

# FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

OCTOBER 1992

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Service

## Principle & Pragmatism

BY MICHAEL STERNER



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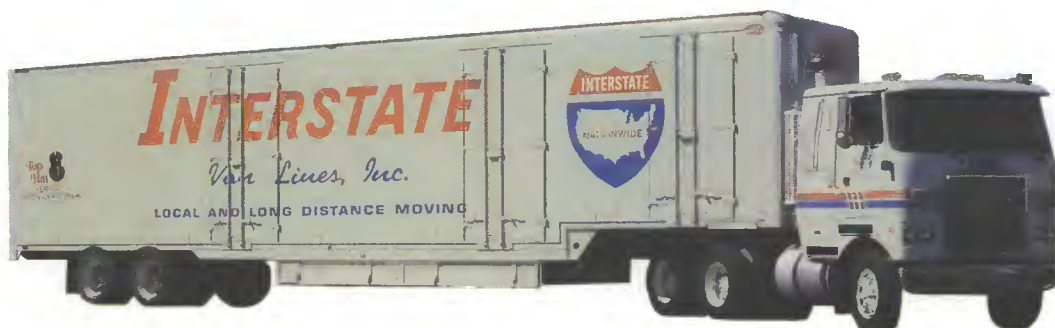
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# AFSA VIEWS

## The U.S. and Overseas: Parallel Lives

The national weariness with foreign affairs took an ominously practical turn in late July. The Senate voted to freeze "overhead costs" at the State Department at 1992 levels. The press reported that this would result in a shortfall in State's 1993 budget of about \$85 million; State's own estimates were closer to \$150 million. A House version that would reduce the '93 budget by "only" \$19 million and protect overseas spending may well prevail in conference, but this would not dilute the Senate action.

Even allowing for the vagaries of politics in this election year, the debilitating federal budget deficit, and the desire of the American public to turn inward, the Senate vote provided depressing evidence of a widespread misunderstanding of the vastly different global agenda that the United States confronts as it enters a new historical era.

The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union are testimony to the service provided by our colleagues in the armed forces in protecting our national security over the past half century. But threats to the national interest have not disappeared. The new era requires a redefinition of "national security." While it may be natural for our elected leaders to focus on the problems at home, the actual line between domestic and foreign policy is disappearing.

To cite the most obvious example, the expansion of the U.S. economy is linked to the development of new foreign markets for U.S. products. Accordingly, American economic strength is increasingly dependent on the success of American business abroad. It is our diplomatic posts overseas, working hand-in-hand with American businessmen and implementing effective economic development programs, that will be helping to ensure that success.

Similarly, environmental pollution, the spread of AIDS, and drug trafficking all eat at the heart of America and erode our national strength. Yet they are all global problems as well as domestic concerns. Drugs sold on American streets originate on farms and in laboratories in many countries. Our environment is affected by industrial and governmental decisions made every day throughout the world.

In addressing such problems, domestic policies, however bold, will not suffice. They must be complemented by vigorous efforts abroad, including informational programs, geared to each country and interpreted by well-trained personnel on the ground. Such people and the posts they staff are not simply, in the words of Ross Perot, "relics from the days of the sailing ships."

Clearly, in the years ahead, the nation's first line of defense will be the men and women of the Foreign Service—from USAID, USIA, and the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture as well as State—at more than 200 posts throughout the world. They will be supported by experts from many other government agencies and by their colleagues—both Foreign and Civil Service—in Washington. But it is the Foreign Service abroad that will bear the primary responsibility for projecting American leadership as the world comes to grips with the problems of the post-Cold War era.

It is natural for elected leaders and the public they represent to focus on our domestic concerns. But the sooner they realize the increasing inter-relationship between many of those concerns and the new global agenda, the sooner they will recognize the importance of strengthening the foreign affairs agencies and the Foreign Service.

— BILL KIRBY



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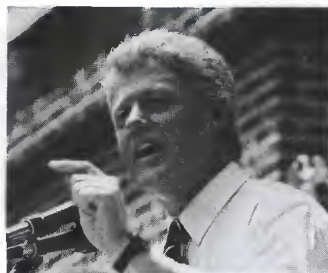
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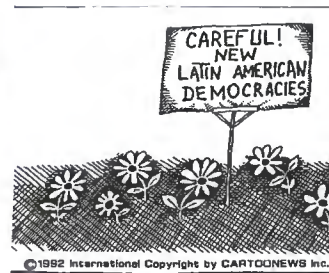
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**THE COVER:**  
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Clinton Speaks on Foreign Policy ..33



Democratization & U.S. Policy ..... 28

## FEATURES

- Speaking Out: On Extraterritorial Kidnapping** ..... 12  
BY JACK R. BINNS
- Forgotten Heroes: Reflections on the Foreign Service** ..... 17  
BY JAMES RESTON
- On Making a Difference: Why I Resigned** ..... 20  
BY GEORGE KENNEY
- Open Lines: Cultivating Dissidents in Romania** ..... 24  
BY ROGER KIRK

## COVER STORY

- Democratization and U.S. Policy** ..... 28  
BY MICHAEL STERNER

- Small Change: Foreign Policy in the Presidential Race** ..... 33  
BY JIM ANDERSON
- Cold War Stories: Romney Meets Arbatov** ..... 38  
BY YALE RICHMOND
- Diplomats in History: Dulles on Dissent** ..... 47
- Books** ..... 48

Henry Mattox on foreign policy after the Cold War; Jack Shellenberger on a daughter of Persia; Mayer Nudell on European terrorism

## DEPARTMENTS

- AFSA Views ..... 2
- Letters ..... 4
- Clippings ..... 8
- Fifty Years Ago/Quiz ..... 9
- Despatch ..... 11
- AFSA News ..... pull-out section
- Advertising Sections
- Marketplace ..... 56
- Real Estate ..... 58
- Classifieds ..... pull-out section



## SPOUSE ROLE MISCONCEPTIONS

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TO THE EDITOR:

As an author who steadfastly used "spouse" instead of "wife" and recommended a non-gender-specific role in "Unwilling Employment" (June *Journal*), I was amazed to find my advocacy of male spouse rights thrown into the leftover 1950s stew that two male correspondents made of the recently published spouse articles. . . . I wish to point out several misconceptions about the spouse role implied in the July letters.

First, the role of the Foreign Service spouse is no more difficult, more worthy of solution, nor different today because more men are in it. A high level of education, degrees from prestigious schools, professional qualifications, diversity, and sophistication have always been defining aspects of Foreign Service spouses. To imply otherwise is untrue, unhelpful, and sexist.

Second, solutions to the spouse problem have always rewarded spouse work that is of value to the Foreign Service. Solutions have never been presented as entitlement programs. The Foreign Service has neither the money nor the mandate from Congress to create jobs for spouses, no matter how talented those spouses are.

We who suggest workable solutions for the economic hardship imposed on families in today's Foreign Service always welcome new thinking on the subject. It is not reasonable to assume, however, that new problems eliminate a need to continue to seek solutions to older ones. Nor is it fair to dismiss articles on spouses for not addressing other valid problems in the same article. I urge the two writers to attack such current problems directly

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*We who suggest workable solutions for the economic hardship imposed on families in today's Foreign Service always welcome new thinking on the subject. It is not reasonable to assume, however, that new problems eliminate a need to continue to seek solutions to older ones.*

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and to offer some of their own solutions. I, for one, would love to hear what males make of their role.

*Barbara Frechette  
Bethesda, Maryland*

## QUERIES

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TO THE EDITOR:

If you grew up in small-town America, I seek your cooperation. As USIA's first recipient of the Una Chapman Cox Sabbatical Fellowship, I will be traveling across the United States in 1992-93 to solicit opinions about international affairs from rural Americans. I will focus on six states—Maine, South Dakota, Texas, Louisiana, New Mexico, and Oregon. I plan to conduct surveys and interviews with students, journalists, and individual citizens.

The project was born of the fact that a great many Foreign Service officers have small-town origins, and the influences and attitudes they bring to the service are worth exploring.

