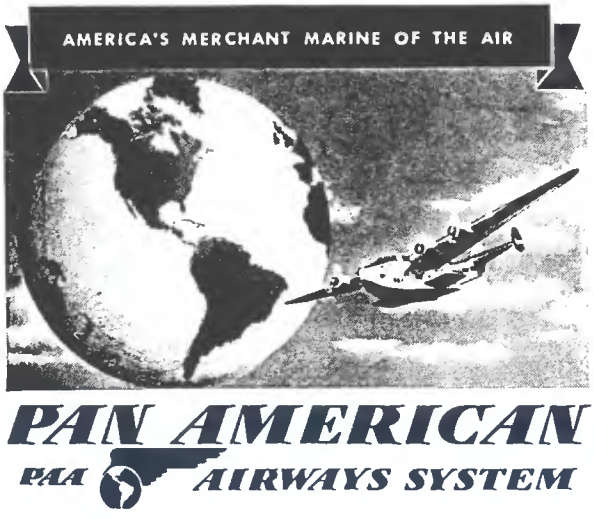
Day after day, with only a Federal Aviation Administration inspector or two and a couple of gallons of go juice, the Clipper would roar into the sky doing a reasonable, if just a bit waddling, approximation of an F-4 being catapulted off a flight deck. The vision had quite an impact on a high school kid who had decided he would be traveling to the exotic destinations that lay ahead for that huge but beautiful bird. (In those days Pan Am eschewed "domestic service.") Little did I know what lay ahead for me as a member of the "Fly America" jet set.

African Queen

It was seven years later when I first climbed aboard a Clipper at that same airport, recently renamed after the president whose legacy included the Peace Corps of which I was a member. Armed with French and a proficiency in African rural markets gained in just three short months of Peace Corps training, as well as a letter of introduction to the Pan Am station manager (which proved to be far better currency than the first two items), I was off to help the people of Africa, or at least those who had found themselves living in the Republic of Guinea. I was boarding the Red-Eye Special, America's answer to the Trans-Siberian Railway.

Ponder your last 3,000-mile tourist class flight to London at the height of the season. Imagine extending it to 12,000 miles. Add an intermediate stop where the celebrating soccer team sitting behind you gets off and is replaced by a caravan of camel drivers returning home, while you stay on the plane for a complimentary three-hour Turkish bath due to security restrictions (aimed at forestalling attacks by rabid capitalists?), a broken ground service unit, and a "problem" with the paper work discovered by an official unhappy with his fee. Add three or four more stops of essentially the same character. Assume you run out of food after the second stop, and the toilets stop functioning after the third--at about the same time the water and soft drinks run out. You now have a rough idea of the Pan American cross-Africa flights at the peak of their popularity.

Pan Am ran this service up until the sanctions--including on air links--were placed on South Africa. The service ran from New York to Lagos and then split, some flights continuing to Addis Ababa, others to Johannesburg. Optimistically scheduled to take about 24 hours to Johannesburg, it usually deposited its survivors on the tarmac after 30 to 40 hours. Independent research has proved that absolutely no human being other than a U.S. government employee has taken the flight all the way to Johannesburg or Addis (although toward the end, when layovers became impossible, the 747s would carry two crews along with crew bunks in the back).



A little piece of home

Yet for those manning the burgeoning remote outposts of American foreign policy, the Pan Am jet was

Harry Johnson is a USAID Foreign Service officer who flew Pan Am for 27 unforgettable years to and from seven posts.

an important symbol of home. In Conakry, Peace Corps volunteers in town on the day of the weekly flight would often go out to the airport to watch the plane land, visit with the crew if possible, and then return to the observation deck silently to watch the blue and white symbol of the "real world" disappear into the African haze.

In those days Pan American took its unofficial role as the flag carrier very seriously, as did the many new countries that it valiantly tried to serve, and the Pan American station manager was treated as a person of some import. While the ambassador represented his government by driving around in a large, ratty black Ford with a flag and making speeches about foreign aid, the station manager represented Pan American and the American technological supremacy for which it stood. The station manager had clout: his 707 had the seats to get in and out of the country, and the planes' holds carried the wine, cheese, car parts, and air-conditioners that made life survivable for both the expatriates and the growing ranks of People's Servants: a kind of multi-ethnic cargo cult. I can recall an ambassador who retired to take up a position as a station manager and seemed to think it a promotion.

The perceived affinity of Pan Am and U.S. policy could cause embarrassment, as it did when Kwame Nkrumah, advised while on a trip to China that his services were no longer needed back home in Ghana, was disconcerted enough to accept an invitation from Sekou Toure to become co-president of Guinea. Hostilities between Guinea and Ghana over this insult seemed to have been prevented primarily by their inability to reach each other with the weapons at their disposal.

The issue died down, until the Guinean foreign minister traveled to an OAU meeting in Addis Ababa on Pan American. When the Red-Eye he flew reached Accra, all delegations except the Guineans headed off to the VIP lounge for a *citron presse*. The Guineans nervously waited until the Ghanians boarded, dumped them out, and jailed them. Back in Guinea there was no question but that this was a CIA plot. So both the ambassador and the station manager, along with their staffs, cooled their heels in house arrest for a week, and another country was cut from the Pan Am system map.

In the family way

The usual Foreign Service connection with Pan Am was more mundane; it involved periodic family relocations (or dislocations) and the occasional TDY or R&R trip home. The Fly America regulations ensured a close familiae relationship. And Pan Am was, more than anything, a family airline;

you could see it most clearly in the tears of the long-term employees during Pan Am's protracted and messy demise.

Those who worked for Pan Am were genuinely nice people with what we now call a vision: that Pan Am represented America. Baggage handlers and vice presidents worked together comfortably on problems with a degree of camaraderie all too rare in large American corporations. Many attribute it to the management style of Juan Trippe, who started Pan Am off on its global vision back in the thirties.

For better or worse, this "all in the family" attitude extended to passengers. Some took to the easy nonchalance, but the "coffee pot is over there" approach to service didn't appeal to everybody. It took an unusual level of patience to accept a collegial smile and shrug of the shoulders along with a "*c'est l'Afrique*" when a late Pan Am flight missed the weekly connection to Bamako. Perhaps the best example is the Peace Corps director who was told that her dozen or so volunteers leaving for home would be taken care of after the "paying passengers." Familiarity can breed contempt.

Thicker than water

But when the chips are down, the family usually comes through.

In Vietnam, a trooper escorting a wounded buddy to Tan Son Nhut on a dust-off chopper a couple of hours later could get a beer from a smiling stew in a blue uniform who was volunteering her time for the troops. In a tradition going back to Wake Island, Pan Am stuck with the boys in uniform all the way. The more isolated Foreign Service posts always seemed a bit better if they were on a Pan Am route: you knew the folks at Pan Am would do whatever possible, and often quite a bit more, if you really needed the help. And you felt a little better sending your kids back home alone on a Pan Am Clipper, because you knew your children would be flying around the world with family.

So whenever I see a news story in which they interview a sad Pan Am'er describing the dissection of what was an American institution, I search for another Bedouin curse to hurl at the junk yard dog financiers who finally ran the big blue ball into the ground. United may fly the friendly skies and Delta may love to do it for us, but when we are opening embassies and USAID missions in assorted Central Asian deserts, are they going to be there with us like the folks at Pan Am? Somehow, I don't think so. Thanks, Pan Am, for the memories. ■

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THE GREAT DIVORCE

Why the "hands-off" policy did more harm than good for spouses

BY JEWELL FENZI

"The Foreign Service spouse is an endangered species," declared Christine Shurtleff in the January 1992 issue of the Association of American Foreign Service Women's AAFSW News.

"The Foreign Service has been systematically losing its representative family make-up overseas," she continued. This is happening because, with more two-career families, fewer families overseas are made up of a Foreign Service employee and non-working spouse. "We need to reward spouses who choose to perform what used to be the traditional spousal role." The proper reward, according to Shurtleff, would be a paycheck.

The spouse of a high-ranking official soon to retire from State summed up the matter. "If the department doesn't compensate spouses, it will have to face the fact that representation is not part of U.S. foreign policy. . . . [I]n 10 or 15 years there won't be volunteers to do what I do."

Clearly, in spite of the 1972 Policy on Wives of Employees of State, USIS, and USAID, which relieved spouses of responsibility to the Foreign Service, spouses continue to make volunteer contributions at home and abroad, their efforts uncompensated at a time when "psychic income" is insufficient reward. Twelve years ago, a group of spouses introduced a compensation amendment to the Foreign Service Act of 1980, but to no avail. Since 1972, spousal relationships with the department have been defined by the directive—which

says there is no relationship. Therefore, for spouses to be paid for the traditional work of diplomacy, it would appear that reform of the '72 Directive, as the policy came to be known, is an essential first step. Shurtleff's proposal includes compensation for specific public activities, such as assisting with visiting delegations, arranging representational functions, and leading community events.

DRAFTING A BILL OF RIGHTS

Three decades ago, the burgeoning feminist movement and the surge of women entering the work force were bringing great changes to society as a whole, as well as the culture inside foreign affairs agencies. Betty Friedan authored her landmark *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963. The civil rights movement was propelling women and minorities into more responsible positions at State. And a 1969 AFSA report advocated a wide range of departmental reforms.

Primarily in response to the AFSA report, then Deputy Undersecretary of Administration William B. Macomber Jr. launched a series of management reform studies called "Diplomacy in the '70s." Spouse issues were omitted from these reports (spouses were not employees), but in 1971 Macomber instructed Dorothy Stansbury, then director of the Family Workshop at the Foreign Service Institute, to convene a task force to address spouse reforms. Under Stansbury's direction, 27 women—senior, mid-level, and junior wives—met and drafted "Representational Responsibilities: Guidelines for Foreign Service Wives at Posts Abroad."

The "Guidelines"—a reiteration of the status of the spouse rather than a proposal for reform—were circulated in the State Department as "Management Reform Bulletin No. 20." (The task force felt compelled to assure junior wives that cleaning the embassy residence, doing the serving at a formal dinner, and acting as ladies-in-waiting were not to be considered representational activities.) Speculation persists that Stansbury, an ardent feminist, had anticipated the ensuing discord: the debate sparked the chain of events that led to the release of the Policy on Wives. In an official announcement on January 26, 1972, Macomber declared, "We have ... addressed the problem of a bill of rights for the spouses and dependents of Foreign Service employees" *(see Macomber, page 23)*.

At a CLO-sponsored coffee in Jakarta, women of the mission share drinks and conversation with Martha Holdridge, wife of the former ambassador.

The policy replaced an "old" Foreign Service in which wives were "unofficially official." "Volunteerism" was mandatory and wives were reviewed on their husbands' official performance evaluation reports. They were held in a rigid hierarchy based on the ranks of their mates, and they risked being subjected to the whims of a senior spouse who could be the proverbial "dragon lady." More likely, she was a reasonable, hard-working volunteer, dedicated to maintaining good post morale while furthering the interests of the United States abroad.

OFFICIAL NONPERSONS

While the directive gave token recognition to women's rights, it spelled out not what a Foreign Service wife was, but what she was not: "The wife of a Foreign Service employee who has accompanied her husband to a foreign post is a private individual; she is *not* a government employee." Further, the policy added that "the Foreign Service has no right to levy any duties upon her" and "the U.S. government has no right to insist that a wife assume representational burdens." But few spouses of employees entering the service since 1972 have read the directive, which was circulated in the department and at posts abroad two decades ago. It has not been officially distributed since. Perhaps the most glaring inequity, although a logical consequence of the policy, is that spouses, unrecognized and uncompensated, continue to perform voluntarily the traditional duties of diplomacy.

Macomber's '72 Directive, as it came to be known, was not a panacea; it resolved one set of problems for spouses, only to create another. It remains official policy despite controversy that has periodically erupted over the past 20 years. At its heart, the discussion revolves around a central, if unintended, consequence of the policy: essentially, it disenfranchises spouses,

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casting them into a netherworld of non-recognition, while at the same time making no provision for the public activities that are the *sine qua non* of diplomacy, today as well as yesterday.

without penalty to the employee. Frankly, for some of us, if our spouses did not have that option, we did not have the option of remaining in the Foreign Service.

understand the different and complex pressures on spouses at more senior levels at posts such as Dhaka, which is on the high end of medium-sized embassies. Perhaps it is more exaggerated in this respect than other posts, because the U.S. is so prominent here.

"In any case, my spouse has found it impossible to avoid totally being a public figure, though I believe that she maintains a lot of independence. She receives no official recognition for any of [her public] activities, and this is a shame. I believe that the U.S. government should find a way to compensate spouses for public activities."

"In any case, my spouse has found it impossible to avoid totally being a public figure, though I believe that she maintains a lot of independence. She receives no official recognition for any of [her public] activities, and this is a shame. I believe that the U.S. government should find a way to compensate spouses for public activities."

COMPLEX PRESSURES

In 1972, reflecting the cultural split over women's issues that existed in society as a whole, AAFSW could not reach a consensus on, and did not take an official position on the Policy on Wives.

"The directive was probably trendy," says William Z. Slany, the historian of the Department of State. "There was an assumption that the whole country had suddenly adopted a whole new life style, which wasn't the case." In a 1974 interview for Radcliffe College, former Foreign Service officer Richard L. Williamson noted that, given the opportunity, most wives in 1972 would have vetoed the policy (which was principally drafted by Williamson and a committee of mid-level male officers during a series of debates in the secretary of State's Open Forum Panel). Carol Pardon, whose withering attack on the "Guidelines" had appeared in the *Foreign Service Journal* in September 1971, was the only spouse on the drafting committee.

Another principal architect of the directive was William B. Milam, now ambassador to Bangladesh. In recent private correspondence, Milam recalled that "the '72 Policy is one of the things I have been connected with in the service of which I am most proud. What I wanted to do was to ensure that the system would permit—provide the option—for a spouse to be an independent person when accompanying her Foreign Service spouse abroad,

"Yet, it did not occur to us in 1972 that the problem was much more societal and universal, so that changing the mores of the U.S. Foreign Service was only a small first step. Many parts of the world have yet to accept (and may never accept) that spouses can be private and independent. We, the drafters of that new policy, did not

OFFICIAL PRESENCE

In addition to the options it afforded spouses, another aspect of the 1972 policy is positive: most notably, it acknowledges the presence of the spouse in the service (and therefore is central to any attempt at reform). The department continues to recognize spouses in many ways—diplomatic and official passports, travel fares, housing

and other allowances predicated on spousal presence at post, a separate maintenance allowance, language and other training, medical care, crisis evacuation, pension rights for divorced spouses, etc. However none of these is the direct result of the policy.

The truth of the matter is that the department cannot function without the help of family members, and any reform must formally acknowledge their participation in representing the United States abroad. While retaining the spouse's right to remain a private individual, a new policy must include the following characteristics: recognition, evaluation, and compensation in some form, all of which are spelled out in Shurtleff's measured proposal. There must be incentives for a spouse to be the other half of the team. One strong incentive could be the $350,000 recently received by the Family Liaison Office for development of Foreign Service spouse employment initiatives. A portion of that funding should support a pilot program based on Shurtleff's proposal.

Foreign Service spouses at home and abroad should seek reform of the '72 Directive. Twenty years ago an ad hoc committee initiated the actions which led to the policy; today a similar committee must take steps to institute a much-needed reform. A chronology of spouse activism at State clearly indicates that impetus for change in family policies has to come from outside the department, through the efforts of individuals, or organizations like AAFSW and, most effectively, through direct action on Capitol Hill.

It is doubtful that Christine Shurtleff's goals will be achieved without substantial reform of the '72 Directive, the department's "hands-off" policy toward the professional Foreign Service spouse. ■

A long-time member of AAFSW, Jewell Fenzi is the director of Foreign Service Spouse Oral History Inc., in Washington, D.C., and spouse of retired FSO Guido C. Fenzi. She is working on a history of the Foreign Service spouse for Twayne Publishers, a division of Macmillan Inc.

A DYNAMITE MEATBALL

"In 1973, we were transferred to Caracas. Even though I had majored in Spanish, we had been in the Middle East, and I had studied and spoken Arabic. My Spanish just wouldn't come out when we first got to post.

"I needed work papers right away to teach in the International School—I always found it incredibly stressful to get your job the minute you hit the post—but when I asked if one of the secretaries could go with me to the Ministry of Labor, I was told, 'Well, you don't *work* for the embassy.' So I said, 'All right, I'll get the papers myself.'

"A few months later when I was called to cook for the embassy Christmas party, I said, 'Well, I don't *work* for the embassy. But my husband does, and he makes a dynamite meatball. Ask him.' The cook was going to make them in any event, but I was just making a point. I must say my [former] husband was very supportive. He got on the telephone to talk to his boss' wife about meatballs!

"The next day at school, every kid in my high school class knew that I had refused to make meatballs. It was obvious that not everybody had absorbed the '72 Directive."

Kristie Miller, in a June 19, 1989, interview with Foreign Service Spouse Oral History Inc.

REFLECTING ON THE 1972 POLICY

An interview with William Macomber

The following is excerpted from an interview with William B. Macomber who, as deputy under secretary for administration, formulated the policy that came to be known as the '72 Directive. Now retired and living on Nantucket, Ambassador Macomber was interviewed by Joan Bartlett for the Foreign Service Spouse Oral History Program.

Deputy Under Secretary for ManagementWilliam Macomber meets with members of the Women's Action Organization in 1972.

I always thought that [the '72 Directive] was one of the most difficult decisions that was made during my time in the administration at State, because a compelling argument can be made either way. The wives' liberation policy, which I deeply believe in, was designed to put an end to tyrannical treatment of junior wives, that is, wives who were being badly treated by the wife of someone who was senior to them at the embassy, and, I'm sorry to say, that wasn't an imagined problem. . . . Some pretty good women were pretty bossy and dictatorial to "junior women" (junior being predicated on the ranks of their husbands). . . . The tradition was pretty engraved into the system. . . .

In the old days, one of the great slogans, which became anathema to the women's movement but which I always thought was a pretty good slogan, was "Two for the price of one." That meant, in fact, that the government was paying one salary but getting two people to work for the government. That symbolized to me the sacrifice that people make for their country. . . . We were trying to eliminate the exploitation side of it.

Well, one thing I particularly liked to do when I was running an embassy was, when it came time to write an efficiency report, to put a couple of paragraphs in there about the wife, if she was a real contributor. It was a way you could pay them back. You could say, "This officer has one marvelous wife, who's just an enormous asset to any job her husband's involved in." It's a way to say thanks, and "we can't pay you in money, but this sure ought to help with the next promotion." It was also a recognition of you as a wife, that you're doing something important for your country. So, I hated to see that area of the efficiency report eliminated. But I also felt that if a wife were at an embassy and didn't care to participate in embassy activities—and you hoped that most of them would—that if she wanted to take a graduate degree in the local university or pursue some local interest, pursue painting or some full-time interest of her own that did not fit in with embassy activities, that was her right. She was not on our payroll, and it was between the husband and wife. It certainly would make his entertaining more difficult, but it would work out, and I always thought you had to protect the maverick. . . .

We got into this darned situation where, if you didn't forbid reference to how good a wife was, there were plenty of ways to read in who was good and who wasn't. If there was silence, you didn't say anything about the wife, the code word was she was not much help. . . I'm just as torn now as I was then, but if I had it to do over again, I'd make the same decision...

I was always looking for a way to substitute for what was taken away, and I never got very far, but I often thought, why can't AFSA have a series of awards for outstanding spouses? [see *AFSA News*, pull-out section]

Question: Do you feel that if spouses were paid for doing work as official hostess or given a title, do you think that would help at all?

Macomber: Yes, I remember that one of my successors advocated that, and I didn't like the idea much, but I also think, well, the Japanese do it, and it will bring its own problems, but I think yes, that's the direction we have to go. It's clear, you're on board, and you've got much more of a right to ask for help if the person's being paid for it. ■

UNWILLING EMPLOYMENT

Wandering the halls of overseas life

BY BARBARA FRECHETTE

Prophetic critics of the "1972 Policy on Wives of Foreign Service Employees" warned that to define all work by spouses as voluntary and optional would throw the baby out with the bathwater. They reasoned that few spouses would choose to continue doing unpaid support work at overseas posts if they could seek paid employment instead. Spouses would give up *pro bono* "charity work" in foreign communities if the Foreign Service failed to notice they were doing it. Similarly, senior spouses would cease to advise younger ones, if taking responsibility for other spouses might be considered an abuse of power. Eventually, all undervalued support work would vanish from Foreign Service overseas life.

The directive's critics were right, and their gloomy prophesy has come true. Now, almost all spouses want overseas jobs, but there are not enough jobs to go around. Today's posts are filled with spouses who are forced into unwilling unemployment. Between joblessness and lack of any perceived support role, they are demoralized.

The directive had merely opened the door for spouses to jettison their traditional roles. But even without the directive, the Foreign Service probably could not have resisted the tide of societal change that swept women out of traditional roles and into the marketplace. That trend has continued. Fewer spouses are going overseas, and now fewer married officers are entering the Foreign Service.

WHAT WAS LOST

Amid these societal shifts, the unique Foreign Service lifestyle has not changed, nor has its reliance on volunteer support from spouses. The most important contribution non-employee spouses make to overseas life is helping to foster a sense of community at post. Dr. Elmore F. Rigamer, a psychiatrist and senior deputy assistant secretary in the Medical Department at State, warned, "Living abroad is becoming less of an attraction to women and families. Faced with the possible loss of their contributions, the overall life and work of our personnel abroad stand to be severely compromised."

There is a solution. With fewer volunteers, the community liaison officer at each post is being pressured to do more work with less help. To gain great benefits at small cost, each overseas Community Liaison Office (CLO) should be expanded with additional part-time helpers. With a reliable and constant source of CLO staff, we can fulfill more of the community demands of overseas living.

An expanded CLO would develop more positions of leadership for spouses. It could develop programs of community outreach to seek employment and volunteer opportunities for spouses in the host and expatriate communities. Finally, it could offer a solution to the problem of unwilling unemployment for some overseas spouses. We must not add to their demoralization by asking non-employee spouses to do unpaid work for which management can easily justify paying others.

As did the rest of America in the 1980s, the Foreign Service overestimated the ability of employment to solve all spousal problems. Society may change, spouses may change, but the Foreign

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Service need for traditional spousal support remains.

COMING HOME

Indications are that this decade will find Americans giving up their work in favor of a more traditionally balanced lifestyle. A 1990 annual Roper poll indicated that, after 15 years, Americans had replaced work (36 percent) with leisure (41 percent) as their primary concern.

Reflecting similar changes, an April 1991 "baby boom burnout" Gallup Poll found that 43 percent of employed women aged 25 to 45 expect to reduce their job commitments in the next five years. The same is true for 33 percent of baby-boom men. Furthermore, 23 percent of employed baby-boom women say they will quit work altogether within five years, along with 11 percent of men. This is interpreted to mean that in the 1990s, America's largest consumer group will place less emphasis on money and more on meaning.

If the Foreign Service truly expects to reflect current American role models, it should continue to seek employment opportunities for a majority of spouses, who want and need jobs. It should also refurbish a role for spouses who find themselves in Foreign Service situations in which they cannot work. This refurbished role could also be used by increasing numbers of spouses who might wish to replace work with family and quality of life as their primary concerns while serving overseas.

CAMEROON: MUTUAL SUPPORT

In 1983 I had rejected the traditional role. Setting out for Cameroon with my newly appointed ambassador husband, I congratulated myself for choosing to be "modern" and for freeing myself from "dependency."

Being a good sport, I planned to entertain, represent my country, and maintain the official residence, but that was all. I was not going to impede the feminist cause by reverting to any more of the traditional volunteer role in community service. Others could do as they wished, while I wrote a book. After 20 years of community building and morale boosting, I was looking forward to having community liaison officers relieve me of those duties.

Being nontraditional would return me to my true nature. Before marrying into the Foreign Service, my life had been a series of successful competitions in a man's world. I felt that my feminist credentials were impressive, having raised consciousness in the pioneer days of the movement. As the first woman writer in Boeing's Space Program, and among the earliest women in IBM management training, I had shared in feminist path-finding.

In spite of my being a prime candidate for a nontraditional role, however, our four years in Cameroon turned out to be neither the time nor the place for it. A coup six months into our tenure there changed everyone's perceptions of my role. The crisis thrust me into a leadership role and, fortunately, also brought out everyone else's generosity. During the coup attempt, 55 American community members stayed in the residence, and we developed a strong sense of community and mutual care.

As life normalized after that first crisis, a second occurred. Poisonous gas escaped from volcanic Lake Nyos and killed many Cameroonians. I was surprised and flattered by the leadership that was expected from me. CLOs, who I thought would want me to leave them alone, sought my support. Many CLO activities became joint ventures—held at our residence and catered by the CLO.

My help became automatic and no longer optional. Not only did I fail to write my book, but I turned, gratefully, to traditional role models from the past.

Foreign Service spouses volunteer to evaluate scholarship applicants.

Fellow spouses in Cameroon, I found, were not looking for employment alone. Cameroon's response to the Foreign Service Associate Program proposal for compensation ranked spouses' needs in this order of importance:

- Increased role definition
- Increased involvement in the host community
- Ability to make a significant contribution to U.S. interests in the host community
- Appreciation—monetary and personal
- Ability to further one's own job skills
- Accrual of employment benefits (retirement, Social Security, IRA contributions)
- Continuity of employment history

If our Cameroonian tour convinced

me how valued the traditional spouse's role is in one's own diplomatic mission, our next tour, in Sao Paulo, Brazil showed me, as consul general's wife, how important expatriate Americans and host country leaders overseas consider the role.

In Sao Paulo, dynamic American corporate spouses actively participated in community service. With fewer Foreign Service spouses overseas today, and more of them working in our diplomatic missions, traditional Foreign Service participation in community events has declined dramatically. Many corporate friends and Brazilian community leaders told me how they miss the leadership Foreign Service spouses formerly provided in overseas communities.

VALUED PARTNERS

When my husband entered the Foreign Service in 1963, the spouses we met were remarkably like today's spouses. Spouses in 1963 balanced marriage, children, their own professions, the overseas requirements of their partners' careers, and perennial Foreign Service economic hardships. They wanted to help one another, their families, and the Foreign Service. Most believed they were serving their country, not their husbands or their careers.

Many 1963 spouses had significant employment experience. They worked in the States then took strongly supportive roles overseas. To use today's term, they "sequenced." For them, lack of career continuity was a given. They were realists who claimed to be neither government employees nor diplomats. They did, however, believe their support work was valued by their country, the Foreign Service, and their marriage partners.

The 1960 founding of the Association of American Foreign Service Wives (AAFSW) added democratic process to diplomatic life. Making ambassadors' wives honorary presidents of the clubs that managed family matters overseas and interjecting the phrase, "Let's vote on it" ended the Dragon Lady tendencies of all but a notorious handful of senior spouses. The 1972 directive issued a final *coup de grace* to already mortally wounded abusive practices. Naturally, some senior spouses have always been more likeable than others, and some take longer to realize the limits of their role than others.

I always joined overseas clubs because, for me, they combined the benefits of a support group and networking. Foreign Service life, under the club system, was not as monolithic as those who scorn the clubs would have us believe. Some spouses refused to join embassy women's clubs, and many others participated only nominally. Only a few met the difficult demands for creativity and leadership.

Today, we have replaced clubs with far more efficient support systems. Clubs that still exist at today's posts provide support and networking, but they have few of the managerial responsibilities of the former clubs and do not offer the same benefits.

POWER TRANSACTIONS

Transformational leadership skills were the greatest benefit spouses derived from clubs. Transformational skills persuade, influence, motivate, and inspire others. Salesmen, advertisers, preachers, and charismatic political leaders use them. Transformational leadership starts with one person's "empowerment" of another and builds toward "group empowerment," or consensus.

Transactional leadership, the opposite style, is corporate American management style. Its power resides in positions on corporate ladders. How well members wield and broker power determines who wins the best position and the most power.

The situation determines the style. Transformational skills develop outside of, and transactional skills from within, power structures. Gender is not a factor. The ideal is to have both sets of skills and to be effective in all situations.

The 1972 directive denies a spouse authority over, or responsibility for, any other spouse. But the 1985 AAFSW *Foreign Service Spouse Report* found that 61 percent of surveyed spouses still expected an ambassador's spouse to provide leadership. The directive shuns "transactional" or power-wielding leadership, while younger spouses are seeking "transformational" or mentoring

leadership. Mentoring leadership is based on example and shared experience and is petitioned, not imposed.

In the late 1970s, many overseas posts transferred community-building responsibilities to one person—a community liaison officer. CLO's one-person organizational base, however, could support only a portion of a club's functions. The loss of supportive club organizational mechanisms is, in my opinion, a major cause of discontent among spouses. Major benefits of clubs that were lost in the CLO transfer included a clearly defined role that gave spouses a sense of identity and purpose in the diplomatic mission; a cadre of experienced spouses with a functional understanding of overseas life; a connection with other expatriate Americans; a feeling of satisfaction for many spouses in doing work that is considered as worthwhile to the mission as is the work of others; a method for developing leadership; and encouragement for participation, by many spouses, in the day-to-day management of family concerns at overseas posts.

ALLOWING FOR A SOLUTION

Many functions lost when club activities were transferred to CLO could be recreated by CLO expansion. Instead of one-person CLO operations, overseas posts could develop five-or-more person CLO support programs and establish multiple allowances for which unemployed spouses could apply.

These allowances would operate like Separate Maintenance Allowances (SMAs). Like SMAs, they would be administered by regional bureaus and would be included in employee paychecks. Spouses would make the same sort of contractual agreement with the Department of State that they make when applying for SMAs.

These allowances would not challenge existing State Department policy, conflict with other proposals already in progress, or tear down existing organizational structures to erect unnecessary new ones. They could be quickly, experimentally, and cheaply implemented.

CLO interns could elect their own chairperson, offer far more and better support services at post, recreate a system of host community involvement,

report more comprehensively to FLO and State management, and regain a method for developing leadership.

An expanded CLO could also reestablish a mutually beneficial, not authoritarian, connection with principal officer's spouses. Spouses of principal officers could help CLO establish contacts in the host community, advise CLO about mission goals, and help CLO coordinate its efforts with those of other mission, expatriate, and host country agencies.

THE FREE AGENT SYSTEM

A misconception about Foreign Service spouses is that many are controlled by husbands, or, alternatively, by the service. The truth is there are few ways to control non-employee spouses at overseas posts: they can be creative free agents, or, if they try to run things, loose cannons. It is lack of control over spouses that impels our government to limit their role and curb their authority.

Non-employee spouses are free to establish unofficial, yet real, status in host communities. They have no job requirements they must fulfill, supervisors they must please, nor areas of specialization out of which they cannot stray. Other than restrictions against illegality and behavior that would discredit the United States, the only real limitation to the Foreign Service non-employee spouse's role is the creativity of the person in it.

Creative community service in foreign countries was taken to great heights by America's 1960 spouses. They founded women's centers, schools, and international women's clubs, raised countless funds for worthy causes, and left indelible impressions in the countries where they served. Foreign hosts often reminisce about American Foreign Service spouses whom they have admired for their volunteer work, specifically because it was done by those who did not have to work, and for people in a far-off land. These traits are often considered identifiably American. They produced a role that foreigners and other diplomats still consider an American classic—a "*grande dame* in blue jeans." America's traditional 1960 spouses freed the diplomatic spouse role from drawing rooms and put it into a new American tradition of international public service. Many believe early Foreign Service spouse community activists were the precursors of the Peace Corps.

Foreign Service training could make role decisions easier for spouses by always presenting the traditional role as a positive option. Our Foreign Service will probably always have to rely on voluntary spouse support to maintain its overseas life-style: in governmental budget battles, the State Department never seems to gain more than minimal overseas funding. We can attempt to eliminate the economic disadvantage of this badly needed spousal support with cost-effective allowances. Such allowances would avoid the inflammatory topic of salaries for spouses, which, according the 1985 *Spouse Report* is divisive even among the spouses themselves.

With traditions beginning with Abigail Adams, the Foreign Service has always led in the development of roles for American spouses serving overseas. Now we have another opportunity to reevaluate our support role, free of sexist baggage. Today, when families discuss whose career aspirations will be put on hold, and who will be the primary caretaker for children, it is no longer always women who make career sacrifices.

Revitalizing a support role for spouses must never be used to lessen efforts to find jobs for qualified spouses. We must continue to defend hard-won employment rights for women in the Foreign Service, but we should also remember that unemployed and employed spouses have always existed side by side in our service. We have always had both roles in the past, we should offer both options now.

Finally, by idealizing only the employed spouse, we remake an old mistake. Promoting the employed ideal with the same determination critics say we once used to force all women into the nonworking, traditional mold is, once again, trying to fit all spouses into one role. Having won the right to work, we must now avoid making it a sin not to. ■

Along with other jobs and interests, Barbara Frechette has been a Foreign Service spouse for 29 years.