If you grew up in a small town and care to reflect on how that background has shaped your career, or suggest

others who might contribute to this project, please call me at USIA (202) 619-4457.

*Don Terpstra  
Washington, D.C.*

TO THE EDITOR:

Under the auspices of the MacArthur Foundation, I am writing a biography of Dr. Tsien Hsue-shen, a former professor of aerodynamics at Caltech who in 1950 was accused of being a possible member of the Communist Party. Tsien was finally deported to China after a long series of negotiations in Geneva between Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson and Ambassador Wang Pingnan.

Any Foreign Service members who remember details of the high-level discussions are encouraged to write to me or call (805) 967-8554.

*Iris Chang  
50 South Patterson Avenue #207  
Santa Barbara, CA 93111*

## APPLAUSE

---

TO THE EDITOR:

Applause for running the two articles about gay officers in the Foreign Service and their tribulations (July *Journal*). It was the most eye-opening feature I have ever read in the *Journal*. The articles brought home a realization that many of our colleagues do indeed face a form of discrimination that has no basis in fact or logic in today's world—if ever there was any basis for assuming that homosexuality presented a security risk. I join in asking that the Foreign Service clarify that sexual preference not be a relevant factor in security clearances, hiring, assignment, and promotion.

*Mark Fitzpatrick  
Tokyo ■*

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## FOREIGN SERVICE OVERHAUL

*THE WASHINGTON POST*, AUGUST 7, 1992  
By JOHN M. GOSHKO

The U.S. Foreign Service corps must reinvent itself and produce a new generation of diplomats trained to look beyond traditional, country-to-country relations and view foreign policy in terms of transnational issues like economics and the environment.

That is the conclusion of a report, "The Foreign Service in 2001," prepared by Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, and diplomats, members of Congress, academics, and businessmen.

"Multilateral diplomacy will increasingly eclipse bilateral diplomacy," the report said, noting that the most prominent items on the U.S. foreign policy agenda increasingly are given to matters of trade and international monetary policy, control of narcotics-trafficking and terrorism, and ecological cooperation.

Increasingly, the report continued, the arenas for dealing with these issues most effectively are proving to be not the capitals of individual states but joint actions [with multilateral groups].

"Most Foreign Service officers will spend most of their careers at posts other than the "Top Twenty," . . . instead they will be in more small, "storefront" embassies with skeleton staffs, the report predicted. . . these outposts, the report added, are "where the service's greatest contributions are more likely to be made."

To carry out this new diplomacy, the report said, the Foreign Service must recruit officers with academic training different from what was valued in the past . . . generalists, able to

handle the diverse demands of a "lean and mean" Foreign Service (see "Despatch," p. 11).

## DIPLOMAT SUSPECTED OF SPYING IS DENIED STATE DEPARTMENT PENSION

*THE WASHINGTON POST*, AUGUST 21, 1992  
By JOHN M. GOSHKO, SHARI RUDAVSKY AND BILL McALLISTER

The State Department has refused to grant a pension to Felix S. Bloch, a career diplomat who was fired from the Foreign Service in 1990 as a suspected spy but who was never charged with committing a crime.

Secretary of State James A. Baker III invoked national security laws to fire Bloch as a security risk after it became known that the FBI was investigating charges that Bloch had passed secrets to the Soviet Union while serving as deputy chief of the U.S. Embassy in Vienna.

## CARETAKER AT STATE

*THE WASHINGTON POST*, AUGUST 14, 1992  
By DON OBERDORFER

A caretaker-run State Department will be left to deal with the international crises of the next few months under the guidance of Acting Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger and career officials who have had a back seat in policymaking for the past 3 1/2 years.

The departure of James A. Baker and his brain trust of close aides lops off with one stroke the tightly knit group of officials who have given direction to the State Department since January 1989.

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Those left in charge are principally career experts who often have not been involved in and sometimes not informed about some of the most important foreign policy decisions by the Baker team.

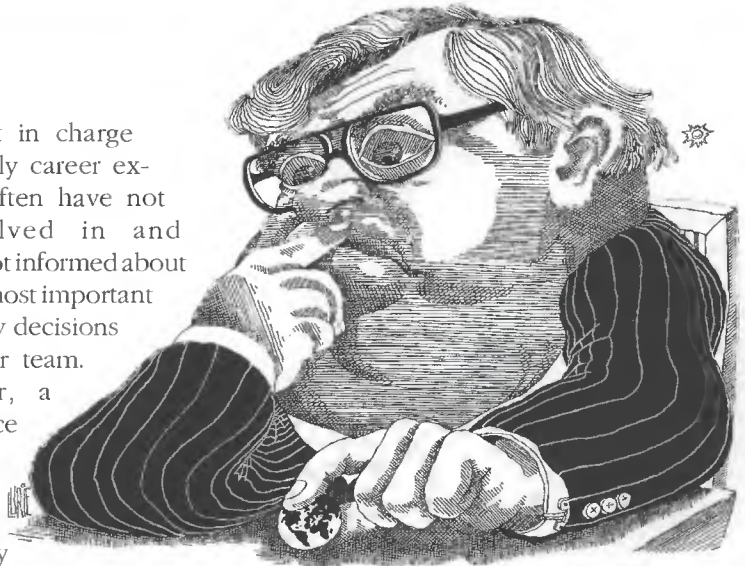
Eagleburger, a Foreign Service officer for 27 years before he returned to State as deputy secretary early in the Bush administration, is a diplomatic expert who is more of a strategic thinker than Baker and is well acquainted with the issues and personalities of global politics. He is well regarded in Congress, the executive branch, and the news media.

Baker and his close aides were a "plug-in" unit from the outside and are now being temporarily removed from Foggy Bottom. . . . Eagleburger's team is likely to bring back the dominance, if only temporarily, of career professionals.

## SO YOU WANT TO BE A DIPLOMAT

*THE WASHINGTON POST*  
*EDUCATION REVIEW*, AUGUST 2, 1992  
 BY HUME HORAN

. . . [T]he work of FSOs is changing, but not our country's need for them. In the future, as the relative importance of military force and clandestine intelligence declines, there will be a relatively greater role for democracy's traditional functions, i.e. representation and negotiation—enhanced by new expertise in trade, science, technology, non-proliferation, agriculture, and the environment. I'd add that as our dominant international position in some ways declines, a highly trained and professional Foreign Service—like expert lawyers on a tough case—might in future instances be the difference between our winning and losing.



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FSOs are the infantry of American diplomacy. We'll never be able to dispense with them. Consistently to work at our national purposes, someone has to be on the scene, speak the language, meet with the leaders, make the argument and report back—saying what he or she thinks we should do. The president and his secretary of state cannot yet, even with warp speed transmissions, give each of the world's 200-odd nations and international organizations more than an occasional nod of their time.

## MONEY FREEZE

*FEDERAL TIMES*, AUGUST 10, 1992  
 BY DANIEL J. ROY

By a 50-42 vote, the Senate passed an amendment to a 1993 spending bill that would freeze administrative spending [at State, Commerce, and Justice] at 1992 levels. The House must agree to the freeze and the president must sign the appropriation bill before it becomes law. . . . the amendment would scrap a \$1 million increase for Commerce, an \$85 million hike for State [including \$25 million for global and climate change research] and an \$8 million jump at Justice.

Since overhead costs and benefits continue to rise, less money will be available to pay salaries, a congressional staffer said. This, he said, could mean layoffs. ■



## Efficiency Reports

*Statement read to the members of the staff of the embassy in Tokyo, November 10, 1941, by the Honorable Joseph C. Grew, Published in the Journal, October 1942*

I once served under a most kindly and benignant chief who called us in one day just before the lunch hour. The ambassador said to us: "Gentlemen, I have before me your annual efficiency reports. I place them in my top drawer. As you observe, I do not lock the drawer. Good day, gentlemen." And the ambassador departed.

. . . I am not in favor of showing actual reports to the members of my staff. On the other hand, it is reasonable and proper that the members of the staff should know of some of the particular considerations that enter in the preparations of these reports. . . .