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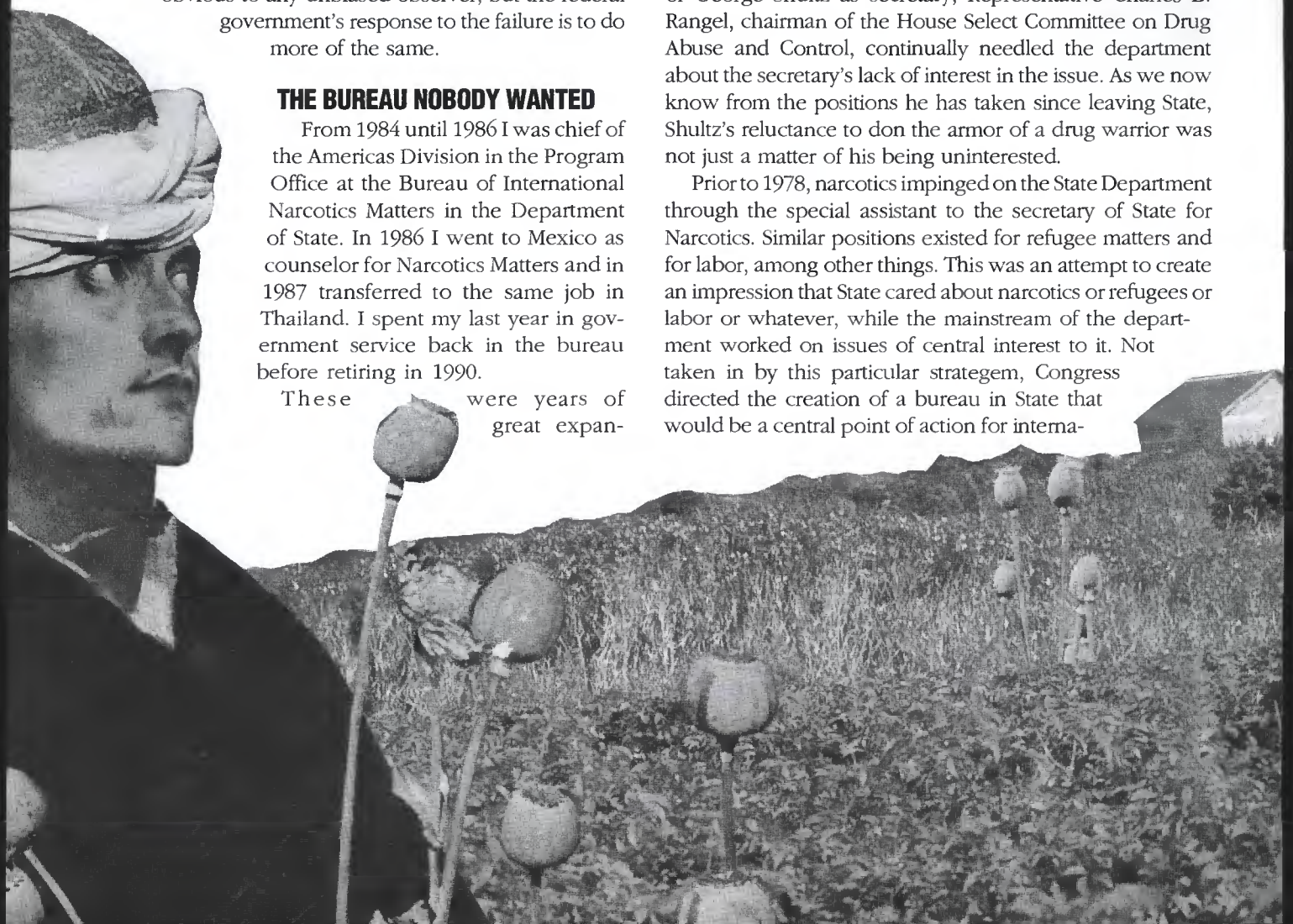
Reflections of a State Department

DRUG WARRIOR

BY JAMES J. GORMLEY

The Hippocratic oath that physicians used to take said that if a doctor cannot help, he should at least do no harm. If our drug warriors were to take a similar oath, they would need to stop most of what they are doing. The drug war is tearing apart foreign societies, giving incentive for the reallocation of income and wealth from productive to destructive channels, and fostering corruption in our own law-enforcement agencies. It is also wasting a great deal of money. The failure of our drug efforts is patently obvious to any unbiased observer, but the federal government's response to the failure is to do more of the same.



THE BUREAU NOBODY WANTED

From 1984 until 1986 I was chief of the Americas Division in the Program Office at the Bureau of International Narcotics Matters in the Department of State. In 1986 I went to Mexico as counselor for Narcotics Matters and in 1987 transferred to the same job in Thailand. I spent my last year in government service back in the bureau before retiring in 1990.

These were years of great expansion in the bureau, in terms of personnel, budgets, and resources. Much of this expansion was impelled by outside pressure, particularly from Congress, to do something about the international aspects of drug trafficking. The Department of State had the issue of narcotics thrust upon it and has never been comfortable with it. The department's activities in the anti-narcotics field have always been reactive to outside pressure. No one high in State has ever regarded the issue as more than an irritant. During the time of George Shultz as secretary, Representative Charles B. Rangel, chairman of the House Select Committee on Drug Abuse and Control, continually needled the department about the secretary's lack of interest in the issue. As we now know from the positions he has taken since leaving State, Shultz's reluctance to don the armor of a drug warrior was not just a matter of his being uninterested.

Prior to 1978, narcotics impinged on the State Department through the special assistant to the secretary of State for Narcotics. Similar positions existed for refugee matters and for labor, among other things. This was an attempt to create an impression that State cared about narcotics or refugees or labor or whatever, while the mainstream of the department worked on issues of central interest to it. Not taken in by this particular strategem, Congress directed the creation of a bureau in State that would be a central point of action for interna-

tional efforts to control narcotics.

When the Bureau of International Narcotics Matters was created, the foreign aid program for narcotics control purposes was transferred from the Agency for International Development (USAID) to State. While at USAID, the program had been a stepchild, many of its personnel being leftovers from the old Public Safety Program, which advised foreign police on counter-subversion. (Public Safety is the only federal program I know of that was done in by a motion picture, Costa-Gavras's *State of Siege*. I sometimes wish he would turn his eye to a few other programs.)

State has expended considerable amounts of money on programs for satellites and aerial reconnaissance, with only modest returns for the outlays. Congressional pressure for comprehensive narcotics eradication plans for each producer country has produced reams of paper but had remarkably little effect on the production of coca and opium poppy.

Measuring success in counter-narcotics efforts is difficult, since many relevant statistics are subject to manipulation. Congress for a time focused on eradication of opium poppy, coca, and cannabis in the field as a measure of effectiveness. This is the stage in the production and marketing chain that seems most vulnerable. Laboratories can be hidden and the finished product can be transported in a wide variety of manners, but narcotics are easier to spot when still in the field. This led to concentrated effort to identify and destroy narcotics crops. State has expended considerable amounts of money on programs for satellites and aerial reconnaissance, with only modest returns for the outlays. Congressional pressure for comprehensive narcotics eradication plans for each producer country has produced reams of paper but had remarkably little effect on the production of coca and opium poppy.

TOKEN ERADICATION

The reasons for this lack of success vary from country to country. First, whatever the disincentives provided by law enforcement, coca or poppy or cannabis continues to be more profitable to produce than any alternative crop through much of the cultivated area. The combination of law enforcement disincentives and economic incentives seems to have been relatively effective in Turkey and Thailand, but there are few other areas where this is true.

Another reason for ineffectiveness of eradication is the practice of counting as eradicated every field where spraying or cutting has taken place, ignoring inefficiency or duplicity. Spraying a poppy field after its full flowering will do nothing to inhibit the production of opium gum. A field cut after the bulbs have been scored by the grower is counted as eradicated, even though it has been harvested. In Mexico there were fields that some cynics believed were kept as sacrificial offerings, to be duly eradicated each season as a token of Mexican resolve. An agricultural expert once told me that the coca eradication in the Andes was more in the nature of pruning than destruction.

Despite these shortcomings, eradication was the centerpiece of State's strategy during the Reagan years. Assistance to Mexico principally took the form of support for the Mexican aerial eradication of poppy and cannabis. The program of providing helicopters and other aircraft to the Mexican Attorney General's Office was continued until the mid-1980s, when Washington, especially Congress, began to realize that the Mexican effort was mostly smoke and mirrors. This realization was brought home by the investigative work done by Enrique Camarena, which resulted in his murder by Mexican traffickers. The desultory manner in which Mexican authorities conducted the investigation into Camarena's murder gave rise to the conviction among many that high political figures in Mexico were involved in the murder and in drug trafficking. Elaine Shannon has given a chilling description of the Camarena case in her book *Desperados*.

THE OCCASIONAL SANCTION

Congress over the years has tried to make the Executive Branch take a harder line with foreign producer countries. The usual measure that Congress encouraged was a cutoff in economic assistance to offending countries. More than once we had to point out to our legislators that in order to cut off aid, there had to be some aid. Many congressmen seemed surprised to learn that Mexico, for instance, not only was not a current recipient of U.S. development assistance, but had never received such aid in the past. Once enlightened, Congress thought up other punitive measures—voting against loans in the World Bank and other international financial institutions, ceasing cooperation on debt relief, and other penalties limited only by the fertile imaginations of congressional staffers.

The State Department has generally run a rear-guard action against such penalties and has been reluctant to invoke them even when foreign countries have been uncooperative on narcotics control. One of the congressionally mandated tasks imposed on State is the annual International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, which started modestly with a little booklet run off in the basement of the State Department and has grown to a 467-page monster, now a production of the Government Printing Office. As part of this annual production the president is now required to certify whether or not an ever-increasing number of countries are "fully cooperating" with the United States on narcotics control. The first year that State went through this exercise, it found it possible to deny certification only to Syria, Iran, and Afghanistan. It has since adopted the

gimmick of certifying countries "with an explanation." To those outside of State, the assignment of countries to this or that category may seem somewhat capricious. Inside State, I felt the same way.

Non-cooperation on narcotics has never caused us to cut off economic assistance to any country. Human rights abuses in Burma did lead us to cut off narcotics assistance, however, when Burma had the bad grace not only to repress popular demonstrations, but to shoot down demonstrators within view of the American Embassy in Rangoon. Horrified, the United States cut off all assistance, including narcotics funds. Our ambassador in Rangoon at the time sent Washington a comprehensive critique of the Burmese government's failures on narcotics control. In neighboring Thailand, I could not help but notice that the same devastating critique could have been written before the Burmese government shot people in the streets. Instead, the embassy had been asking for large increases in aid to the marvelously successful Burmese anti-drug efforts.

The resistance to facing drug issues is carried over to the embassies in drug-producing countries. I found this especially true in Mexico. What was difficult to handle was the leadership of the embassy, which thought that if its reporting to Washington could whitewash the Mexicans, then no one would know how bad the situation was.

A prime function of the Bureau of International Narcotics Matters should be to serve as the honest broker between law enforcement agencies and the geographic bureaus, which are charged with the full range of U.S. interests in a particular country or region. INM needs to bring home to the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) that narcotics is not the only interest of the United States; it also needs to remind other elements of State about the concerns of Congress and law-enforcement agencies in international narcotics trafficking. INM has not done a good job of carrying out either job. Narcotics matters have engendered considerable tension within State between INM, with its single-issue focus, and the geographic bureaus, particularly the Latin America Bureau (ARA). Perhaps because of clientitis, perhaps because the bureau concentrates its attention on Latin America, ARA has been a consistent apologist for the Latin American producer countries, whose effectiveness in counter-narcotics efforts has been generally poor. Bolivia and Peru especially have left a vast chasm between promise and fulfillment, but Mexico has not been much better.

ROSE-COLORED GLASSES

The resistance to facing drug issues is carried over to the embassies in drug-producing countries. I found this especially true in Mexico. My major frustrations were not with the Mexicans, since I went there already knowing the venality of the cast of characters whom I would be encountering in the Mexican government. What was difficult to handle was the leadership of the embassy, which thought that if its reporting to Washington could whitewash the Mexicans, then no one would know how bad the situation was.

The ambassador during my tenure there was Charles Pilliod, a retired chairman of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, who followed as ambassador a motion picture actor who had made confrontation a central feature of his tour in Mexico. Pilliod rightly thought that his predecessor's style only made Mexican-American relations worse. Unfortunately, Pilliod moved to the opposite extreme and became an apologist for Mexico. He was always hoping that people would forget the Camarena case. He often expressed the view that those who continued to bring up Camarena never thought about the hundreds of Mexican police killed each year in the drug war. What he did not acknowledge was that most of these police were killed while operating as gunmen for rival drug gangs. No Mexican policeman was ever tortured to death by Americans either.

At one staff meeting Pilliod said that if it had not been for embassy narcotics reporting, Congress would not have had such a negative view of Mexico. I said that on the contrary, we had never reported the situation as being even close to how bad it really was and that Congress did not have confidence in our reporting for that very reason. Congress had other sources providing a more realistic view than was the State Department.

At another staff meeting, in general remarks which everyone in the room took to be directed at me, Pilliod called for more balanced reporting. I asked him if he wanted me to stifle reporting from my people in the field. He angrily rejected that, saying that he just wanted the positive aspects reported too. I said that I would be glad to oblige if I knew of any. Showing the moral courage of our overseas bureaucrats, no one else said a word, although a few people congratulated me after the meeting.

Mexican eradication operations deteriorated significantly during the de la Madrid Administration. Partly this was due to adaptations by the traffickers—using smaller, more remote fields, expanding into new growing areas, more irrigation. A much more significant factor was the corruption in the drug campaign run by the Mexican Attorney General's Office and the decline in American field presence. Without this field presence there was no independent verification of what was actually going on. Pilliod took a paternalistic view of the Mexican program, attributing its failures to inefficiency and inadequacy of resources, especially helicopters. I regarded the key lack as not resources but will, and I opposed additional helicopters as long as the Attorney General's Office was not effectively using the ones it already had.

While Pilliod tended to excuse poor performance by

Mexico, Attorney General Ed Meese and Deputy Attorney General Steve Trott actually pretended that the Mexican program was effective. On one occasion during a meeting of the Mexican and American attorneys general in Puerto Vallarta, Trott glowingly endorsed a briefing on the Mexican program given by the Mexican official in chargé. Everyone in the room who was aware of the truth was taken aback by Trott's comments, and the assistant secretary of State for INM demurred from Trott's endorsement, pointing out some of the program's deficiencies. I was later told by the U.S. chargé d'affaires that Attorney General Meese had expressed considerable displeasure at the intervention by the assistant secretary, who, he claimed, was undermining the great cooperation between our two countries in law-enforcement matters. What this great cooperation consisted of I was never able to figure out. Before I got the chance, INM decided it was time to move me out of Mexico before the ambassador threw me out.

An increasing concern during the past half-dozen years has been the connection between narcotics trafficking and terrorism. Insurgency and terrorism have indigenous roots in Colombia and Peru. They would exist independently of drug trafficking, but the drug trade has made the problem worse by providing terrorists with a great source of income.

FAR AFIELD

An increasing concern during the past half-dozen years has been the connection between narcotics trafficking and terrorism. Insurgency and terrorism have indigenous roots in Colombia and Peru. They would exist independently of drug trafficking, but the drug trade has made the problem worse by providing terrorists with a great source of income. The American-promoted effort to suppress production and traffic in narcotics has enabled insurgents to pose as friends and protectors of peasant growers of coca and act as armed auxiliaries of the traffickers.

For a time, the insurgent groups in Colombia looked on the traffickers as potential sources of ransom revenues. The violent retribution meted out to kidnappers by the traffickers ended this venture, and by the mid-1980s the traffickers and the insurgents had reached a general accommodation. As the political process has opened in Colombia, some of the insurgent groups have moved into the political sphere. But many seemed to leave their gunmen behind as auxiliaries of the drug cartel.

Sendero Luminoso in Peru is a greater threat to the Peruvian state than any of the Colombian groups ever were to that government. In the mid-1980s the conventional wisdom was that Sendero was a pristine revolutionary group with no use for drug traffic. Whatever the accuracy of that evaluation, by the time Sendero had established itself in the coca-growing Upper Huallaga Valley, it was firmly on the side of the coca grower. As Sendero has gained in strength in the valley, drug trafficking has continued to flourish. The traffickers seem able to adjust both to the Peruvian Army and to Sendero. The Peruvian Armed Forces have not shown much ability to counter Sendero's threat. The heavy-handed methods of the Peruvian Armed Forces have probably done more to drive the rural population toward Sendero than to put down the threat. The U.S. attempt to involve the Peruvian Army in the drug war seems at odds with everything we should have learned there.

During the six years that I was involved in the narcotics issue with State, I tried to carry out the policies enunciated at the political level of the government. As a loyal soldier in the drug wars, most of my criticism of what was going on was directed at the lack of foreign government commitment and results. This was so even when I understood or indeed agreed with the position of the foreign government.

One argument that always annoys our domestic drug warriors is the contention by foreigners that our demand is what fuels the drug trade. Our demand has devastated the legitimate economies of some countries and wreaked havoc on their societies. One reason for our annoyance is that many of those who use this argument are seeking excuses for their own failures. A greater reason is that we have no real counter argument. It is the truth: U.S. demand is the driving force.

Now that I am outside that system I can step back and criticize that policy, not just its implementation. Norman Mailer, in a quixotic campaign for mayor of New York some years ago, ran on the slogan "No more bullshit." I wish that were the cornerstone of our drug policy. Instead, that cornerstone is mostly lies, equivocation and self-deception. If we wanted to live up to Mailer's slogan, we would review our approach to enforcement. We should give up such enforcement techniques as undercover operations, controlled deliveries, "buy and bust," and the whole panoply of games that make police unsure of what side of the law they are on. The only result of these techniques is to raise prices. Next we would increase emphasis on treatment and education about the social and medical aspects of narcotics use. As one congressman pointed out in urging greater effort on education and less reliance on enforcement, the decline in the use of alcohol and tobacco in the United States is due to long-term health education campaigns, not to bombing distilleries in Scotland or scorching tobacco fields in North Carolina. ■

James J. Gormley was in the Foreign Service for 26 years, the last six of which were devoted to narcotics issues.

afsa news

Foreign Service Day 1992

Award presenters included (l to r) Christian A. Herter Jr., Mrs. John Sterry Long, Pamela Harriman, Ambassador Brandon Grove, Susan Baker, and Nancy Horan.