**Initiative.** I value work done on the initiative of any officer, apart from specific assignments, as revealing exploration,

study, and constructive thought.

**Contacts.** I have informed my staff of my wish to receive concrete returns from their contacts outside of the embassy in the form of memoranda of conversations held or heard. . . . So far as it can be done, efforts should still be made to broaden the field of individual contacts, both with Japanese and with diplomats and other foreigners.

**Precision.** . . . In few professions is precision and what may be called "an infinite capacity for detail" of greater importance than in diplomacy. An unconsidered word or phrase may alter the whole tone of a communication.

**Artistry.** . . . Artistry means precision, cohesion, balance, and . . . a gracefulness and courtesy of expression. ■

## FOREIGN SERVICE QUIZ

### TRIBES AND TERRITORIES

1. National boundaries frequently divide ethnic groups. Across which borders do the following groups extend? a. Afar, b. Ewe, c. Kurd, d. Lapp, e. Meo (Miao), f. Uighur
2. In which countries are the following languages principally spoken? a. Aymara, b. Erse, c. Papiamentu, d. Pushtu, e. Romansh, f. Tagalog, g. Tat
3. Name all the countries between which the following rivers form a border: a. Limpopo, b. Mekong, c. Nile, d. Orinoco, e. Parana, f. Rainy, g. Tigris, h. Volta

1. a. Ethiopia-Eritrea-Djibouti b. Ghana-Togo c. Iraq-Iran-Syria-Turkey-Azerbaijan d. Norway-Sweden-Finland-Russia e. China-Laos-Thailand-Vietnam f. China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Tajikistan
2. a. Bolivia-Peru b. Ireland c. Netherlands Antilles d. Afghanistan-Pakistan e. Switzerland f. Philippines g. Georgia
3. a. South Africa-Zimbabwe b. Vietnam-Cambodia, Laos-Thailand/Burma c. none d. Venezuela-Colombia e. Paraguay-Argentina/Brazil f. Canada-United States g. Syria-Iraq h. Cote d'Ivoire-Ghana/Burkina Faso

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## Insurmountable opportunities

**T**he Foreign Service must adopt more modern methods of management in order to equip itself for the demands of global diplomacy, according to "The Foreign Service in 2001," a foreign policy report produced by the Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy in Washington. The report recommends, among other things, that the Foreign Service increase lateral entry of mid-level employees and make it easier to return to the Foreign Service after leaving.

The service also needs to encourage experimentation at individual embassies and bureaus, empower mid-level officers to make decisions that are within their competence, beef up training, and streamline bureaucratic procedures, says the report. The recommendations were prepared by a group of diplomats, legislators and Hill staffers, academics, and businessmen following a conference at the State Department last December that explored directions for the Foreign Service in the coming decade.

Perhaps most controversial is the suggestion that the Foreign Service be enriched through increased porousness, encouraging greater lateral entry, incorporating spouses into the regular FSO ranks, allowing employees who leave the service to reenter after acquiring new skills, and harmonizing the personnel systems of different agencies to ease interagency assignments. While designed to bring in specialists the Institute believes are needed to work on technical areas such as the global environment and the proliferation of nuclear weapons, such a practice would further undermine the concept of a professional service whose members must be trained, first and foremost, in the methods of diplomacy.

"2001" describes a series of new challenges for diplomacy without relating them clearly to current abilities or deficits on the part of the Foreign Service. The report points out that the nature of diplomacy has become increasingly multilateral and issue-oriented rather than bilateral, so that trade flows, narcotics, the environment, and terrorism, among other issues, are becoming paramount concerns for the Foreign Service corps. Presumably, these changed issues require innovative responses that will likely be forthcoming if the Foreign Service's management structures are made more flexible. The solutions? First, take a "free market approach" to ideas, adopting management innovations on a trial basis at selected posts and not implementing them system-wide until they have proven effective.

Next, devote more time and resources to training, including training in economics for every reporting officer. The authors suggest that senior officers might be required to obtain some form of professional certification in order to move into the highest ranks. Third, decentralize to some extent the decision-making process. The report also recommends streamlining the department's organization by consolidating several functional bureaus, cutting down on the number of deputy assistant secretaries, and elevating the regional assistant secretaries to the rank of the current under secretary for political affairs.

The Institute is to be lauded for grappling with grimy carburetor issues like personnel, training, and the structure of the State Department; other recent foreign policy agendas being proffered by think tanks around town, while more uplifting perhaps, tend to slight State. But the report generally,

with speeches from the December conference outlining problems that face the Foreign Service and with a narrative prescribing solutions, is hardly a valentine to the Foreign Service. In the speeches incorporated in the report, the Foreign Service is told it is not capable of strong economic and commercial analysis; that its high self-image is unwarranted and, in fact, its "generalism" tends to a shopworn gloss of culture rather than hard skills; that Americans have grown more sophisticated about foreign policy while the State Department is less so; and that the Foreign Service underachieves.

To remedy the service's ills, however, it is told to "streamline," "experiment," "enrich" itself, and increase "flexibility." One strains for the sound of one hand clapping; the prescription is so breezy as to suggest either frivolousness or mysticism. Even an outsider who has never worked anywhere near an embassy suspects that posts abroad, particularly small ones, already experiment, expand and contract job descriptions, and use *ad hoc* and interim personnel. The restrictions on Foreign Service innovation come more from Congress and from budgetary constraints than from personal intransigence.

One talk at the conference, ironically enough by a former aide to Senator Jesse Helms, summed up much of State's woe. "[I]t seems to me that the personnel system is a major distraction for the employees," said James P. Lucier. The system is ill-adapted to the needs of modern families, especially two-career families, and to the international diplomatic agenda, which is largely subsumed in domestic agendas, Lucier said. "If I were in the Foreign Service, I would demand that the personnel system—that system that is going to have a major impact on my life and my family—be stable and predictable." ■

# SPEAKING OUT

By JACK R. BINNS

## Reflections on Mr. Bumble: Extraterritorial Kidnapping

If the law supposes that . . . the law is a ass, a idiot," said Dickens's Mr. Bumble in *Oliver Twist*. Bumble might have been describing our Supreme Court's recent 6 to 3 decision in *U.S. v. Humberto Alvarez Machain*. The court held that it was quite all right, thank you, for paid agents of the United States gov-

the Mexican government, and international law, the court said, are matters of no account. Evidently kidnapping by a sovereign power is not a crime, at least as long as it is carried out beyond U.S. frontiers.

The Supreme Court's majority (with a stinging dissent) held that there was nothing in the U.S.-Mexican extradition

was to be returned to Mexico without trial should be reversed. In a stroke the court:

- Trashed a century-old precedent (*U.S. v. Rauscher, 1886*) that ordered the return of an extradited fugitive because he had not been tried in accord with the terms of an extradition treaty and decided that such treaties were the exclusive means by which the U.S. government could obtain jurisdiction over defendants outside its jurisdiction. It also swept aside the decisions of the District Court and Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in *Alvarez* (upholding *Rauscher*) and undermined several other decisions (e.g. *U.S. v. Verdugo* and *Cook v. U.S.*);
- Ruled that key principles of international law, including the doctrine of sovereignty are not important considerations in matters of U.S. domestic law, at least as far as the Supreme Court is concerned;
- Implicitly sanctioned future "unfriendly acts" of this nature against friendly governments (much to their alarm), at least until President Bush promised Mexico that we would not exercise this newly approved power. But then why did the Department of Justice go to court and argue for the decision? Could it be that no one thought the Mexicans would be angry? Or was it that no one cared?;
- Turned reason on its head as regards the purpose and validity of extradition treaties to which the U.S. government has subscribed (more than 100 such are currently in force). If



FRIENDS

ernment (employees acting for the Drug Enforcement Administration) to abduct a Mexican national from Mexico for a crime committed in that country, sans permission of the government of Mexico, and deliver him to U.S. authorities for trial. The existing bilateral extradition treaty, official protests of

treaty about the parties' "refraining from forcibly abducting people from others' territory" and that "the principles of international law provide no basis for interpreting the treaty to include an implied term prohibiting international abductions." Thus the decisions of the District and Appeals Courts that Alvarez

states may legally kidnap nationals of another state from that state, why are treaties needed?; and

- Brought our country into international disrepute (this, of course, is nothing new).

### Do unto others

How the court's decision will affect our relations with Mexico, Latin America, generally, and other nations over the longer term remains to be seen. The administration appears to be trying to undo the damage, but in reality, the government's own hubris (or ignorance) gave rise to it. Everyone seems to have forgotten how the State Department's former legal adviser, Judge Abraham Sofaer, responded to a congressional committee in 1985 when questioned on the issue: "How would we feel if some foreign nation . . . came over here and seized some terrorist suspect in New York City, Boston, or Philadelphia because we refused through normal channels of international legal communication to extradite that individual?" Simple and to the point.

Chief Justice William Rehnquist surely gave substance to Mr. Bumble when he wrote that the decision might be "shocking" and "in violation of general international law [sic]" but held that the United States had the right to try Alvarez. Allow me to line up instead with the minority, Justices John Paul Stevens, Harry Blackmun, and Sandra O'Connor, and agree with Stevens's view that it was a "monstrous" decision that will "damage international respect for the rule of law."

Clearly the law in the Alvarez case, as interpreted by the majority (Justices Byron White, Antonin Scalia, Anthony Kennedy, Thomas Souter, Clarence Thomas, and Rehnquist), is an ass. But while the ultimate blame lies with the court, the administration is not blameless.

The Alvarez "snatch" itself was a rogue operation (i.e. not sanctioned at the political level), but it was ultimately supported by the highest levels. Perhaps most significantly, it was this administration, in the person of Attorney General William P. Barr, that pushed and argued hard for extending the extraterritorial reach of U.S. law.

# Just Desserts and Nasty Surprises

Living near the border in Arizona, I quickly perceived our Mexican neighbors' outrage at the Alvarez decision and got a taste of the possible consequences. Most were aware of the Mexican government's immediate protest, its "suspension" of cooperation with the DEA in Mexico (since rescinded), and its later rejection of all U.S. assistance in the "drug war." Relatively few, however, were aware that, within a week of the decision, armed Mexican authorities entered U.S. territory and seized several Mexicans at gunpoint before they could be processed for entry by U.S. officials. That the U.S. officials watched and did not respond showed restraint. That's to be praised.

President Bush's subsequent assurances to Mexican President Salinas helped to defuse, at least for now, what might have been a powder keg. But as one distinguished former ambassador under whom I once served noted correctly in an analogous situation, "Our hosts won't forget this matter and will turn it to their advantage when they judge the time is right." We now appear to have a bill due with the Mexicans.

On an unofficial basis, governments occasionally engage in extralegal practices by mutual consent. There is, for example, the "unofficial extradition" of alleged criminals. One common variation is the perfectly correct action of one country in returning an illegal or undesirable alien to the authorities of his or her country of origin. This is called deportation.

But another extralegal practice common with our Latin American neighbors involves U.S. law-enforcement officials' persuading their counterparts to detain and deliver to U.S. jurisdiction alleged criminals (usually American citizens and almost never host-country nationals) who are legally resident in the host country. Sweeteners—free transportation for the escorting officers, extra days in the United States at U.S. government expense, promises of increased cooperation and support—are usually part of the deal. Our embassies are usually witting participants in these arrangements. I certainly was, both as charge and ambassador. As regards clearance and coordination with our embassies, our law-enforcement agencies tend to be scrupulous.

It is usually argued in these cases that returning the fugitive to U.S. justice is in the national interest—hardly a proposition that, on its face, can be challenged. Besides, it saves

time, expense, and the irritation of an extradition proceeding. These arguments are more dubious. The fact that I was once co-defendant (along with Cyrus Vance, Bill Bowdler, Marvin Weisman, Attorney General Griffin B. Bell, and dozens of other State and Justice officials) in a multi-million dollar lawsuit arising from one such "unofficial" action may make me somewhat more sensitive than some to the pitfalls and abuses of such procedures. This particular case was dismissed by federal court, but the fallout in the cooperating country was significant.

The fugitive in question was tried, convicted, and given a suspended sentence by the U.S. court. Within three months he was back and initiated legal action against host-country authorities. That's when the doo-doo hit the fan.

Once the dust (or whatever it was) settled, two local police officials were in jail and stayed there for several years; the supervising official in the Interior Ministry had been sacked; the minister had resigned; the United States had received a lot of very bad publicity (for "subverting" the host-country government, *inter alia*); and an arrest warrant had been issued for our legal attache. Not exactly a soaring diplomatic success. Fortunately, the natives were basically friendly and resilient. They also appeared to have short memories; and it helped that they weren't enthusiastic about American felons settling in their country.

There was, at least for me, a lesson in all this. I decided to be very skeptical of U.S. law-enforcement agencies when they wanted to "work deals" with our hosts. The old arguments of avoiding the time, expense, and energy of formal extradition no longer cut much ice. My response became, "If this is really a bad guy, let's extradite; if he's not that bad, let's just hope he makes a mistake that will drop him into our hands." Having made that decision, there were no more unpleasant surprises.

Thus, the issue of overseas fugitives is more complex than just extradition treaties and international law, though goodness knows they provide the legal bedrock. The round-up of offshore miscreants is not always as neat, legal, and consequence-free as we would like. It's not always easy to catch the guys in the black hats, but sometimes when you ignore the niceties (legalities) you create more problems and get soot on your white hat to boot.

— JACK R. BINNS

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## SPEAKING OUT

### Origins of the ass

Until a strange and controversial 1985 Justice Department opinion by then Assistant Attorney General Barr, who was heading the Legal Counsel's Office, both State and Justice had agreed that the kidnapping of suspects from foreign countries was unlawful. With this 1985 antecedent, asserting that such action was legal, it came as no surprise that Justice argued in support of DEA in the Alvarez case. Nor should it raise an eyebrow that now Attorney General Barr hailed the decision as "an important victory in our ongoing efforts against terrorists [sic] and narco-traffickers who operate against the U.S. from overseas." If that was true, why did President Bush assure the Mexicans we wouldn't do it again?

Being neither a lawyer nor a legal scholar, I am not qualified to comment on the finer legal points involved. But I can read the decision and comments of those who are qualified to judge the substance of the case. They may not have been unanimous, but an overwhelming majority has been severely critical.

Like my Foreign Service colleagues, I spent my career upholding and defending the Constitution, seeking to advance U.S. interests as defined by various administrations, and trying to strengthen comity among nations. That's why I joined the Foreign Service. To me, the *Alvarez* decision was a slap in the face, an ignorant, narrow decision. It repudiated many of the principles of our foreign policy to which I and thousands of others devoted much of our professional lives.

What, we may ask, is going on? What ever became of the "new world order" the Bush Administration claimed to be designing and constructing not long ago? Where does *Alvarez* fit in? What kind of order—world or otherwise—can proceed from vigilantism endorsed by our highest court? An observation by Justice William Brandeis comes to mind: "If government be-

comes a lawbreaker . . . it invites every man to become a law unto himself." Substitute "nation" for "man."

### Sovereignty for whom?

Beyond its narrow focus, the Supreme Court's decision is remarkable for its absence of historical context or perspective. It's as though the law were being invented at that point; the issue did not exist until 1990 in Mexico. Justice Scalia holds that legislation should be interpreted based on its pure text, without regard to the intent of legislators. It follows that he, and those who accept that line of reason, would have no problem with giving equally short shrift to history and the evolution of general international law.

A word also needs to be said in favor of the exercise of sovereignty and protection of citizens. Both are important attributes of nationhood and government. Goodness knows this administration has not been slow to stake out broad claims in either sphere. Moreover, these have not been minor factors in our history as a nation generally nor our diplomatic history specifically. We have conducted military operations from the 18th century (Barbary pirates) to the late 20th (attacks on Libya following the Berlin bombings) in the name of both. Within this same period it is possible to count at least one war (1812) and several crises (e.g., the Trent affair) that arose from attempts by one power to exercise extraterritorial rights over another. We were usually resisting such assertion.