AFSA winners honored in State ceremony

Richard S. Thompson
Professional Issues Coordinator

The 1992 AFSA awards were presented at a ceremony in the Dean Acheson Auditorium on Foreign Service Day, May 1.

The Christian A. Herter Award for senior officers was won by Robert L. Earle, a USIA Foreign Service officer. As minister counselor for public affairs in Mexico, he was cited for outstanding leadership, initiative, creativity, and energy that helped to advance relations between the United States and Mexico. The award was presented by Christian A. Herter Jr. to C. Benjamin Earle on his brother's behalf.

Earle's Foreign Service career has included assignments in Latin America, Europe, as well as Washington. He has worked in security affairs, international trade, environmental and law enforcement cooperation, and educational and cultural exchange. His next assignment will be as diplomat in residence at the University of New Mexico.

Gerald W. Scott, political counselor in Kinshasa, was on hand to receive the William R. Rivkin Award for mid-level officers from Mrs. John Sterry Long, widow of the late Ambassador Rivkin. Mr. Scott demonstrated extraordinary initiative, imagination, energy, and courage during a critical period of internal disorder in Zaire. Scott joined the Foreign Service in 1969 and has served in Morocco, Gabon, Vietnam, Italy, Swaziland, and the UN in New York.

Mrs. Pamela Harriman granted the W. Averell Harriman Award for junior officers to Colin M. Cleary. As political officer in Kampala, Uganda, he demonstrated initiative, integrity, and in-

AFSA Speakers Bureau, minority internship established

AFSA has established a Speakers Bureau and will sponsor an annual paid minority internship in the State Department beginning this summer, AFSA President Hume Horan announced at a Foreign Service Day ceremony in the State Department on May 1.

The Speakers Bureau will make available experts on international issues, both retired and active-duty, to educational, business, civic, and religious groups throughout the United States. Initial funding for the Speakers Bureau has been provided through grants by the Ford and Una Chapman Cox Foundations, the Dillon Fund and the Nelson B. Delavan Foundation. The Speakers Bureau will coordinate with the Association of Black American Ambassadors, especially in minority recruiting, and will enhance understanding of the Foreign Service.

"The AFSA Governing Board believes the Foreign Service must be both an elite and a representative organization," said Horan. "We are also seeking ways to strengthen the department's minority recruiting efforts by inviting retired members of AFSA to work with minority interns in their school communities before and after their Washington internships."

AFSA award winners

Top, clockwise: Rivkin Award winner Gerald Scott receives citation from Mrs. John Sterry Long; Harriman Award winner Colin Cleary in a village in Uganda; Pamela Harriman presents award for volunteer service to Margie Howell.

Top: Robert Earle, winner of Christian Herter Award; bottom, Delavan Award winner Phyllis Ann Finkelstein.

tellectual courage in reporting on that nation's efforts to move toward political pluralism, constitutional rule, respect for human rights, and free markets.

Joining the service in 1986, Cleary served as consular officer in Mexico City before going to Kampala. He is currently press officer in the Bureau of Public Affairs, and will soon begin Polish language training in preparation for an assignment to Warsaw.

The Delavan Award for Foreign Service secretaries, given for the first time a year ago, was won this year by Phyllis Ann Finkelstein, secretary to the administrative counselor in New Delhi. She showed unusual initiative and leadership and made notable contributions to efficiency in dealing with the highest priority management problems of a large mission.

An elementary teacher, Finkelstein joined the State Department in 1971 and has served in Brussels, Lome, Geneva, Kabul, San Salvador, Tunis, Lisbon, and New Delhi.

Margie Howell, spouse of the previous ambassador to Kuwait, won the Avis Bohlen Award for volunteer work by a Foreign Service family member. Following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, she brought compassion, intelligence, and energy to the Family Liaison Office program of support to dependents and other Americans evacuated from Kuwait, including American women married to Kuwaitis and other Arabs. A psychiatric and mental health nurse, her knowledge of stress management and her teaching skills have been used extensively at overseas postings and in Washington. Mrs. Howell announced that her prize money would be donated to a scholarship fund for the children of American citizens in Kuwait.

Of the nine winners of the Matilda W. Sinclaire Award for achievement in the study of a hard language, only Peter S. Hinz from Warsaw could be present to receive the award from Ambassador Brandon H. Grove, Jr., director of the Foreign Service Institute.

Ambassadors honored

Two distinguished retired ambassadors were honored on Foreign Service Day. Director General Edward J. Perkins conferred the Director General's Cup on Ambassador Rozanne Ridgway, and Ambassador Hermann Frederick Eilts received the Foreign Service Cup from Joseph F. Donelan, Jr. President of Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired (DACOR).

Volunteers saluted

In a ceremony presided over by Association of American Foreign Service Women President Nancy Horan, Mrs. James A. Baker III announced the AAFSW Secretary of State Pins for outstanding volunteerism. "Volunteering," wrote Abby Hvitfelt, one of the winners, "sets up a chain reaction with all people involved, thereby opening a whole network of people we want to help." Hvitfelt of Suva, Fiji was cited for volunteer efforts in the local community. The other winners are Pamela Philipp Whelan, Lusaka, Zambia; Margaret "Leftie" Vaughn, Guatemala City, Guatemala; Le Rowell, Luxembourg; and Nancy Coffey, Algiers, Algeria.

20 students win AFSA/AAFSW merit awards

Twenty high school seniors have been awarded the 1992 AFSA/AAFSW merit scholarship awards, announced AFSA Committee on Education Chairman Robert H. Miller. Local winner Stephanie Bowers accepted a certificate and check on behalf of all recipients from Director General Edward Perkins on Foreign Service Day. Funds for the 17th AFSA/AAFSW Awards came from the yearly AAFSW Bookfair and the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

This year, the awards for outstanding academic achievement and extracurricular participation among Foreign Service high school seniors were given in memory of the late Ambassador Carol Laise Bunker, a distinguished member of the Foreign Service.

Of the 20 winners, 11 are female and nine are male. Nine are seniors in the greater Washington D.C. area, five attend schools in other parts of the United States, and six are studying at overseas schools. Eleven winners are State Department offspring, four represent USIA, three USAID, and two have parents in the retiree community.

Seven Merit Award winners from the Washington area pose with AFSA Committee on Education Committee Chairman Robert H.Miller (top right). The winners are (l to r, top): Matthew Fleming, Andria Thomas, Timothy Finegan, (bottom) Cristina Brown, Jeffrey Licht, Stephanie Bowers.

Merit Award Winners

Stephanie Bowers	Cristina Brown
Amber Field	Timothy Finegan
Matthew Fleming	Lara Johnson
David Kurtzer	Vincent LaVergne
Jeffrey Licht	Rita Louh
Edward McBride	Susan Moody
Krister Olsson	Key Young O'Neill
Katherine Parris	Fernando Pizarro
Lynn Selby	May Tran Taylor
Andria Thomas	Melinda Winter

Honorable Mention

Jonathan Crane	Robert Huddleston
David Penner	David Rybak
Karin Salmon	Ranjit Sandhu
Shane Ward	Elsa Wentling
Kenton Williams	Marc Wollemborg

Readers Survey

We would like to thank the many readers who took time to participate in the 1992 Readers Survey. The results will help the Journal to continue to provide advertising services geared to our readers' interests.

AFSA negotiates selection precepts

by Deborah M. Leahy
Member Services Representative

AFSA has concluded negotiations with State management on the 1992-93 precepts for promotion. The major changes include an emphasis on foreign language capability and promotion of economic/commercial activity.

Recent congressional legislation requires that the department instruct promotion panels to give precedence in promotions to those proficient in foreign languages. The department proposed to begin issuing these instructions to the 1992 boards. AFSA, insisting that employees required some advance notice, was successful in obtaining a deferment until 1993. AFSA also warned management that employees who seek language training to improve their chances for promotion must be accommodated.

AFSA's support for efforts designed to enhance U.S. commercial success abroad is longstanding. Thus, we accepted the department's proposal that Selection Boards reward employee contributions to U.S. economic and commercial goals regardless of the employee's cone.

AFSA's negotiators, however, pointed out that not all employees will have an equal opportunity to make such contributions and insisted that the precepts be written so that these employees are not penalized. At the same time, the rewards for contributing will not be confined to employees in the economic/commercial cone alone, but will be available to all. AFSA also won a delay in implementation until 1993.

Other key changes include:

- A pattern of failure by an employee to identify his/her most significant achievement in the EER (section VI-A) will be considered a weakness and will affect boards' determinations.
- The 1992 Selection Boards will perform the functions previously exercised by the Performance Pay Board.

New APO/FPO address system

by Julie Smithline
Member Services Representative

On July 15, 1991 the United States Postal Service (USPS) and the Military Postal Service Agency (MPSA), the administering agencies of the APO/FPO system, established a new address format for mail shipped through the system. Until July 15, 1992, packages using both the old and new address formats will continue to be processed.

Unfortunately, many organizations have not yet made the changeover. Nevertheless, in response to an AFSA query, the department said that both the USPS and the MPSA intended to stand by the original termination date to discourage organizations from delaying any further.

The USPS and MPSA may reconsider, however, if a substantial number of organizations are not able to meet the deadline.

PMA funds scholarship

The Public Members Association (PMA) has donated $2,500 to the AFSA scholarship fund to commemorate PMA's 25th anniversary. PMA President E.D. Frankhouser presented AFSA President Hume Horan with the donation, which is earmarked for college juniors or seniors interested in foreign affairs and requiring financial assistance. PMA brings together private-sector representatives who have served on selection boards.

newsbriefs

Change in standardized regulations. Recently, the Standardized Regulations on Foreign Transfer Allowance (section 240) and Home Service Transfer Allowance (section 250) were revised to provide for reimbursement of lease penalty expenses. With the revision, employees who are receiving the living quarters allowance can receive reimbursement (not to exceed the amount required by the terms of a rental contract or the equivalent of three months' rent, whichever is less) when they are transferred to a new post. While employees who seek curtailment of assignments for transfer or promotion are not eligible for this reimbursement, the department has assured AFSA that employees who respond to a request for volunteers for "hard to fill" positions will be eligible to claim lease penalty expenses. Questions should be directed to AFSA's Member Services Department at (202) 647-8160.

AFSA participates in health committee work. USAID's Occupational Safety and Health Advisory Committee (OSHAC) is currently working toward a new smoking policy for implementation in agency facilities worldwide. The committee, which is charged with developing proposals on a number of issues including office safety, prevention of back injuries, and programs for employees with disabilities, recently requested that AFSA participate in its work. In addition to striving to create a healthy environment for employees, the committee also tracks legislation on health-related issues.

Update on grievance processing. AFSA has previously reported that the department had received a number of extensions for submitting documents to the Foreign Service Grievance Board (FSGB), only months after the new time limits became effective. We are glad to report that according to the FSGB, the department has not received any additional extensions since our report. The FSGB has reaffirmed its commitment to ensuring compliance by all parties.

New Look at A-100: Instead of the relentlessly male groupings pictured on the walls of the FS Club (weren't the earliest classes in bearskins?) a corner has been turned with Class No. 62. Viewers looking over the group photo of the historic 62nd, should know that it is the first entering FSO class ever in which the women outnumber the men: 22 to 21.

Legislative news

Waiting for November

by Rick Weiss
Congressional Liaison

Gridlock between the Republican executive and Democratic legislative branches summarizes the mood, the inaction, and the lack of movement in Congress.The current politics are more focussed on whether 1992 is the year of women in national elections, the role of H. Ross Perot in the presidential election, and whether the Supreme Court will strike down or nibble away Roe vs. Wade.

The House proposes a "balanced budget amendment" and a "commission to reorganize the government." The proposed reorganization of intelligence is being submerged under executive branch criticism and protection of each department and agency "rice bowl."

Secretary Baker, USAID Administrator Roskens and other senior executives have made their mandatory appearances to request funding for the assistance package for the former Soviet Union. Everyone appears to be for it but with little enthusiasm. Senator Leahy (D-VT), chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, summarized the "lightness" of the package when he stated that USAID has twice as many employees in Honduras than its plans included in all of the CIS countries.

During June, the appropriations bills are scheduled for congressional floor action. It is there where the threat of amendments reducing overall departmental budgets by 1 to 5 percent, reducing COLA costs by placing a "freeze" on COLAs for FY 1993, or tinkering with the government contribution to health insurance payments pose problems for U.S. government employees and programs. However, even these proposals may follow the Washington dictum: "After the election."

Secretary Baker directs study of management

AFSA has persistently called for a comprehensive, in-house plan to review the functions, resources, and personnel of the Foreign Service. Accordingly, AFSA welcomes Secretary Baker's decision of March 24 to undertake a "Management Study of the State Department."

The study will recommend: "1) appropriate changes in internal operating structures and functions, 2) appropriate changes in relations with other foreign affairs agencies, and 3) how to accomplish such changes at acceptable levels of funding."

The study appears to be well-focused and well-designed. Together with other analyses of the mission and structure of the Foreign Service, it may help lay the consensual basis for how we should do our business between now and the year 2000. (AFSA's own "White Paper" on the Service will appear soon.)

from the USAID vice president

USAID's myopia

by Priscilla Del Bosque

USAID management needs to put on some corrective lenses. Its myopic vision impedes it from seeing the minefield that lies ahead. One move it could make toward restoring 20/20 vision would be to enlist AFSA's help.

The coming year promises to bring profound changes in what USAID does and how it does it. In hearings on management held by the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations on May 1, Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT) stressed the need for radical changes in USAID if the agency is to survive. Senator Leahy and others on the Hill see USAID as a mismanaged and rudderless agency; they are skeptical of the so-called reforms that management is trying to implement. He has called for a conference on foreign aid between the Executive and Legislative branches right after the November elections. On a parallel track, the Presidential Commission on USAID Management is going to be extended through September to try to convince management to implement the commission's recommendations. One of these is to merge USAID into the State Department; another would dismantle the geographic bureaus and reorganize along "functional" lines.

No matter what happens, one thing is clear: USAID is in for a very rough year. Changes–for better or worse–are coming. Management could seize the day and channel the momentum for change in such a way that USAID's role is strengthened, its development mandate reaffirmed, its operational assets better supported. Unfortunately, management's myopia will likely prevent the agency from shaping its destiny. Others will do this for us.

Another thing is clear: management will need to negotiate changes affecting its Foreign Service employees with AFSA. If management really cares about its employees, if it is serious about cultivating quality management and enhanced productivity, and if it desires to lead the agency through a turbulent period of change to a new role endorsed by employees and supported by the American public, then it will see that a full-time AFSA representative is in the agency's interest. AFSA can work constructively with management to minimize confusion and chaos, and it can help management seize the opportunity to shape a more positive future for this beleaguered agency.

Management still sees AFSA as an irrational adversary. The fact that for years the State Department has paid for two full-time AFSA positions with good results hasn't convinced USAID that it, too, would be better off with a full-time AFSA representative in the wrenching year ahead.

Unfortunately, USAID management doesn't see this. It also doesn't seem to realize that management is instructed by the Foreign Service Act to negotiate changes affecting USAID Foreign Service employees with AFSA. Management's reluctance appears to be grounded in the fear of helping the enemy. This is a curious perception, given the agency's espousal of democratic institutions and processes in the developing world. Is it because USAID's limited full-time equivalent (FTE) ceiling prevents it from assigning one FTE to AFSA? If so, then how does management justify unreimbursed FTE assignments to agencies that have little to do with USAID or international development?

AFSA has proposed a trial period of one year for a full-time position. That experience would be evaluated by both sides to judge if the FTE investment is worth continuing. Even though management and AFSA have been working together constructively on issues, management apparently still sees AFSA as an irrational adversary. The fact that for years the State Department has paid for two full-time AFSA positions with good results hasn't convinced USAID that it, too, would be better off with a full-time AFSA representative in the wrenching year ahead.

Let us hope that by the time this commentary is published, management will have corrected its myopic vision. If it does, it will see that AFSA can be an ally in maneuvering the minefield. If it does not, the shortsightedness does not bode well for USAID and its Foreign Service.

Open Forum

BEX-speak

TO THE EDITOR:

Although 10 years have passed since I was executive director of the Board of Examiners (BEX), I was pleased to discover from reading "Responses to AFSA's questions on affirmative action" [April Journal, AFSA NEWS] that I was still able to decipher BEX-speak.

Director General Perkins answered "no" to the question of whether entrance examination scores should be altered to benefit certain candidates, and then went on to clarify his response. I am told that BEX has been greatly reformed since the time I was there, but I note from Ambassador Perkins's clarification that the same codewords, signals, and invisible writing (the kind that lemon juice makes legible) are still in use there.

The article also pleased me by providing further proof of Ambassador Perkins's qualifications for heading our mission to the UN. I once served there, too, and I recall that our representatives often capitalized on the privilege of making a statement to explain the U.S. vote on a delicate question. The technique is called "voting no and saying yes." Clearly, Ambassador Perkins will not have to be taught how it works.

Robert Drexler
Rockville, Maryland

Foreign Service Mystique

TO THE EDITOR:

I am concerned that some of the recent suggestions of the department's Commission on Civil Service Improvements, especially the commission's emphasis on the "unity" of the Foreign and Civil Services, threaten to undermine important distinctions between the two services. The spirit of the commission's suggestions seems aimed at depriving the Foreign Service of its mystique, exactly the thing that inspires the dedication and sacrifice required for effective service abroad.

Individuals who are highly qualified and willing to make the sacrifices required for duty in the Foreign Service are uncommon. They must achieve fluency in foreign languages, work comfortably and effectively in diverse cultures, face a five-year probationary period, be willing to serve a career in a "cone" not of their choosing, accept the "up or out" nature of a Foreign Service career, and be will-

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AFSA's 1991 July 4 party.

Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room
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Are you an AFSA member? ☐ ***yes*** ☐ ***no***

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NAME	DATE OF BIRTH	SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER

Please mail coupon with a personal check to: AFSA Fourth, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Space is limited. Tickets will be issued on a first-come, first-served basis, with preference to members of AFSA.

ing to face deprivation, disease, and danger common to the Third World. Exclude any candidate whose spouse does not accept the lifestyle or whose family is not capable of constant moves. The conclusion is unavoidable: The uncommon individuals and their families who join and stay in the Foreign Service make up an exclusive group of people.

The word "exclusive" has connotations not generally approved of in our equalitarian society. But the Foreign Service is not exclusive in terms of race, gender, or religion. Rather it is inclusive in this regard, seeking to be representative of U.S. society at large. However, all who are members of this exclusive group must agree to make certain sacrifices. Fittingly, there is a Foreign Service Day to recognize the sacrifices inherent in a Foreign Service career, although one of the commission's recommendations is to abolish this accolade.

The exclusivity and shared experience of the Foreign Service gives rise to a mystique. And the mystique, in turn, is what drives the Foreign Service. To attack the mystique of the Foreign Service will not make it more egalitarian, but will make it less effective, less able to retain talented officers, and less able to recruit the best of the broad spectrum of candidates it currently seeks.

Much needs to be done to improve Civil Service careers at State. However, improving one should not undermine the other.

Mitchell Optican
Policy Planning and Coordination
Bureau of Inter-American Affairs

Answers to the Foreign Service Quiz

(Questions appear on Page 8)

1. Benjamin Franklin, who, at 70, was asked in 1776 to represent the new nation at the court of France. Franklin, of course, affecting the manner of an "American agriculturist," took Paris by storm, and his portrait was stamped on medallions, watches, snuffboxes—and even chamber pots.
2. John Adams
3. George Bush
4. John Adams, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren, and James Buchanan.

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The following names continue our list of AFSA Fund contributors for 1991. Additional names will continue in a later issue.

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Leashing the Nuclear MENACE

India's position and First World responsibilities

BY GENERAL K. SUNDARJI

The more ideologically neutral atmosphere of the post-Cold War world makes it possible to reassess the real security concerns of nations that are on the brink of joining the nuclear club. Justifiable security concerns of India, Pakistan, Israel, and other countries have to be analyzed and answers found that are credible and non-discriminatory. Only then will the compulsion to go nuclear wither.

It is simplistic to believe that the nuclear problem in South Asia is an Indo-Pakistani phenomenon, which could be sorted out between these two countries. India's primary concern is China, not because of any inherent hostility, but because sturdy fences beget good neighbors. China's signing the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as a nuclear power does not in any way reduce the Chinese nuclear threat to India, and the impact of the signing on India's stand will be marginal.

A one-sided nuclear situation not only leaves the non-nuclear power strategically open to nuclear blackmail but also negates its conventional capability. The nuclear power can concentrate conventional forces with impunity at the point of decision. The other cannot; it just cannot risk offering lucrative targets, and yet it cannot force its opponent to disperse. So the very threat of using nuclear weapons can hamstring conventional tactics in an Indo-Pakistani situation.

Not every state whose neighbor has gone nuclear can aspire to go nuclear too. This might be a relevant argument in favor of nuclear celibacy on the part of, say, Bhutan in the face of a nuclear China, or for Cuba in the face of a nuclear United States; it cannot be relevant in the case of India and a nuclear China. It is also unrealistic to expect that Pakistan would abstain if it sees India as nuclear. One therefore has to look for a tripartite solution for the region. ▶

Exploding myths

In the past, applying superpower nuclear doctrine to the Indo-Pakistani situation has caused unnecessary confusion. These are some of the hoariest myths:

- *Without a rigorous testing regime, nuclear weapons cannot be deployed with adequate assurance; the absence of testing will mean that the system is not ready for use.*

  Not true. When the aim is minimum deterrence in the second-strike mode, and the targets are cities, it does not matter if only one weapon of a pattern of three explodes; Nagasaki and Hiroshima got only one each. Likewise, some variations in the yield of the untested weapons or their accuracy would not take away much from the threat of effective damage to a city target.

- *Without evidence of deployment, integration of nuclear doctrine with the conventional doctrine of the armed forces etc., the system cannot be ready for use.*

  Not true. With minimum deterrence and targeting confined to cities, hair-trigger readiness to respond is not essential; only a second-strike capability must survive, along with the will to retaliate. Even a decapitating attack will not necessarily prevent retaliation by the surviving nuclear weapons; these might be ordered to retaliate on predetermined targets, if a first strike is received and no countermanding is done say, within three hours.

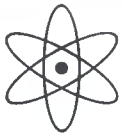
- *Once countries openly acquire a nuclear-weapons capability, a nuclear arms race is axiomatic.*

  Not true. In relative strengths calculations in war, more is better. When nuclear war was expected to follow the start of conventional war almost automatically, and when nuclear war was seen as fightable and winnable, this might have been true. Not today, when people believe that the horrendous damage expected from even a low-level nuclear exchange makes it meaningless to discuss who "wins" and who "loses." Thus, when nuclear-weapon's capability is acquired only for deterrence, the relative strengths equation is different. What one needs is a second-strike capability that can cause unacceptable damage to the adversary, with unacceptable damage calculated rationally. More is therefore not better, when less is enough.

- *Absence of tactical nuclear weapons with field units indicates that the overall system is unready.*

  Not true. In the combat zone too, the idea is to deter the adversary from making first use of nuclear weapons to gain an advantage. For this, tactical-area targets attacked in the second strike would do. Unique tactical weapons are not required.

Given this reorientation to a Third World scenario, what should any analyst assume to be the status of India's or Pakistan's nuclear-weapons program? I am inclined to suspect that both countries have armed. It would be wishful thinking to assume otherwise.



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The U.S. responsibility: restraint

What can the United States do for nonproliferation? Present threats to the United States, including highly improbable ones, do not warrant a large nuclear arsenal. Any future threat from regional powers, the Commonwealth of Independent States or nuclear chaos after its disintegration, a resurgent Germany or Japan, or a united Europe will take time to develop. These will be visible well before they are effective. The United States can enhance its nuclear capability later in a timely manner if needed rather than overinsure now. The United States has three broad choices.

The first scenario: the five nuclear-weapon powers agree to deep cuts, reducing arsenals by 90 percent, to 10 percent of their current levels. They man the residual forces with their own nationals but deploy them centrally under the control of the United Nations. All countries, including the nuclear-weapons powers, sign a new treaty banning production or testing of nuclear weapons or weapons-grade fissile material. They also accept effective verification. Any nuclear-weapon power facing a dire national threat may be allowed to withdraw its forces from UN control. This would accelerate the progress of other forms of arms control and disarmament. However, it may not fully relieve the fears of the big powers of being at the mercy of small powers or subject to the "tyranny of the majority."

Under the second scenario, the residual

nuclear forces are retained under the command of the nuclear powers, which, however, accept that their use will be only at UN behest or in the case of dire national danger. This would perhaps meet most of the objections of countries like India.

Under the third scenario, the United States would offer only apparently big cuts and retain, say, 50 percent of its nuclear arsenal. The United States would also insist on retaining a first-strike option to take care of a possible nuclear or chemical threat to its deployed forces from a regional power with a chemical or small nuclear capability, and it would not accept a ban on production or testing or verification for members of the nuclear club.

If the United States chooses the first scenario, the danger from mass use of nuclear weapons would be reduced. The legitimacy and prestige of nuclear weapons will have slumped, removing the incentive for proliferation. In a regime seen as fair, there would be almost universal support for tough measures against any nation stepping out of line.

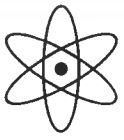
If the second scenario is chosen, the prestige and legitimacy of the nuclear weapon would not have eroded to the same degree as in the first case. However, for democratic powers like India, the incentive to go nuclear would be almost totally absent.

In the third scenario, the regime would continue to be cynical. If the United States holds on to a large nuclear arsenal to counter vague future threats, other powers with more immediate nuclear threats would conclude that there is no alternative to nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles if one is to ensure security with honor. Those who cannot go this route may be tempted into innovative international terrorism using special weapons.

The impermeable umbrella

Quasi unipolarity with U.S. preeminence, which has prevailed since the collapse of the Soviet Union, has one positive factor for non-proliferation. Any U.S. offer of a nuclear umbrella to a non-nuclear country has greater credibility, for the United States can be bolder now, with no fear of retaliation on the continental United States by the other global power. This sort of offer, coupled with a drastic reduction in the Chinese nuclear arsenal, would lead India (and Pakistan?) to sign the NPT and destroy any stockpiles, if America opts for scenario one or two.

Let us assume, however, that the United States opts for something like scenario three. The U.S. government should not assume that it can get India to sign the NPT by threat of force; the most intrepid planners must realize that India is not Iraq. It appears that proliferation has already occurred. The effort should be to reduce the probabilities of war by miscalculation, which may lead to a nuclear exchange, between China and India or India and Pakistan. It should mean preventing nuclear arms racing among the three countries. Minimum or proportionate deterrence is what all three countries are talking about. Therefore, an agreement on the kind of stockpiles that the three will need should be feasible, with transparency, agreed verification procedures, and the assistance of the United States acting as an honest broker.



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Credibility will be greatly enhanced by verifications and inspections that have been mutually agreed to. As confidence builds, mutually agreed reductions of conventional forces deployable against each other can also be undertaken. It is for this end that a four-power conference may be desirable, with China, India, and Pakistan included as active participants and with the United States holding the ring. I am not sure of Russia's credentials for attending the conference or what purpose it will serve till the disposition of strategic and tactical nuclear weapons is decided in the former Soviet Union and the final position known. But I do think that India would want no part of the conference if China attended only as a referee.

The time is now opportune, as the risks are low. I do hope that the United States will have the wisdom and the courage to bring its abundant idealism out of cold storage, set an example, and put a leash on the nuclear menace. ■

General K. Sundarji is former chief of the Indian Army. The views expressed in this article are the author's and not those of the Government of India or of the Indian Ministry of Defense or External Affairs.

Lowering the Nuclear THRESHOLD

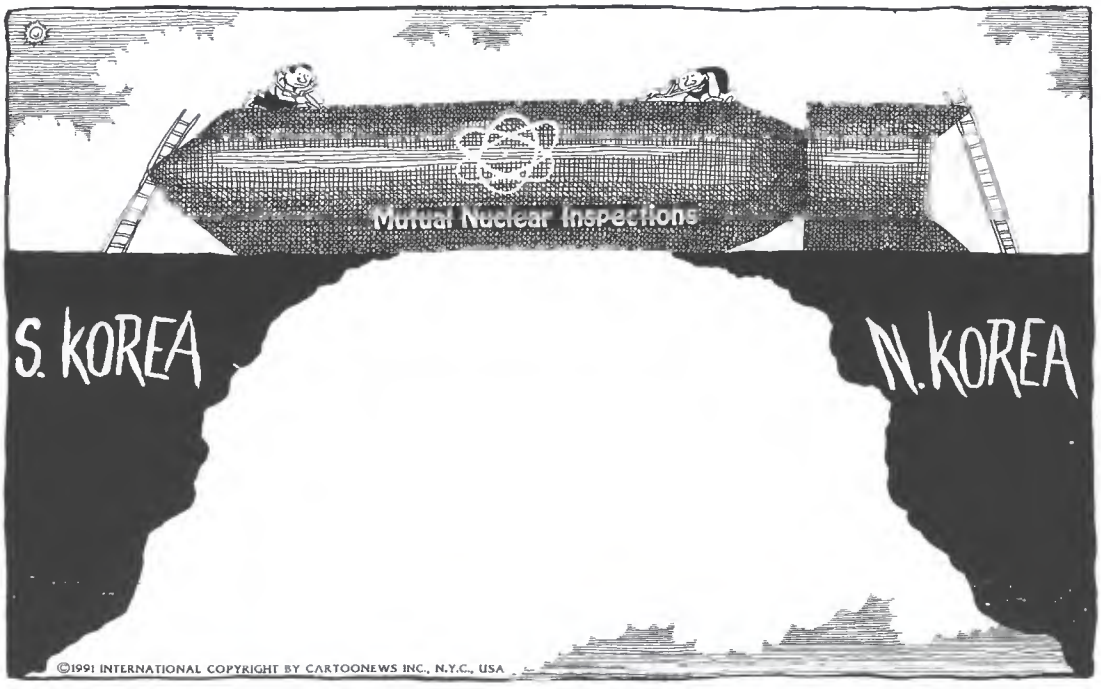
The specter of North Korea

BY WILLIAM BEECHER

Without question, one of the most serious challenges in the post-Cold War world is the threatened spread of nuclear weapons into the hands of rogue nations. Nowhere is the challenge more imminent, nor the difficulties in confronting it more worrisome, than in North Korea.

For if Kim Il-sung's Hermit Kingdom is allowed to build up an arsenal of nuclear-tipped ballistic missiles, two potential dangers immediately arise:

- The high threshold that has augured against the use of such weapons since first their deadly mushroom clouds rose over Hiroshima and Nagasaki could be lowered, no one can say how much.



LURIE

- The non-proliferation regime could be sundered, inalterably transforming the global balance of power. For if aggressive North Korea acquires nuclear weapons, it's hard to imagine South Korea's remaining content to reside under the American nuclear umbrella. Japan, looking apprehensively at a neighborhood in which the two Koreas, China, and Russia all brandish nuclear weapons, might well decide it must have them too. If economic superpower Japan moves to become a nuclear superpower, it's hard to imagine Germany's not making a similar decision. Might not Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus then reconsider commitments to surrender the strategic missiles and bombers on their territory? Taiwan, fearing possible invasion from China, has long had the incentive and capability to develop nuclear weapons, and in that climate could follow suit.

The non-proliferation dam could well burst, and the world would be a different, scarier place.

That is the nightmare perceived by administration policy-makers, as the United States leads a coalition of countries in a strategy aimed at convincing Pyongyang—through blandishments and implicit threats—not only to open to intrusive international and bilateral inspections but also to dismantle certain of the nuclear building blocks it has painstakingly assembled over the last three decades.

Openness or illusion?

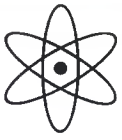
While North Korea, seven years after signing the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), has recently agreed to allow international inspection, a number of governments are skeptical about how full will be its cooperation, whether it will attempt to hide critical installations and materials in order covertly to fabricate nuclear warheads.

One key test will be whether Pyongyang, in providing a list of facilities to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), admits to having a plutonium reprocessing plant. To date it has denied it, but American intelligence is convinced it has one at Yongbyon, part of a larger complex that includes two nuclear reactors. And there were disturbing indications from satellite reconnaissance this spring that equipment from the reprocessing facility was being moved out, conceivably to a secret underground site.

These are the kinds of questions and suspicions that on-site inspection would address. If the United States and other concerned governments conclude that North Korea is attempting to evade its commitments under the NPT or its pledges to South Korea not to acquire either nuclear weapons or reprocessing facilities, a decision will confront the world community more daunting by far than last year's decision to drive Iraq out of Kuwait.

For to employ conventional air strikes to preempt North Korean nuclear facilities—assuming most are known—will risk triggering another full-blown Korean War, one potentially far more destructive than in the early 1950s, when 4 million soldiers and civilians lost their lives. Some military experts believe high-tech conventional weapons, rushed to the scene, would be sufficient to turn back an armored assault. But if South Korea appeared in danger of being overrun, would the United States resort to tactical nuclear weapons?

That is hardly the vision of a New World Order that President Bush had in mind in the afterglow of Desert Storm. But that is a real-world specter, which must be confronted and thought through.



Since the early days of the atomic age, it has been widely assumed that a handful of nuclear weapons states would be too responsible to use them except to prevent cataclysm. And even if tempted, they would have to worry about enormously destructive retaliation.