In the *Alvarez* decision, we blithely ignored that history of resistance to incursions on our sovereignty. The decision lacked any recognition that other states might seek to exercise these same powers, any notion that international law has a role to play in the conduct of our international relations and usually serves U.S. interests, and any apparent awareness of its implications.

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Whether the result was the product of hubris or ignorance, I leave to others to decide. Whatever the reason, the decision was bad law and bad foreign policy.

### **Bureaucracy endures**

The Supreme Court ruling was the latest example of our tendency to diverge from what we preach and ignore international law when we think it convenient. The decision is bound to affect our relations not only with Mexico but with other countries as well. But how might we reduce the decision's effects? The president's belated efforts to reassure the Mexicans (perhaps to save the North American Free Trade Agreement) were helpful, but may not persuade many others.

A broader, formal declaration that the United States will forego unilateral extraterritorial action in the future would

be very helpful. But that seems highly improbable. Having been involved in similar efforts, I find it easy to predict the arguments that will come forth from those agencies wishing greater latitude for such action: "it will foreclose future options;" "it will diminish our credibility;" "it will reduce our leverage with Libya" (to cite a timely example); and "it's the law of the land." Anyone who has fought the bureaucratic wars knows the tired arguments that would be trotted out and also knows they are largely specious. Administrations come and go, but the rationales of the bureaucracy endure. And unless Congress sees *Alvarez* as a problem, the tired arguments will almost surely prevail.

Would a congressional resolution or, better yet, specific legislation stating the U.S. intention to eschew unilateral extraterritorial action and abide by international norms serve a constructive

purpose? Would President Bush dare veto such legislation? The answer to the first question is clearly yes; that to the second is less clear.

Perhaps retired colleagues will join with me—and, I would hope, AFSA—to urge such a course of action on Congress. That would go some way toward reestablishing our credibility as a law-abiding member of the international community; it would also serve notice on those members of executive agencies who might be tempted to engage in similar future operations (the rogues), that it will not be tolerated. That won't remove the burden placed on us by the Supreme Court, but it's still something. Even Mr. Bumble might approve. ■

*Jack R. Binns, a retired Foreign Service officer who served from 1980 to 1981 as U.S. ambassador to Honduras, currently lives in Arizona.*

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# SOME THOUGHTS ON THE FOREIGN SERVICE

BY JAMES RESTON

I learned two things soon after I arrived in Washington at the beginning of 1941. The first was that the people who made the most noise made the least sense and produced the least reliable news. The second was that, if I wanted to know what was going on or coming up, it was usually better to have a little talk with the Foreign Service officers.

Talks with secretaries of state in the long-ago days were always interesting but seldom productive. Secretary of State Cordell Hull met us every week day in his office with its latticed swinging doors and its lazy ceiling fans. It was on the second floor of the old gingerbread building called, significantly, the State, War, and Navy Building. Incidentally, I have occasionally suspected that the tribal warfare among the departments over foreign policy really became serious when the military and the CIA moved across the Potomac into Virginia.

In the critical days just before and after Pearl Harbor, we didn't have to fly around the world to see the secretary of state, as we do now; they were not only available but unavoidable. What distinguished Secretary Hull and his successor, Edward R. Stettinus, was that they *looked* like secretaries of state, although the power of decision was lodged in the White House, where Harry Hopkins was living upstairs. In those days, Roosevelt thought reporters

should be obedient porters and carry his message, unquestioned, to a waiting and puzzled world.

Most of the time we not only went along with the amiable deception but thought we were lucky to see the inside of the Oval Office every week or so, take down the headmaster's statements, and laugh at his jokes, even when they weren't very funny. But after a while this game became so obvious that we began to check it out in the State Department and in Congress, where even then Roosevelt had to inform, if not consult, the committee chairmen to be sure they wouldn't revolt when he announced decisions.

#### **Best, and most vilified**

We got more help from Foreign Service officers in keeping the record straight, but they were always on guard when they let me in the door. They seldom told me anything that violated their vow of secrecy and seldom were unloyal to the president's policies, though, in retrospect, they must have disagreed many times. But they did explain the issues for decision, the arguments for and against, and, if they trusted you, they helped you to explain what the controversy was all about. I look back on them with admiration and respect.

Not only many politicians on the Hill, but presidents and even some secretaries of state, however, regarded Foreign Service officers as a lot of fancy, cookie-pushing elitists who were questioning "the superior wisdom" of the elected and

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appointed officials, many of whom had little experience in foreign affairs.

It is true that we had in the Foreign Service some fancy characters who were more interested in parties than in policies, but I think that in the critical phase of world politics, just before and after the second World War, we had the best, and the most vilified, Foreign Service officers in the long history of the republic.

In a way, I blame my own profession for dramatizing the men who announced the news instead of the people who really had the ideas that made the news. We have this sports-page habit of picking winners and sinners, and personalizing everything. We are the shorthand wizards of the modern world. We have a bad habit of reducing diversity to simplicity; of inventing labels that fit in a one-column headline.

Thus we called the reconstruction of Europe the Marshall Plan, though General Marshall was a little surprised to hear about it; we called the Greek-Turkish aid plan the Truman Doctrine, though Harry didn't think much of doctrines but was pretty good at disasters; and while President Nixon claimed credit, with some reason, for the "opening of China," he wasn't the first to notice that a billion Chinese people, roughly a quarter of the human race, couldn't be ignored. So I want to mention, as examples, a few Foreign Service officers, now long forgotten.

I recall, for example, Robert F. Kelly, who was head of the Eastern European division of the State Department in the 1920s. In 1925, eight years after the Soviet Revolution and eight years before the United States even recognized the Communist government in Moscow, Kelly had the original idea that it would be useful if the Foreign Service officers dealing with that formidable regime and ideology knew something about it.

Accordingly—how he got the carfare I don't know—he sent George Kennan, Chip Bohlen, Eddie Page, Tommy Thompson, and several others to the Baltic States and Berlin to study the language and ideology of this new power in the world.

## Reckless truth-telling

Fortunately, some of these Soviet experts in Washington lived long enough

to be honored for their service to the nation, which was not true of the China experts—John Paton Davies Jr., John Stewart Service, and others—who were condemned and drummed out of the State Department, not because they were wrong about the struggle for power in China, but because they were right too soon.

Fortunately, George Kennan is still with us, writing his philosophy of life in Princeton, and I cannot mention this great man—I use the word carefully—without forgetting the day he, too, was forced into retirement, precisely at the time when his knowledge of the Soviet menace was most valuable. No doubt many of you know the story, but I tell it again because it reminds us of the accidents of life and the stupidity of normally intelligent men "at the top."

Kennan had the reckless habit of telling the truth and one day, in the early 1950s when he was our ambassador to Moscow, he went west on vacation and landed at Tempelhof Airport in Berlin, where he was met by several reporters. He was asked about his experiences in the Soviet capital and replied that conditions under Stalin were not unlike those under Hitler. This did not amuse Stalin, who kicked him out and died soon thereafter.

When George got home and reported to the new secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, and asked what new assignment he had, the secretary of state said he really didn't have any job for him at all. When George rose to leave, Dulles said, "Sit down and tell me what you think about the situation in Moscow, now that Stalin is gone."

When Kennan finished, Dulles said (from Kennan's memoirs), "That's very interesting . . . You know, you interest me when you talk about these matters. Very few other people do. I hope you'll come in from time to time and let us have your comments on what's going on."

Then Kennan added in his memoirs: "It was . . . as though I had said to [my wife]: 'You know, I'm divorcing you as of today, and you are to leave my bed and board at once. But I love the way you cook scrambled eggs, and I wonder if you'd mind fixing me up a batch of them before you go.'"