Bullies on the playground

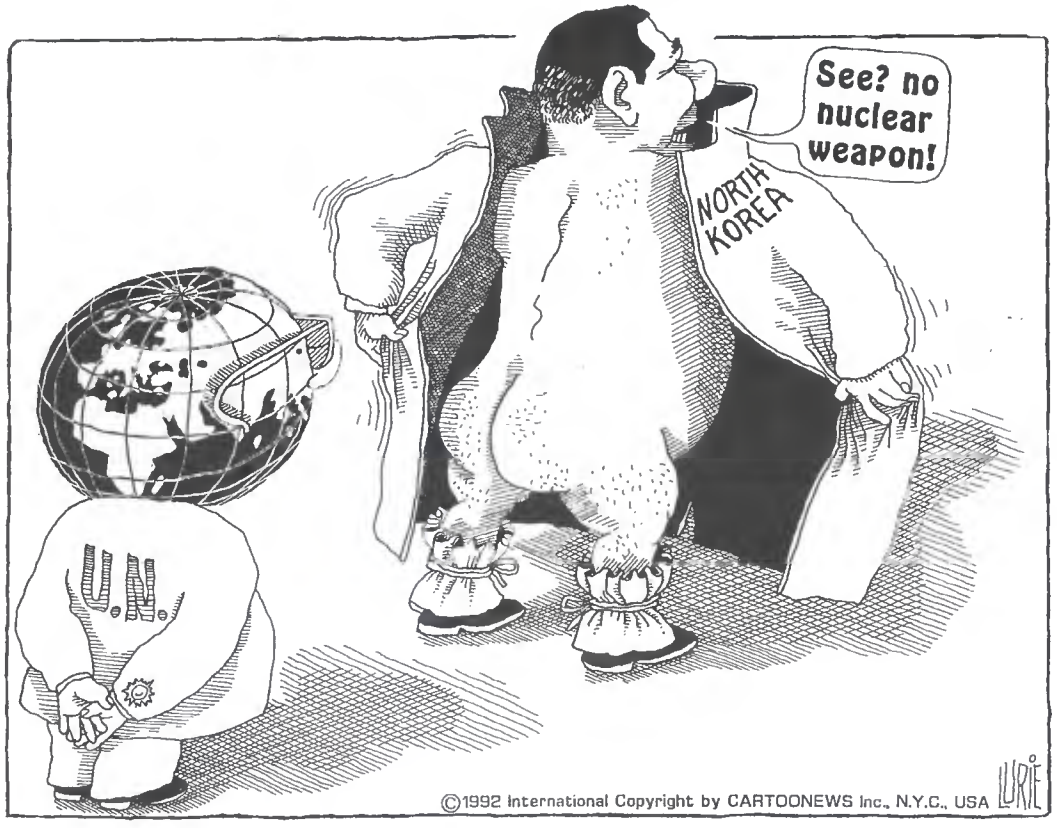
Since the early days of the atomic age, it has been widely assumed that a handful of nuclear weapons states would be too responsible to use them except to prevent cataclysm. And even if tempted, they would have to worry about enormously destructive retaliation.

Thus the United States and the Soviet Union were felt to be mutually deterred. Even Britain, France, and China could ride out a surprise attack and visit horrible devastation on the attacker.

But this conventional wisdom was shaken to the core by Saddam Hussein's almost casual use of poison gas against Iranian troops, when Iraq's survival was not at issue. Who would

doubt that Saddam might just as readily have fired one or more nuclear weapons against Iran, an ancient enemy and current rival for hegemony in the Persian Gulf, had he possessed them during their bloody eight-year war?

As it turned out, Iraq's 10-year, $10 billion clandestine effort to develop nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles to carry them was a lot closer to success than anyone imagined. Had it not been for Saddam's untimely blunder in invading Kuwait—and raising concerns virtually everywhere over the economic impact of spiraling petroleum prices if Baghdad was allowed to dominate Gulf oil producers—Iraq might today be a member of the nuclear club. An unpredictable rogue member.



The mysterious Kims

Western specialists privately believe the number of nuclear states is larger than the five acknowledged ones. Israel, India, Pakistan, and South Africa are all thought to have nuclear weapons either fully or partially assembled in the basement, ready to pull out and use in an emergency. But none of them is regarded as likely to initiate a nuclear strike, except in extremis.

However, in the case of North Korea under Kim Il-sung, its 80-year-old supreme ruler, military planners are not so sure. Since the Korean War, his society has been digging huge, underground facilities, tunnels, and aircraft hangars designed to withstand nuclear attack. And American troops sit in harm's way in South Korea.

Even if the elder Kim might not himself risk nuclear war, the situation could become more precarious during the widely anticipated struggle for power when Kim Chong-il, his controversial son and designated heir, takes over.

American policymakers admit they do not understand what today motivates North Korea's nuclear drive. Is it essentially defensive or offensive?

No doubt Kim would like to see the reunification of the two Koreas before he dies. But from his vantage, the trends are not auspicious, as South Korea develops a vibrant, prosperous, pluralistic industrial society, while the North sinks into the ooze of obsolescence and privation.

Kim's Communist world allies are falling like so many dominoes. Even China, its last important friend and trading partner, has lately been moved by Deng Xiaoping back toward market economics, which ultimately must affect the political system as well.

Washington officials concede that Kim, in the early days, had cause to worry about a nuclear threat. During the Korean War both General Douglas MacArthur and his successor, General Matthew Ridgway, formally requested permission to deploy more than a score of atomic weapons for possible use against targets in North Korea and China. And when Dwight Eisenhower was campaigning for the White House, he broadly hinted he'd be prepared to use A-bombs if Pyongyang persisted in waging war.

Disarming acts

Not long after the war, the United States secretly moved nuclear weapons into South Korea, where they remained until last fall, when

President Bush, as part of the strategy to persuade North Korea to abandon its nuclear plans, ordered all of them removed.

The United States and South Korea also agreed to scratch a large joint military exercise early this year in which the plan had been to fly in Stealth fighter-bombers in a pointed reminder of what modern weaponry did to Iraq. And the United States agreed to upgrade its contacts with North Korea, long conducted by mid-level diplomats in Beijing, with Under Secretary of State Arnold Kanter meeting in January with Kim Yong Sun, the Party official in charge of international affairs, at United Nations headquarters in New York.

Meanwhile, around the first of the year, North and South Korea signed a number of reconciliation undertakings, among other things agreeing they will "not test, produce, receive, possess, deploy, or use nuclear weapons" and will "not possess facilities for nuclear processing or uranium enrichment."

On the assumption that North Korea's nuclear program might have been conceived originally to deter nuclear attack, the withdrawal of American weapons and the scrubbing of a provocative joint military exercise were designed to lower the perception of threat. Reconciliation agreements with South Korea were another element of the same scenario.

And with North Korea's economy in increasingly desperate straits, Japan and South Korea have made clear that they are ready for extensive investment and aid, but only after Pyongyang abandons its nuclear weapons program. Russia has demonstrated it shares the same objective, and even China, which doesn't particularly want another nuclear neighbor, has more delicately urged abandoning North Korea's drive for weapons of mass destruction.

After its parliament ratified the NPT in early April, that triggered a 90-day clock at the end of which IAEA inspectors are supposed to begin their work. Even more important, however, are bilateral inspections by South and North Korean teams of one another's facilities. For Pyongyang is not expected to disclose a complete list of facilities to the IAEA. But South Korea, armed with defector reports and U.S. spy satellite information, will have a number of suspect sites it will demand to see. Also, while a reprocessing plant is not forbidden by the NPT, it is barred by agreement with South Korea.

Long arm of the law

If North Korea balks or cheats blatantly, the matter will be brought before the United Nations Security Council in an effort to brand its program a threat to the peace and security of the region and to pass a tough resolution calling on member states to use whatever means are appropriate to end the threat.

While Pyongyang doesn't depend on much outside trade, it has to import energy—coal from China, oil from Iran. A voluntary trade boycott or a naval quarantine is a distinct possibility. The aim would be economic strangulation to force North Korea into line.

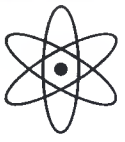
To guard against North Korea's lashing out with its 1 million-person army against South Korea, there would be a massive build-up of allied airpower, mostly U.S. The emphasis would be on anti-armor weapons and deep earth penetrator guided bombs—some of which have been specially developed since the war with Iraq.

If it comes to that, the hope is that economic strangulation would be sufficient and preemptive air strikes unnecessary. But, should Pyongyang refuse to buckle, the military card would be the last option.

How pressing is the situation? CIA Director Robert Gates testified in February that North Korea could have a nuclear weapon in anywhere from a few months to a few years.

A sub-cabinet official explains that so little hard evidence is available that intelligence estimates are based on alternative assumptions. "Under one set of a dozen assumptions, it could have a nuclear bomb in a few months," he said. "Under another set of assumptions, it would take about three years. We have absolutely no way of knowing which is right."

But, given the experience with Iraq and the potential cost of underestimating the danger, the tendency among policy-makers is to err on the side of the worst-case assessment. And even though the administration doesn't talk much about it in public, there is no question that the nuclear specter in North Korea is at the top of the foreign policy agenda. ■



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William Beecher, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist and former acting assistant secretary of Defense, is the Washington bureau chief for the **Minneapolis Star Tribune.**

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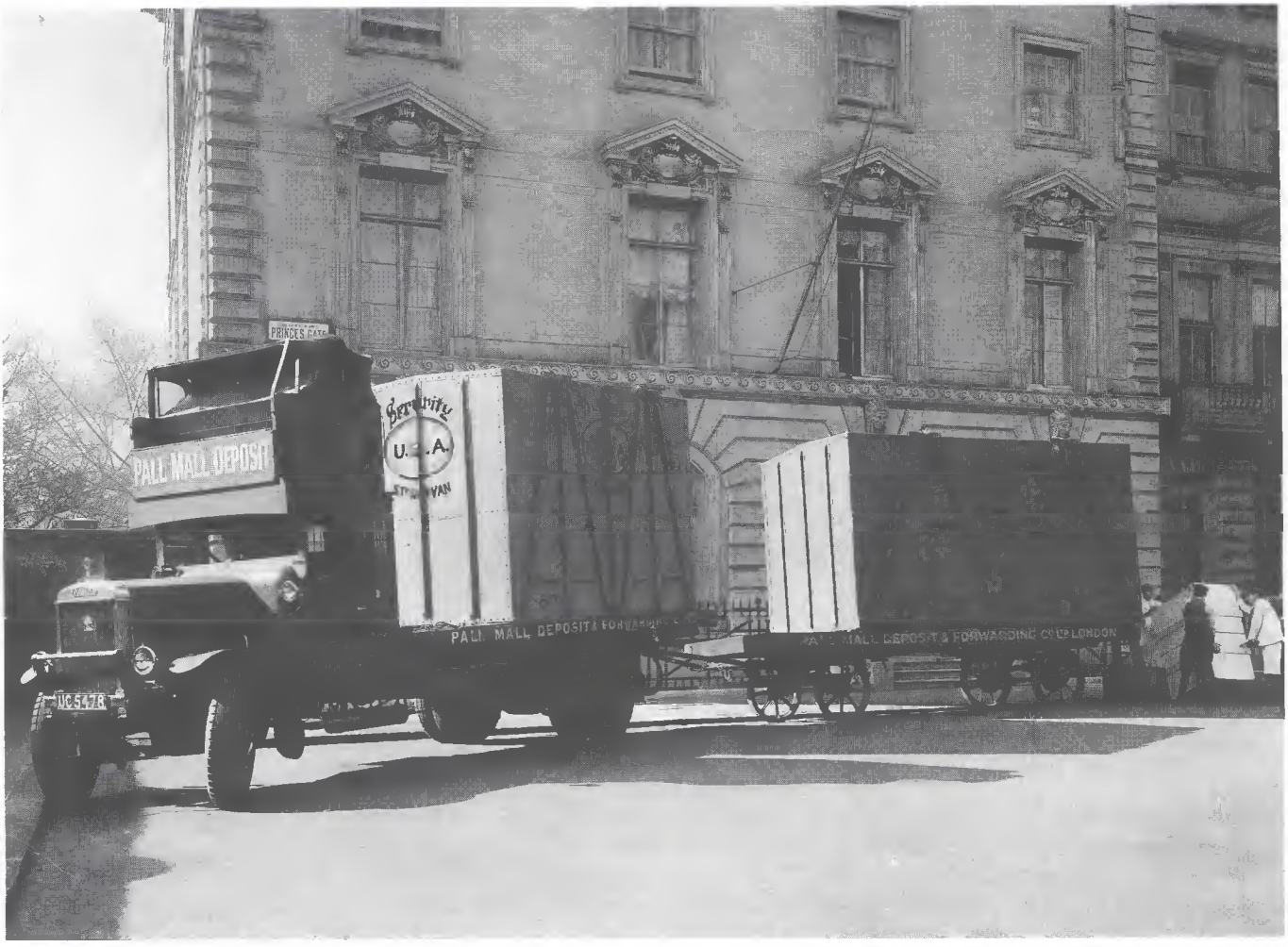

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The Kim Dynasty of North Korea

BY TAI SUNG AN

Kim Il-sung, the last surviving Stalinist leader of a nation, is the only leader the North Koreans have known since their country's independence in 1948. President Kim who controls all aspects of North Korean life through the Korean Workers' Party, government bureaucracy, and state security apparatus, is not in the best of health. Formerly a heavy smoker, he has developed a heartbeat slowdown, and a big lump has grown in back of his right ear. One member of the South Korean delegation to the inter-Korean prime ministers' talks who dined with Kim in Pyongyang in February said that several times Kim's memory seemed to have lapsed.

As he nears his twilight, his eldest son, Kim Chong-il, seems to have been steadily moving into all fields of power. Shortly after the senior Kim's 80th birthday on April 15, the political succession in North Korea (officially known as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—DPRK) was expected to come closer to completion. North Korea's tightly controlled press recently cited a congratulatory birthday message to Kim Il-sung in which his son was, for the first time, referred to as "our head of the party, the state, and the army." According to a top-ranking DPRK official, that wording meant that the junior Kim was the "de facto paramount leader" of North Korea.

The grooming of Kim Chong-il as his father's political heir was initiated during the 1970s, well before the official announcement at the Sixth KWP Congress of October 1980. Kim Chong-il's participation in party and government affairs began in 1973. The junior Kim is now a member of the all-powerful Presidium of the KWP Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the party Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the National Defense Council, and the supreme commander of the million-strong armed forces. It appears that Kim Chong-il has already taken over from his father everything but the diplomatic protocol of power. Although Kim Chong-il's political longevity after his father's death is debated among scholars and observers of North Korea, his succession is almost a fait accompli. As Washington slowly expands diplomatic ties with the DPRK, it is ultimately Kim Chong-il with whom the U.S. government must deal, directly or indirectly. So American officials should learn more about his background, leadership activities, and beliefs,

and about the legacy from which he springs.

FORTRESS KOREA

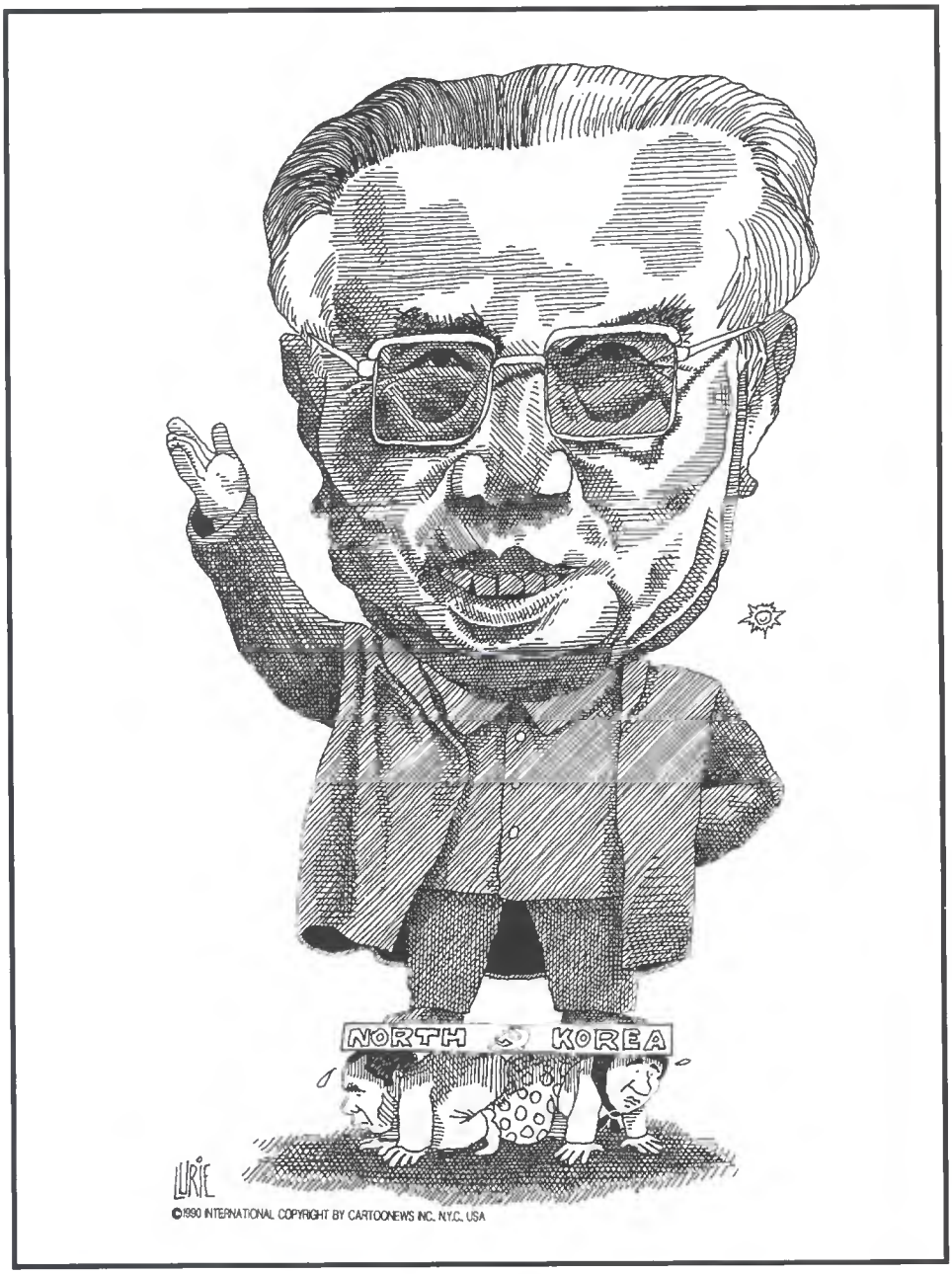
The policy of maximum isolation has been the key to explaining why Kim Il-sung has succeeded in forging one of the world's most regimented, monolithic, and impenetrable societies. Deeply suspicious of foreigners, Kim Il-sung isolates even foreigners from friendly states from contact with the North Koreans. Even the most innocuous statistics on North Korea are not available.

The cult of Kim Il-sung has been carried to an extreme that is without parallel in recent history, even surpassing the old emperor-worship in East Asia's Confucian societies. The DPRK mass media almost invariably refer to him as "the world's peerless patriot," "the greatest military strategist the world has ever known," and "the most profound revolutionary genius of all time," "without precedent in the West or East, in all ages." His birthplace at Mangyongdae near the North Korean capital is said to be the "cradle of the world revolution," and the country's best university is named after him. The word "communism" has been eliminated from all official publications in North Korea since the early 1970s and replaced by the term "Kim Il-sung ideology." The DPRK mass media constantly stress that loyalty to Kim and his ideology must continue from generation to generation, and the people are supposed to renew a daily oath—in schools, at their jobs, or wherever else they may be—that they will follow his instructions forever.

The campaign to intensify Kim Il-sung's personality cult in the early 1970s was carried out simultaneously with the promotion of his political ideology, the core of which is the concept of *chuch'e* ("self-identity" or "national identity"). *Chuch'e* can be translated into more specific programs of developing and preserving political and ideological independence, economic self-reliance and self-sufficiency, and independent defense capability "to the fullest extent possible." In December 1972, the party affirmed that "Kimilsungism" had "creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the unique and specific conditions of North Korea." Since then, the *chuch'e* ideology has been presented as a magic or supernatural weapon, the proper application of which would aid in the solution of most problems—and a number of physical afflictions as well.

A BOOST FOR 'DEAR LEADER'

The decision to designate Kim Chong-il his father's political successor has been carefully planned and methodically executed by the DPRK regime. Kim Il-sung was well aware that succession had been the most troublesome question for all Communist regimes. Therefore, while he was alive and still powerful enough to impose his will, he wanted to prepare a smooth transfer of power. The mass campaign proceeded on the premise that "the revolutionary cause pioneered and guided" by Kim Il-sung could not be completed in a generation. The junior Kim has also been portrayed by the DPRK mass media as a man who is "boundlessly loyal to the Great Leader, perfectly embody-



ing his ideas, outstanding leadership, and noble traits, and brilliantly upholding his grand plan and intention at the highest level." It is also said that Kim Chong-il has "bright wisdom, deep insight, strong sense of revolutionary principles and strong will."

The senior Kim seemed to fear, moreover, that after his death the younger generation, especially technocrats with a nonideological approach to economic and social issues, might drift from his "glorious revolutionary tradition" and backslide into the "poisonous" bourgeois way of life. He has seen what happened to both Stalin—his original and abiding role-model—and Mao Zedong after their deaths. In neither case did the system they built up, nor their personal reputation, survive. Kim Il-sung decided to groom his own flesh and blood—Chong-il—as his most trustworthy and dependable political successor. It was his shot at immortality.

The crackdown on the 1989 pro-democracy movement

at Tiananmen Square and the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe upped the ante on North Korea's transition. In order to preserve the continuity of his militant revolutionary legacy and the survival of the Communist government after his death, Kim Il-sung is now turning to his eldest son to assume added political responsibility. The senior Kim and his ruling power circle feel under siege from inside as well as outside.

JUNIOR

Solid information about Kim Chong-il is lacking, as DPRK officials go to great length to keep their personal lives secret.

Kim Chong-il was born near Khabarovsk in the Soviet Far East on February 16, 1942. He is the North Korean dictator's only surviving son by his first wife, Kim Jung-sook, who died when Chong-il was seven. His younger brother, Pyong-il, who was also born in the Soviet Far East in 1944 and called by the Russian nickname of "Zhura," was drowned while playing in a pond at the official residence in 1948.

Kim Chong-il has a very close relationship with Kim Kyong-hui, his only blood sister, and her husband, Chang Song-taek, is Chong-il's right-hand man. But bad blood with his stepmother and three half-brothers has prompted the junior Kim systematically to remove all of his stepmother's family members from positions of power.

The oldest of three sons born to Kim Il-sung and his second wife is named Pyong-il after the half-brother who drowned in 1948. Now serving as ambassador to Bulgaria, of all the sons of Kim Il-sung Pyong-il most resembles his father in his younger days. Unlike Chong-il, no scandals concerning women surround Pyong-il, who is said to be the brightest of all the children of Kim Il-sung.

Since Kim Chong-il's rise to eminence, Korean hagiographers have provided him with a mythical biography that includes his birth on Mount Paektu, Korea's highest and most sacred mountain. Mount Paektu towers 8,900 feet tall, the highest mountain in Korea. Since ancient times, Koreans have viewed it as a symbol of their nation and national spirit, the birthplace of Tankun, mythical founder of their race. Today, it has added significance for the 22 million people of North Korea. It is "the holy place of the Korean revolution" under the leadership of Kim Il-sung. It was there, school children learn, that President Kim Il-sung organized heroic guerrilla bands in the 1930s that were to rout the brutal Japanese colonial army. It was there, in a hidden forest encampment, that his son and political heir, Chong-il, was born on frosty February morning in 1942.

Kim Chong-il married Hong Il-chon in 1966 after a lengthy courtship, but divorced her three years later. He has a 14-year-old son, Kim Chong-man, by his first marriage. In 1973 the junior Kim married Kim Hye-suk, who was then working for the Department of Organization and Guidance of the KWP Central Committee. He has a daughter called Sol-song, three years junior to Chong-man, by his second wife.

Monogamy apparently does not sit well with Kim Chong-il. He has kept two mistresses, ballerina Song Hye-rim and actress Ko Yong-hui. Kim Chong-nam is said to be living in "Official Residence No. 15" in Chungsontung, the central district of Pyongyang, with Song Hye-rim, who is the junior Kim's real love.

COMING OF AGE

Kim Chong-il attended Nam-San School in Pyongyang, the predecessor of Mangyongdae Revolution School, which is the DPRK's special elite school exclusively for the children of high-ranking party officials. During the Korean War he lived in Manchuria. He later majored in politics and philosophy at Kim Il-sung University, from which he graduated in 1963.

While in his 20s, Chong-il acted as his father's personal secretary and worked for the KWP's Department of Organization and Guidance under his uncle Kim Yong-chu. In the 1970s, he appears to have been promoted to progressively more influential posts in the DPRK regime, and began to prepare to become his father's successor. In 1972, he was named party secretary in charge of organization, propaganda, and agitation—the three most important and powerful functions of the ruling KWP apparatus. A year or two later, he is said to have been appointed a member of the all-powerful Politburo of the KWP. In the mid-1970s, he was apparently second to his father in supervising and overseeing the affairs of both the nation and the KWP. At the Sixth KWP Congress of October 1980, he was officially designated as the North Korean dictator's sole political successor.

To be sure, Kim Chong-il is no battle-scarred revolutionary; rather, he is a revolutionary who was bred in an extremely comfortable hothouse. After four decades in this ego-gratifying political atmosphere, he may be even more narrow and less informed and objective about the outside world than his father. Shaped by a quasi-religious upbringing under his father's totalitarian system, Kim Chong-il is more at home in the world of legend, myth, and faith than in the cooler realms of logic and reason. He detests complicated facts and ideas, hates conceptual and factual ambiguity and the disorder of pluralism, and longs for simple solutions. Like his father, he constantly exalts force, willpower, and conformity over moderation, self-restraint, and rationalism.

To be sure, Kim Chong-il is no battle-scarred revolutionary; rather, he is a revolutionary who was bred in an extremely comfortable hothouse. After four decades in this ego-gratifying political atmosphere, he may be even more narrow and less informed and objective about the outside world than his father.

Kim Chong-il harbors a passion for the arts, as was confirmed by the South Korean movie couple Sin Sang-ok and Choe Un-hui, who were kidnapped in Hong Kong in 1978 on Chong-il's order and made films for North Korea for eight years before escaping to the West in 1986. If they are to be believed, Kim Chong-il has a private collection of thousands of foreign films.

In the process of assuming power, Kim Chong-il showed a strong inclination to power and great enthusiasm for exercising his leadership. The junior Kim was "very bright" and a hard worker, Sin and Choe said. Others have called him perspicacious, with talents for propaganda, agitation, and organization.

In fact, it is difficult to believe that Kim Chong-il could have risen to eminence by nepotism alone. Kim Il-sung, who does not lack astuteness, would not have attempted the dynastic transmission of power to his son if the junior Kim had failed to live up to his expectations. As a seasoned revolutionary (and politician), the senior Kim must know that the survival-of-the-fittest doctrine operates with a vengeance in a Communist dictatorship, no matter who is involved in the scramble for power and leadership. Educated speculation suggests that the junior Kim is a shrewd, resourceful man with personal commitment and drive, coupled with a necessary measure of ruthlessness to handle the endless intrigues of totalitarian system. In order to consolidate and strengthen his one-man dictatorial rule after the death of his father, he has already been bringing in younger men who are more dependent on him and who have infused new blood into the top leadership.

AFTER THE KIMS

Projecting the future of North Korea after the death of Kim Il-sung can entail educated speculation at best. In the short term, a smooth transition will firmly root the Kim Il-sung legacy in the Kim Chong-il era. The junior Kim's power is very extensive and stable, and there is no organized opposition to his dynastic rule. The outside world, including the United States and South Korea, must prepare to deal with the Kim Chong-il regime for years by giving up the idea that the Kim dynasty will collapse as soon as Kim Il-sung dies.

No system, however, is immune to change. Historically, revolutionary dogmatism and fanaticism rarely outlast one generation, and it is for this reason that the long-term survival of the Kim dynasty after the death of its creator cannot be taken for granted.

Primarily for economic reasons, North Korea needs to open up to the outside world to obtain capital and modern technology. North Korea's 40-year policy of *chuch'e*, coupled with the cut-off of aid from the defunct Soviet Union, have created critical economic problems, including technological backwardness, a severe shortage of the foreign exchange needed for sustained economic growth, and an increasingly inefficient economy. About 35 percent of factories are closed down, and half of the remaining ones are operating only part of the time because of shortages of energy and raw materials. Everything is in short supply.

In the mid-1980s North Korea already showed a tepid or cautious interest in opening its doors to the international community to help improve its reeling economy. For the past several years, Pyongyang has been putting out a few feelers and otherwise demonstrating a tentative new openness to the outside world, especially the United States and South Korea.

But an open-door policy to the outside democratic and capitalist world will entail a risk of the gradual or rapid undermining of the Kim Il-song legacy, a risk the Kims will never be prepared to take. Accordingly, the DPRK regime is intent on merely importing foreign capital and technology,

and on containing any foreign cultural or ideological influences that it fears "corrupt" the people. It is quite clear that the DPRK regime after the death of Kim Il-song will continue to pursue the same two contradictory goals. In point of fact, the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union has not affected North Korean rhetoric, which lately has been as xenophobic and unreal as ever. There is no reformers' faction in the true or strict sense. Internal economic policies appear to have changed very little, and political and ideological controls on the citizenry seem as tight as ever.

After the death of Kim Il-sung, the North Koreans who are weary of four decades of agonizing political pressures and rigorous ideological drives will be likely to desire a return to domestic tranquillity with some scope for the good life and individual freedom, bureaucratic normality, economic efficiency and prosperity, and pragmatism in foreign affairs. If worse comes to worst in the Kim Chong-il era in the form of a severe economic depression—i.e., widespread hunger and starvation—the North Koreans will dare to take to the streets throughout the country and challenge the Kim Chong-il regime. (It is also possible that a sudden wave of 1 or 2 million refugees might attempt to cross the Demilitarized Zone.) If this happens, the situation will become critical for the survival of the Kim dynasty. With "politics and ideology in command," Kim Chong-il would be very likely to attack and smash "bourgeois" and "reactionary" manifestations, like Calvinists rooting out sin. Then the DPRK will begin a descent into an internal crisis of major magnitude. Anything can happen in this situation. A military coup may be a more likely avenue of change than a popular revolt. Kim Chong-il is much less charismatic than his father and more vulnerable to a coup. The gruesome demise of the Ceausescu dynasty in Romania underscores the possibility that North Korea under the Kim clan may come to an abrupt and inglorious end.

As for the United States' diplomatic strategy toward North Korea in this time of dynastic political transition, Washington should continue the present course of "diplomatic engagement" with the DPRK to encourage a step-by-step reduction of tensions on the Korean peninsula. More to the point, Washington needs to keep up the pressure on North Korea to follow through with its accord with South Korea to ban nuclear-related installations on the Korean peninsula and with its pledge to open these facilities to international inspection, by offering a series of clear incentives and disincentives.

Since the long-term survival of the Kim dynasty after the death of Kim Il-sung is uncertain, it is necessary for the United States to be fully prepared to deal with sudden or expected contingencies in the future. In the final analysis, Washington's diplomatic strategy toward the Korean peninsula needs to be flexible, patient, forward-looking, and even bold. ■

Tai Sung An is a professor of political science and international studies at Washington College in Maryland.

Richard C. Blalock, 62, died of heart ailments February 29 at Montgomery General Hospital.

A resident of Silver Spring, he was born in Seminole, Oklahoma. He graduated from the University of Oklahoma and served in the Army in the Korean War. His Foreign Service posts included Italy, Lebanon, Yemen, and Algeria. After retiring from the State Department in 1967, he worked for the Equitable Life Assurance Society and retired in 1991.

Survivors include his wife, Sigrid, of Silver Spring; four children from his first marriage, Jessica, of Rockville, Maryland, Michael, of Takoma Park, Maryland, Laura, of Albuquerque, New Mexico, and Joseph, of Chevy Chase, Maryland; two stepchildren, George Hull, of Alexandria and Stephen Hull, of Washington; two sisters; and three grandchildren.

Richard Reynolds Martin, 60, died of a heart attack at his home in Potomac, Maryland on December 13, 1991.

Martin, a native of Taunton, Massachusetts, graduated from Tufts University in 1953. He served as a naval officer during the Korean War. He was discharged with the rank of lieutenant after having served as operations officer aboard the *USS McCaffery.*

In 1959 Martin entered the Foreign Service and was assigned vice consular duties in Belo Horizonte and Florence. Additional overseas assignments included Rome and Brussels. In Washington he served in the Bureau of Administration and was selected to attend the National War College.

Since retiring in 1985, Martin continued to work as a consultant with the department on a variety of special projects. His many personal interests included gardening, wine collecting, and photography. He was an active church member.

Survivors include his wife of 33 years, Mary Bowman Martin, of Potomac; two children, Susan Elizabeth, of Los Angeles and Richard Reynolds Jr., of Potomac; his mother, Joanne, of Chevy Chase; and a brother, Barry, of Sacramento, California.

Joseph F. McEvoy, died of heart failure at his home in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida on March 14.

A native of Trenton, New Jersey, McEvoy graduated from Rutgers University and worked as a reporter for the Associated Press for 20 years before joining the Foreign Service. He served with USIS in Caracas and Madrid.

Survivors include his wife of 52 years, Ann Ryan, of Ft. Lauderdale; a daughter, Patita, of Chevy Chase, Maryland; a daughter-in-law, Christine Thren, of Arlington, Virginia; and three grandchildren.

David S. Wilson, 52, died of cancer at his home in Washington on April 8.

Wilson entered the Foreign Service in October 1964. He served twice in Italy, first in Palermo and later in Rome. He was also assigned to Paramaribo, Suriname; Paris; Lisbon; and Tel Aviv, where he was economic counselor. His most recent Washington assignment was as chief counselor to economic officers at the Bureau of Personnel.