Incidentally, it cannot be said that Dulles's dismissal of Kennan was a misfortune. In fact, it was in some ways the most successful of his blunders. For it liberated Kennan in his middle years to write—and how George Kennan can write! He writes with his fist. He had more influence by what he wrote on the outside than he did inside the State Department.

### Retiring in silence

Then there was Chip Bohlen. No Foreign Service officer has ever been secretary of state, and there was perhaps a good reason why, but I always thought he could have made it. Like Kennan, he had the gift of telling the truth in the State Department and the Congress, but unlike Kennan, he knew how to say serious things in an amiable way.

He even knew how to handle the press. In fact, he composed seven rules about how to do it and circulated them to his colleagues. Once

Chip introduced me from a platform with a lurking smile and a nod, and added an eighth rule: "Never trust a Scotchman who wears a bow tie and smokes a pipe."

When Chip was ambassador to the Soviet Union, he introduced me there to his young daughter, Celestine, who at that



Charles Bohlen

moment was learning to ride a bicycle around the ballroom in the embassy. She is now a reporter—and a very good one—for the *New York Times* in Moscow, and I hope that one day she will write not only the story of the love and service of her mother and father, but the untold story of the children of these Foreign Service officers—sometimes glorious and sometimes tragic—of the gypsy wanderings from one capital to another.

What would we have done without these Foreign Service officers in our isolationist days when they were dealing with bosses who had to look up the difference between the Baltic States and the Balkans? Who will remember their unpaid wives, who had to produce sudden dinner parties for visiting

congressmen and pretend to be polite while listening to the latest gossip from Washington?

I think, too, of Tommy Thompson, another Foreign Service ambassador in Moscow, and his wife, Jane, who carried on long after Tommy was

gone. It was Tommy, who, knowing something of the mysteries of the Soviet mind, suggested to President Kennedy the compromise that got Khrushchev to withdraw his nuclear missiles from Cuba—but all this, too, is now forgotten.

My only disappointment about these Foreign Service officers is that, except for Kennan and a modest try by Bohlen, they disappeared into retirement and never really wrote their personal stories of this fantastic American achievement of American foreign policy in the last half of the century.

### Muted thanksgiving

It is now 55 years since I met my first two Foreign Service officers, Jake Beam and

Herschel Johnson, in London. They had the difficult and not always successful assignment of keeping Ambassador Joseph Kennedy out of trouble. For most of these years, I have been reporting on the fear of wars, the conduct of wars, and the consequences of wars, never dreaming that I would live long enough to see the successful ending of the Cold War. But it happened, almost like a benediction, and almost on Thanksgiving Day at the beginning of the last decade of the most murderous century of history.

But oddly, there was very little thanksgiving in our country. We didn't take time to notice that in the first half of the century, when the two political parties and our people were divided,



Secretary of State John Dulles



George Kennan

there were two world wars that might have been avoided. And in the second half, when we were united in a non-partisan foreign policy, we avoided a third world war and gave our civilization another chance.

Part of the reason for this lapse of memory was that, instead of celebrating the end of a 40-year struggle against the power and philosophy of communism, we celebrated our weekend war against Hussein of Iraq, who was, the president told us, "worse than Hitler," and then neglected to get rid of him.

Also, unfortunately, the end of the Cold War, which was won by cooperation between the two political parties, coincided with our presidential election, which is now not only emphasizing the differences between the parties, but insisting that, if the other side wins, all the gains of the 20th century will be lost, and all the hopes of the 21st century will be in vain.

This is the sort of nonsense Foreign Service officers have to suffer, in silence, and have done so throughout my working days. I am happy to have the chance to express my uttermost pride in their achievements, although I won't be satisfied until someone writes the story of these remarkable but forgotten heroes of what turned out, after all, to be the American Century. ■

*James Reston retired in 1991 after 50 years as columnist and executive editor of the New York Times. This article is excerpted from a speech given at the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, April 6, 1992.*

# On

## *My resignation from the Foreign Service*

# Dissent

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BY GEORGE KENNEY

**Editor's Note:** On Tuesday, August 25, George Kenney, Yugoslav desk officer at the Department of State, resigned his post in protest against what he perceives as a refusal on the part of the United States to act against the ongoing slaughter in the splintered republics that once formed that country. Resigning on the eve of an international conference on peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina in London, Kenney, 35, intended his action as a protest against the expected outcome of the peace negotiations, which he characterized as a "charade," and a prompt to wider public debate on policy toward Yugoslavia. The *Washington Post* treated his resignation in a front-page article on August 26, and subsequently, Kenney has appeared on National Public Radio, the NBC Today Show, WTTG television, Cable News Network, C-SPAN cable television, and in many other publications and broadcast programs. His goal is to raise public awareness of the dissection of Bosnia and, through public pressure, to force the administration to come to the aid of Bosnians in their fight against Serbs by providing weapons and offering air support.

In statements to the press, Acting Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger has expressed sympathy for Kenney's action. "Here is a young man in the Foreign Service who saw this horror going on, did not think we were doing the right things with it. And I must say, having been a Foreign Service officer, having lived through that kind of situation myself, he showed remarkable courage in at least

saying, 'I don't like it; I'm going to quit, and I'm going to talk about it.' Too many don't like it, don't quit and talk about it," Eagleburger said in an interview on the MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour on August 28.

But Eagleburger disagreed with the measures Kenney has recommended. "In my judgment, Kenney was also saying military involvement on our part was, in the end, essential," Eagleburger said in the interview.

"That process leads you into the kind of situation that got us into Vietnam. And I'm not prepared to accept arguments that there must be something between the kind of involvement of Vietnam and doing nothing . . . that there must be some form in the middle. That's again what got us into Vietnam. You do a little bit and it doesn't work. What do you do next?"

Eagleburger criticized "armchair strategists" in the press who advocate forceful intervention in Yugoslavia. "They aren't the ones that have to worry about the Americans getting killed if we get into a situation in that part of the world from which we cannot easily extract ourselves."

"The one thing we have decided clearly we were going to do is we will use all necessary force to get humanitarian supplies in to these people, and that is critically important," Eagleburger continued. "What we have also said is we are not going to involve ourselves militarily in trying to make peace and force this conflict to an end."

Following is a reflection by George Kenney on dissent and his resignation.

**T**he question almost every interviewer asks is: why did you resign instead of staying within the system and pressing your case for change there? That captures the essence of a decision to resign over policy. Will the resignation matter?

Inside the system I had argued my views about as far as they could go. It seems to me there is a kind of double process in making policy—a formal structure with a paper flow and empty-ump clearances, and an informal structure in which colleagues debate policy on the merits. Formally, I could not put my views fully in writing because they would never be cleared, and the alternative dissent channel is moribund.

Nevertheless, I did try working incremental shifts into formal policy positions, with some success. Although our core Yugoslav policy direction comes from the White House, in the State Department's frantic efforts to manage the crisis, a lot of policy gets made on the margins, where everyone thinks someone else is responsible. As desk officer, I often mediated the opposing views of superior officers—which can make it easy to get your own views through. And because things change so rapidly, there is no sacrosanct body of language to refer to in drafting policy documents. I was often asked: "Is this our official position, or did you just make this up?" The answer was, about half and half. Surreptitiously, I took every opportunity to nudge policy in the right direction, or what I thought was the right direction.

Informally, at the working level and higher, I took my pro-active arguments to anyone who would listen. I believe that most officers at the working level share my views. But at the level of deputy assistant secretary and up, officers are caught in the dogma of the administration's position. It struck me at one point, when I was arguing with a deputy assistant secretary over whether to arm the Bosnians, that I was being treated like a foreign diplomat: no thinking on

his side of our conversation but just a rehashing of prepared U.S. positions.

It seems to me that the eerie qualities of a *nomenklatura* sometimes pervade the upper echelons. Personal and political loyalties appear to take precedence over getting to the right policy. No one wants to rock the boat. Trying significantly to criticize or radically to change policy on charged issues is not "career-enhancing." It is a profound disappointment to me that I never saw much evidence of

real debate at high levels on Yugoslav issues, and not only at State. In one "Deputies Committee" meeting after another (subcabinet-level deputies of various agencies), senior officials could not grasp or would not discuss the fundamental point that to stop Serbian aggression requires a credible threat or use of force. The alternative was, and is, appeasement.