Wilson grew up in Santa Monica, California, graduated from Stanford, and received a master's degree from the Johns Hopkins School of International Relations.

He is survived by his father, Robert, of Rancho Mirage, California and a brother, Stephen.

Horace J. Nickels, 86, died of heart failure in Rockville, Maryland on April 3.

He was born in Minneapolis and graduated from Carleton College. He earned a master's degree from Columbia University and did graduate study at Harvard, the University of Chicago, and the University of Munich.

Nickels served with the Department of State from 1945 to 1965, specializing in Eastern European affairs. Overseas assignments included Paris and Munich. In Washington he served as special assistant to the assistant secretary of state for public affairs and on the Berlin Task Force.

He is survived by his wife, Evelyn, and daughter, Katherine Hughes, of Rockville, Maryland; a son, David, of Kensington, Maryland; five grandchildren and five great-grandchildren. A Horace J. Nickels Memorial Fund has been established to endow a perpetual scholarship through the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

Patricia Armstrong Rothenberg, 67, died November 20, 1991 in Beltsville, Maryland.

The wife of Foreign Service officer Morris Rothenberg, she served with her husband in Moscow, Hong Kong, Mexico City, and Washington. She weathered the storm of demonstrations against the embassy in Moscow, the U.S. Marine landing in Lebanon, and typhoons and a cholera epidemic in Hong Kong.

After retirement, the Rothenbergs lived in Florida, Washington D.C., and New Hampshire.

Rothenberg is survived by her four children, Laura Ann, Naomi Stetson, Benjamin Lovejoy, and Jonathan Armstrong; a sister, Priscilla Armstrong Caswell; and three grandchildren. ■

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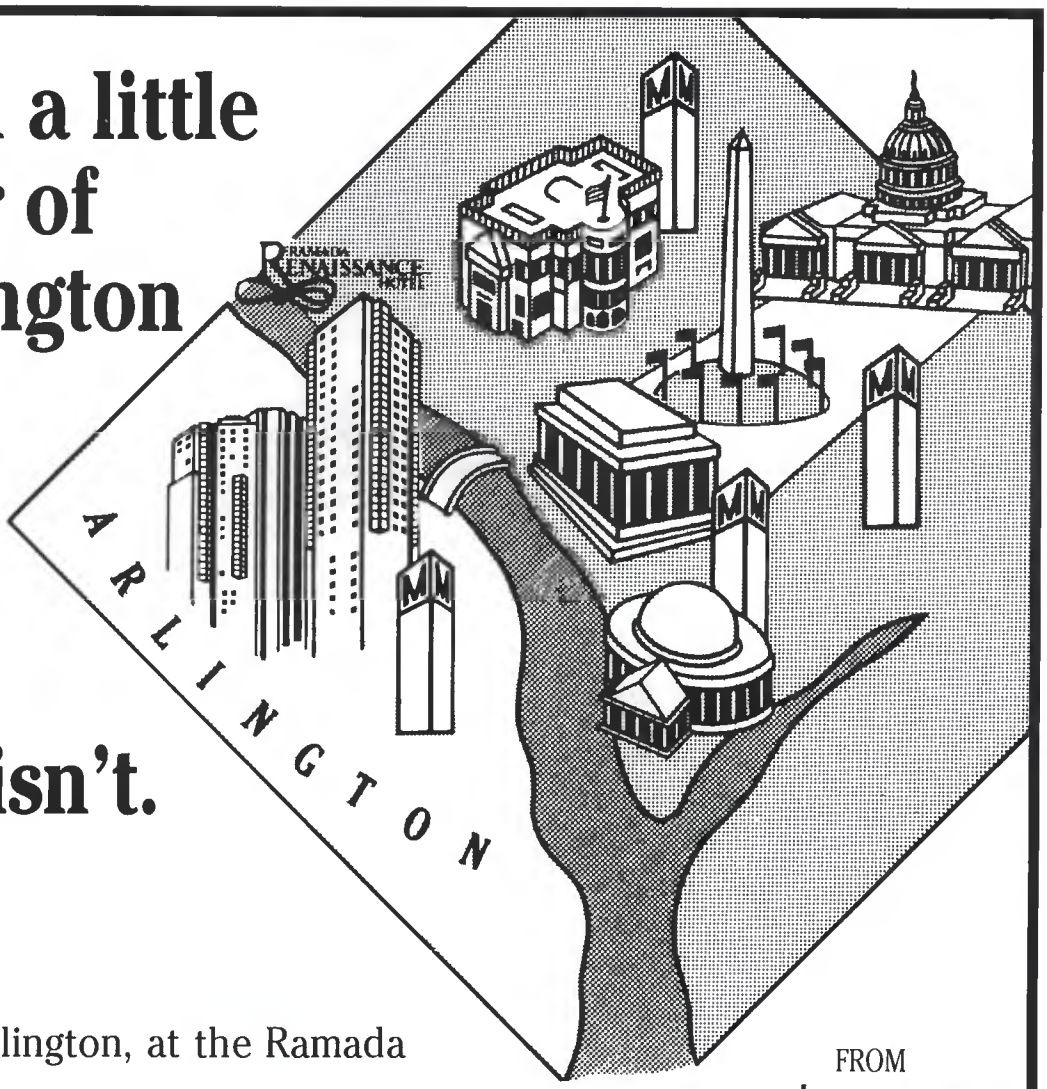

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BOOKS

The Great Disappointment

THE COMMUNISTS: THE STORY OF POWER AND LOST ILLUSIONS

By Adam B. Ulam, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1991, $27.50 hardcover

Reviewed by Stephen N. Sestanovich

The period from 1917, the year Lenin's revolutionaries stormed Czarist Russia, to the 1985 ascent of Mikhail Gorbachev, anointed by pundits as "the gravedigger of communism," constitutes a 68-year-long mix of murky history with alternating seasons of power, deceit, cooperation, betrayal, glory, illusion, and disaster for one-third of the world's peoples.

The Soviet Union's days of glory—victory in World War II, launching the first man in outer space, outproducing the United States in steel, deploying the most powerful nuclear arsenal in the world—were exhilarating for Communists everywhere. But for the Soviet peoples at work, rigid repression, deprivation, secret government, and fear unmasked the failures of communism. Inevitably, modern technology in communications made it extremely difficult to keep the citizens of the Soviet Union, Poland, or China from becoming aware of what was happening in the democratic world outside.

Enter grave-digger Gorbachev. No one was more pleased to see him, nor more surprised than Professor Adam Ulam, author of a new book called simply *The Communists*. Adam Ulam, who left his native Poland for America on the eve of World War II, has become a dean of American Sovietologists, and, as director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University, has trained and inspired generations of specialists who staff university faculties, government agencies, the media, and the professions of law and commerce across this country.

The Communists is Ulam's 20th major work. It is the latest of a long series of ruminations on Communist behavior, an intellectual *tour d'horizon* of the Cold War years (1948 to 1991) that polarized the world into two armed camps whose size and firepower exceed the cumulative total of bombs,

warheads, and missiles since the beginning of time.

Fortunately for civilization, Ulam observes, the avoidance of a suicidal conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States became the preoccupation of every Soviet leader and American president since 1948.

Ulam portrays a Soviet Union, diverted in purpose from its early fidelity to humanitarian ideology and in a xenophobic frenzy preparing to take on the world, making the necessary preparations to do so if need be, and, in the process, sacrificing inherited social idealism for arsenals, repression at home, and adventures abroad that even further pauperized an already frayed citizenry.

"Some who presided over Soviet communism in the post-1953 period, certainly Nikita Khrushchev, were genuinely committed to recapturing what they believed had been the dynamic and humanitarian features of early communism. Freed from the excesses of Stalinism, they believed communism would once again become the catalyst of social and economic progress. . . . And Marxism-Leninism, no longer prostituted as a rationale for despotism and once again truly internationalist in its spirit, would greatly enhance its appeal, not only to its traditional constituency—the workers and intellectuals of the industrialized countries—but also to the new nations emerging in the wake of the dissolution of the old colonial empires," writes Ulam.

Alas, such hopeful involvement had to transit decades of turmoil—conflict with China, agony in Afghanistan, prolonged adventures in Korea, Indochina, Angola, and elsewhere—before the messianic gravedigger would appear.

In *The Communists*, Ulam details in fluid narrative and almost staggering documentation the domestic and foreign politics, the intrigues, the reluctant accommodations with restless satellite and client states and with the West, and the Soviet mania to retain great-power status, as well as other roadblocks that delayed glasnost and perestroika.

But more than any of these, Ulam posits the delay was due to the presence of Communist China on the world stage. The victory of communism in the world's largest and oldest civilization was a plum to be relished, and no effort or cost could be spared to keep China in the fold. Even as strains in the relationship became apparent and China pressed its independent role, the Soviet Union strove to live with the dilemma of how to coexist with an increasingly powerful neighbor and still preserve its own cherished status as the vanguard nation of world revolution. The break in Sino-Soviet solidarity, as in the earlier case with Yugoslavia, has never been satisfactorily resolved.

Ulam describes other delays to communism's demise, among them the surge of Soviet power and prestige during the decade of the 1970s. Despite repeated Soviet political and diplomatic successes in the global competition with the West, they did little for the survival of communism but much to shake the underpinnings of Soviet power.

Ulam describes other delays to communism's demise, among them the surge of Soviet power and prestige during the decade of the 1970s. Despite repeated Soviet political and diplomatic successes in the global competition with the West, they did little for the survival of communism but much to shake the underpinnings of Soviet power. By the early 1980s it was already evident that Communist societies in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were in disarray, and in the face of growing economic and social failures at home, formerly prized diplomatic successes were losing their attraction.

Ulam says that one way of looking at the years from Stalin's death to perestroika is to see them as a sharpening confrontation between the ideology of communism and what it had, in fact, become: a basket case of economic disasters at home and humiliating rep-

BOOKS

resentational adventures abroad.

With everything in shambles, the gravedigger finally appears. Professor Ulam could have subtitled this book "Waiting for Gorbo."

Stephen N. Sestanovich, now retired from the Foreign Service, writes on intercultural relationships. He lives in Moraga, California.

Learning to Love Russia

FROM NYET TO DA: UNDERSTANDING THE RUSSIANS

By Yale Richmond, Intercultural Press, 1992, $15.95 softcover

Reviewed by Hans N. Tuch

Yale Richmond has contributed substantially to the intercultural communications process with his slim volume, *From Nyet to Da*. Not meant for the experienced Soviet expert or the Russian scholar, it is designed for many Americans who are or will be involved with the people of what used to be the Soviet Union. The book is a useful primer on introducing them to a different culture and, more pragmatically, on understanding how to communicate and deal with their new Russian "partners."

The ice age of Soviet isolationism cracked, thawed, and melted away; a new world of open, unencumbered, and uninhibited official and private relationships confronted the citizens of the previously antagonistic nations and forced them into what the Russians euphemistically call "new thinking" and doing.

Because of its extreme xenophobia, the Soviet dictatorship for more

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than 70 years largely denied foreigners access to the people of the Soviet Union—and vice versa. Exceptions were limited and severely circumscribed by the Communist authorities. When suddenly, within a period of about five years in the latter 1980s, the ice age of Soviet isolationism cracked, thawed, and melted away, a new world of open, unencumbered, and uninhibited official and private relationships confronted the citizens of the previously antagonistic nations and forced them into what the Russians euphemistically call "new thinking" and doing.

Thus, whether our interests are entrepreneurial, cultural, charitable, educational, or social, we need to learn quickly how to speak and deal with people with whom we have not really communicated before.

Yale Richmond's book is a practical guide. It provides the foundations for understanding the process: the building blocks for this understanding are geography, history, climate, religion, social and political organization, economics, and ethnicity. He then proceeds to discuss the many factors that affect the communications process, citing pertinent and often personal examples to bridge the theoretical and the practical. He describes such strange concepts as "the Russian soul," Russian conservatism, pessimism, messianism, and he explains the uniqueness of the Russian character on the basis of heritage, statism, and the organs of Soviet bureaucracy and government. He writes about the peculiarities of the Russian language, the customs of eating, toasting, drinking, and drinking too much, the meaning of time and distance, as well as Russians' suspicions of strangers; and he even comments on such a mundane yet useful phenomenon as telephone etiquette. Finally, based on his own long experience in dealing with the former Soviet *nomenklatura*, he provides insights on how to negotiate with the Russians.

I have found Richmond's book stimulating and useful for those who want to learn to interact with Russians, and I have recommended it to my university students in a seminar on intercultural communications.

Hans N. Tuch is a retired USIA Foreign Service officer.

Missionaries in Asia Minor

THE HUBBARDS OF SIVAS: A CHRONICLE OF LOVE AND FAITH

By Edwin Martin, Fithian Press, 1991, $11.95 softcover

Reviewed by Daniel Newberry

Ambassador Edward W. Martin, shortly before his death in 1991, com-

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pleted the editing of diaries and correspondence of his wife's grandparents, Emma and Albert Hubbard. Emma-Rose Martin's grandparents were missionaries in Anatolia during the last quarter of the 19th century.

Like many Protestant missionaries of that era, the Hubbards, who came from privileged New England backgrounds, were exceptionally well educated. Luckily for us, they were also keen observers of the scenes around them, and they recorded their observations in graceful and sophisticated prose.

There are good reasons for Foreign Service readers of today to examine this book, apart from the pleasures of absorbing accounts of day-to-day life in a bygone era. The era is not all that "bygone." The inter-ethnic rivalries of Armenian, Kurdish, and Turkish communities and the horrors they inflicted on one another, alas, persist today not far from Sivas across the borders of Turkey in the newly independent republics of the Caucasus and Central Asia. The involvement of the Great Powers in setting the atmosphere for the succession of 19th century tragedies retains relevance to the area today.

There is still another feature of the Hubbards' experience that Ed Martin chronicles, and that is the virtually forgotten era when missionaries eagerly sought and sometimes obtained consular commissions from the Department of State. Albert Hubbard sought a vice consul's commission but was foiled by the "professional" consul, H.M. Jewett, who was trying to curtail his own posting at Sivas. Jewett muscled out Hubbard because he was trying to have his own brother, Milo Jewett, then on the staff of the Danvers, Massachusetts insane asylum, appointed as his successor.

Latter-day Foreign Service officers need not suppress a smile when they read Jewett's justification for asking for his own transfer, which included the statement that "a consul in Asia Minor has the advantage of being considered a person of great dignity, second only to the Vali Pasha [provincial governor], but the disadvantage of having less work to do than an able-bodied American would like."

In a later communication to Washington, Jewett, still trying to get a transfer with or without a replacement's being named, wrote about Sivas that, "considering its disagreeableness, expensive living, remoteness from civilization, lack of society, and other disadvantages," Sivas should be "placed in the class where it ought to be, for example, with Beirut or Jerusalem."

Humor and irony aside, the enduring impact of *The Hubbards of Sivas* is one of a heart-warming and inspiring account of unselfconscious and unselfish heroism, whose exemplars any of us would be proud to have as forebears. ■

Daniel Newberry is a retired Foreign Service officer.

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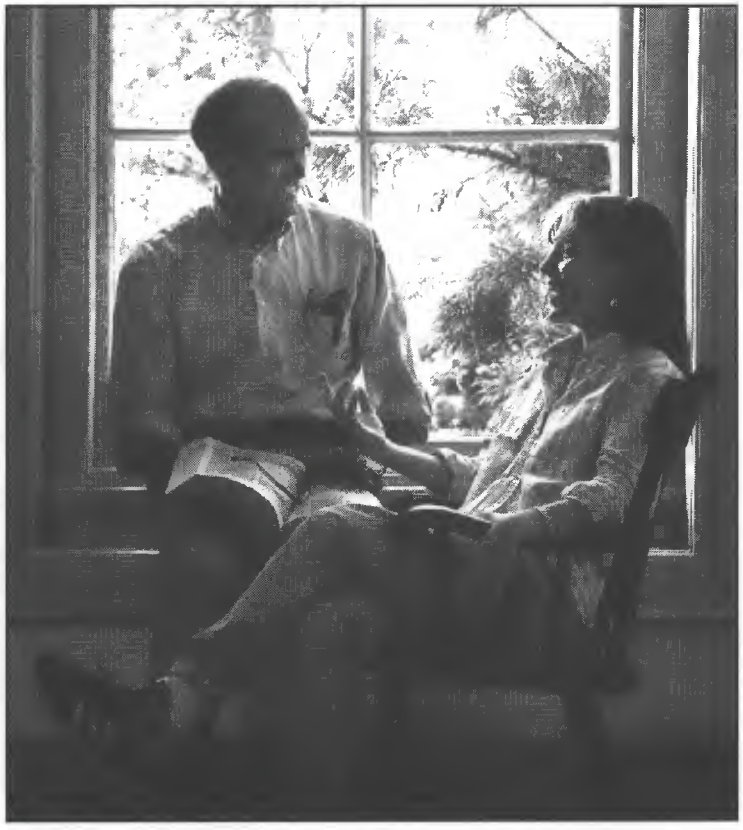

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