It is worth taking a moment or two to think about why a *nomenklatura* culture exists in State and other bureaucracies. It is not fair to blame individuals; rather, it is the system. People react to incentives within certain constraints: give people good incentives, get good results. The reverse also holds. Somewhere along the way, I think, State got its incentives structure all wrong. The key to fixing things, I think, would be to delegate more, to give officers more responsibility, more flexibility, and more reward.

Why should officers not be eligible for promotion every year, for example, or for multiple step promotions in a single year? There just isn't a solid link between performance and advancement. The risk/reward equation strongly favors cautious behavior—behavior that is often inappropriate in tough situations.

Since I resigned, some senior department officials have commented that I was too emotionally involved in my work and that I should have been more objective. The charge that I was personally involved is true. But I believe that in order to do

great things, a person must be passionate about his or her work. I think the department could and should do more to enable officers to be passionate, to care. It also could and



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should do more to reward imagination and curiosity and to encourage open internal debate up and down the hierarchy.

Making the decision to resign on the abstract level, on grounds of principle, was easy. Actually doing it tested my resolve. Being a diplomat is a pretty cushy job—with tenure we are guaranteed 25-plus years of service and a decent pension. There are travel benefits and health benefits. You meet interesting people. There is prestige.

I was a moderately ambitious officer; in promotions I was in the top 10 percent of my entering "A-100" class of new recruits. I had good prospects. Although I had had my fights within the building, I had also made good friends. I think I was respected. Leaving the security of that situation was the scariest thing I have ever done. Friends and relatives told me not to throw away my career. I worried about letting my father down—he had been an FSO for more than 35 years. I was afraid the department would be vindictive (actually, it has been quite friendly about this). I didn't know how I would pay the bills, and I still don't. Resignation constituted a leap of faith into the unknown.

I left because I believe the urgency of the need to act decisively in Yugoslavia, to act now, cannot be underscored strongly enough. I've told the administration: this is genocide. Recognize it. Stop it. Help the Bosnians defend their freedom.

This urgency was the incentive that ultimately drove me to take the chance that, through resigning, I could help prompt a more responsible policy. The other side of it was that I did not in my own soul feel comfortable supporting and rationalizing a policy paralysis that leads to wholesale slaughter and the total deprivation of human dignity for hundreds of thousands of people.

When I resigned, I believed I had a story the public would want to hear and that I could make more of a difference toward changing policy from the outside than through working within the system. The administration reacts exceptionally strongly to public criticism. Repeatedly,

### *I believed*

*I had a story the public would want to hear and that I could make more of a difference toward changing policy from the outside than through working within the system. The administration reacts exceptionally strongly to public criticism. Repeatedly, I had seen the State Department scramble to make policy in response to negative stories in the New York Times, Washington Post, or other papers.*

I had seen the State Department scramble to make policy in response to negative stories in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, or other papers. Roy Gutman's stories in *Newsday*, for example, shook the administration to its roots on charges that we weren't doing enough to find out about and help put an end to Serbian-run concentration camps. Charges that are true. Although when I resigned I did not dare hope to change policy fundamentally, I believed I could get some media attention, stir things up, provoke at least internally a review of basic assumptions. So far, the media have proven me half right. Clearly the public wants to hear an alternative message on what we can do to stop the killing. I think in the middle run my views will be vindicated; for now, I hope policy will change before we arrive at a grim and empty end to Bosnia.

Before I resigned I had no contacts with the press, no idea of anyone to approach to get my story out, and no sense of how to make my arguments public. Resignation was a gamble, but I believed someone would listen. I knew, from my extensive work on public affairs aspects of the Yugoslav crisis that the media was desperate for a better handle on events but terribly frustrated with the thin rhetoric of administration statements. Out of the blue, I called *Post* reporter Don Oberdorfer, since I knew senior press officials at the State Department were more afraid of him than of anyone else in Washington. Even Don did not predict the deluge of interest I got following his story.

I have found great comfort in the encouragement I have gotten from many friends, colleagues, and former diplomats. Several former ambassadors have called expressing their support. People tell me my action took courage. I suppose it did, but knowing myself, I think it was more stubbornness and orneriness than anything else. I am liberated now. I will go on from here without looking back. ■

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*George Kenney is currently writing and speaking on the Yugoslav crisis.*

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*Maintaining contact with  
Romanian dissidents*

# Keeping In with the Outs

BY ROGER KIRK

**N**icolae Ceausescu ran the tightest dictatorship in Eastern Europe in the 1980s. He was particularly careful to control the information his population received. He limited television broadcasts to two, sometimes three hours a day, with programming focused on the "achievements" of Romanian socialism and of Ceausescu. Newspapers and books, even songs, repeated the standard line. Every typewriter was supposed to be registered with the police together with a sample of its typeface so the Securitate could trace any typed document to its author. Open dissidents were few and far between. Some were Communists who had fallen out of favor with Ceausescu. Others were writers or poets, historians, or individuals who resented Ceausescu's razing of Bucharest's traditional monuments. Only a few expressions of dissent ever came to public consciousness. The dissidents had no network binding them together, and they felt very lonely.

The U.S. embassy considered as one of its main tasks to keep in touch with what dissidents existed. In part this was because the U.S. government wanted information on the dissidents—their numbers, their views, their intentions, and their fortitude. In larger part it was because the U.S. wanted to encourage them by demonstrating that their courageous stand was known to and appreciated by the U.S. government. The United States also wanted to show the Romanian government that the U.S. government would take unfavorable notice of any action against the dissidents. And as time went on, personal friendships developed between embassy officers, individual dissidents, and their families, leading to more frequent contacts.

Ceausescu could not understand this interest in dissi-

dence, indeed any official U.S. concern over human rights in Romania. He believed, and he told his closest collaborators, that the Reagan Administration was seeking to recruit agents to overthrow his regime. Embassy contacts with dissidents, in any case, ran directly counter to what Ceausescu wanted foreign embassies to be—not objective information-gathering organizations, but lobbyists for better relations with Romania and more high-level visits to Bucharest, and a channel for passing official Romanian propaganda back to capitals.

## **Controlled contacts**

Ceausescu took steps to enforce his view; a special 1985 decree regulated contacts with foreigners. All Romanians who the authorities thought might have contacts with foreigners had to sign a statement that they would abide by its provisions. These required them to inform the authorities of each contemplated contact, obtain official permission for it, and report on what happened. In one of those wonderful absurdities of police states, the decree was secret, and those promising to abide by it were not allowed to read it. This did not, however, prevent the authorities from holding them to its provisions.

Romania was not Stalin's Soviet Union, however; some contact with foreigners was possible. Romanians could come to the American library, for instance, for exhibits, lectures, and movies. Some would receive permission to attend a reception at the U.S. embassy or other diplomatic functions around town. Diplomatic receptions at least provide a place in which to have a conversation that cannot be taped, provided one does not stand right next to the potted palm

and that neither interlocutor is wired (the Securitate put a microphone in the heel of the shoe of one of my predecessors). A few Romanians could meet individually with Americans, and Romanian rules of hospitality provided an excuse not to turn away an American who showed up at the door.

### Code of conduct

The embassy, therefore, could make contact with a number of dissidents, but we did have certain internal rules. The first was that we should always find out in advance if an individual, especially a dissident, wanted contact with us, realizing that contact would invite increased Securitate attention and possibly harassment. We could usually find out informally if our attention or invitations were wanted.

The second principle was that our employees should never engage in amateur cops-and-robbers practices or do anything that would embarrass the U.S. government if it became public. Our program of contacts was basically open, if sometimes discreet. We were not bound by any Romanian regulations on contact with foreigners; if a Romanian wanted to ignore those regulations, that was fine with us.

The third principle was that we should never tell a Romanian something that he or she could not tell the Securitate; it would not be fair to expect them to keep our secrets under Securitate questioning. This did not mean that we could not criticize the regime or express our admiration for what the dissidents were doing. It did mean that we were very careful about telling one Romanian about another's activities or comments, especially if these had been critical of the regime.

We conducted these contacts at many different levels, depending on the prominence of the Romanian, his or her preferences, and U.S. priorities. Thus I, as ambassador, would often invite to the residence former ambassadors to the United States who had fallen out of favor with Ceausescu, along with a number of prominent intellectuals and religious leaders. The political counselor had many contacts at the next level. This could be onerous; one of the former ambassadors, Silviu Brucan, developed the disconcerting habit of showing up at the counselor's house for breakfast, sometimes unannounced, thus vastly complicating the problem of getting two small children ready for the day. After the revolution, Brucan obtained his Securitate file and took great delight in showing Securitate pictures of himself emerging from the political counselor's house, references to his meetings with me, and transcripts of his conversations with his wife and daughter taped in his own house.

The two junior officers in the political section with responsibility for human rights had the most frequent contacts with dissidents. In fact, as we suspected at the time and learned later, the Securitate was convinced they were CIA officers assigned to subvert the regime and therefore

made them prime targets of its surveillance. The Securitate also paid careful attention to the activities of the U.S. Information Agency officers, whose wide range of contacts included dissidents, but they did not seem to consider the USIA people to be as sinister as the human rights officers.

### Incredible shrinking reception

Ceausescu himself gave dramatic evidence of his displeasure over embassy attention to dissidents when Deputy Secretary Whitehead visited Bucharest in early 1988. The specific trigger was my invitation to Brucan, a few other former high officials fallen from favor, several other dissidents, and some religious leaders to come to a small reception for the deputy secretary. Ceausescu took the occasion of his meeting with the deputy secretary earlier that day to complain that I had invited "mischief-makers" to meet the deputy secretary. The embassy and the deputy secretary should get their information from officials, not malcontents, Ceausescu said.

Ceausescu did not confine his displeasure to words alone. On his instructions the government told many invitees to stay away, and the police and Securitate ringed the embassy during the reception. Several invitees sent regrets; others simply did not reply, and still others could not get in. Even the two Foreign Ministry attendees, who had received permission from their minister to come for 20 minutes, had their documents examined at three checkpoints on their way in. In the end, only seven non-officials came. (It was always important, in Ceausescu's Bucharest, to prepare hors d'oeuvres that you could put in the freezer if your guests did not show up.)

### Increasing watchfulness

As the months went on and reform strengthened in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, dissident activity in Romania increased a little, while the regime's nervousness about it increased a great deal. In late fall the head of the Western Hemisphere division summoned me to the Foreign Ministry. I knew something special was up when I saw that the chief of protocol, one of the leading Securitate men in the ministry, was with him. The director, reading from a prepared text, said that embassy contacts with disreputable elements of Romanian society were improper and inimical to friendly relations, and that these "acts of instigation against the Romanian state" should stop. He accused three embassy officers by name of "recruiting persons to act against the state . . . actions which contravene their diplomatic status." This would be the only warning, he said; if this conduct continued, Romania would be "forced to take action commensurate with such activities." I denied that we were "recruiting" agents and asserted that a wide range of contacts was part of a diplomat's job. Was the Romanian government seeking



WILLIAM D. PHOTOS

to prohibit such activity? The director replied that such contacts were "at least unfriendly."

When I returned to the embassy, we quickly agreed that contacts with dissidents should continue, but that they should be carefully planned. We established several guidelines for setting priorities. One was the utility of the contact to the United States. Second was the safety of the embassy officer and the chances the officer would be declared *persona non grata*. Third was the sensitivity of the contact from the Romanian government's point of view. Finally, we would take into account the frequency with which members of other embassies met with the dissident. We also decided to inform the dissidents involved about the ministry's demarche, so they could assess the possibly heightened risk to them of meeting embassy officers.

I thought we should spread the task of contacting dissidents throughout the embassy rather than continue to concentrate it in the hands of two or three officers who would be particular targets for the Romanian government. This had its problems. To be effective, the embassy officers would in most cases have to speak good Romanian. They would have to be cool and prudent, as they might well be harassed, threatened, or detained. They would have to be fully willing to engage in this time-consuming and potentially risky part of embassy work. Previous relationships were obviously important—many dissidents had affection and trust for individual embassy officers and would feel discouraged or even abandoned if another officer were substituted. Yet it seemed foolish, if we could avoid it, to have three of

our junior officers kicked out.

The head of the political section prepared a message to Washington reporting what had happened and telling the department (not asking it) what we were going to do. In the meantime, I called in the three officers whose names had been mentioned at the Foreign Ministry, told them their activities had been perfectly proper, and assured them of my personal support. I said I was going to reduce their own contacts somewhat to lower their profile but that I would like them to continue a number of their contacts, if they were willing. All said they were.

### In Security's limelight

The next day we agreed on a list of contact assignments for officers throughout the embassy and a rough schedule for such meetings. The political counselor talked to the officers involved and their superiors to see if there was any objection to their undertaking these new, and in some cases unfamiliar, duties. Most welcomed the chance. In many cases, first-tour officers were involved, due to language skills or a desire to keep a low embassy profile. We told them all to follow the prescribed plan and to keep in close touch with the political counselor and, as necessary, myself. I stressed that sensitive contacts would continue unabated but that they would be under close central control.

In the next few days at least one officer was ostentatiously photographed while talking to a dissident writer during a street meeting, and others reported being followed. They nevertheless went ahead with scheduled visits to dissidents'



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apartments, occasional meetings in parks or on the street, and meals together. The officers checked in regularly upon completion of a sensitive meeting, and on more than one occasion the political counselor and I were pacing the floor when they showed up after a planned session.

These officers often had quick decisions to make. One dissident scholar, speaking in a political officer's house, said he had some documents he would like to get to Radio Free Europe. He handed them to the political officer, who took them. The officer, however, speaking for Securitate microphones that he assumed were picking up the conversation, said he would have to consider the matter and get back to the scholar on it at a later time.

The security forces actually picked up one middle-grade officer after he left the house of a person who had signed a manifesto against Ceausescu that was broadcast by Radio Free Europe. The security forces drove him to a local police station, where he was asked what he had been doing in the area. He said he was paying a call on a Romanian citizen in the course of embassy business. He asked for permission to phone the embassy, which was not granted, although the security forces allowed him to leave a few minutes later.

I immediately requested an appointment to complain about this violation of diplomatic immunity. The Romanians waited a day to grant the appointment and then led off by complaining that the officer in question had been "sneaking in the back door" of Romanian houses. This was the "last time" they would warn the embassy against "acts of

provocation and instigation." If the embassy did not change its behavior, they would be "forced to take other measures." I said that embassy officers did not "sneak in back doors" and that the individual in question had been performing perfectly legitimate embassy business. We never heard anything more about the matter.

This carefully orchestrated program of contacts continued for several months with basically good results. The embassy continued to show its support for the dissidents and maintained its sources of information while avoiding exposing any one officer to undue *persona non grata* risk. The officers drafted from other sections enjoyed their contacts, the excitement of the work, and the feeling of being part of the special team. When the Ceausescu regime was overthrown, a number of people with whom the embassy had maintained contact took high positions in the new government, to the satisfaction of their embassy friends and the benefit of U.S. relations with the new government. Within a few months, however, several of these individuals left the government, deeming it insufficiently democratic and too tainted with communism. Once again, they became dissidents. ■

*Roger Kirk served as U.S. ambassador to Romania from November 1985 to July 1989. This article is based upon the author's contribution to Inside an Embassy: The Political Role of Diplomats Abroad, by Robert H. Miller, et al, an Institute for the Study of Diplomacy book published by Congressional Quarterly Inc. in July 1992.*



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*Democratization and U.S. Policy:*

# Principle and Pragmatism

BY MICHAEL STERNER

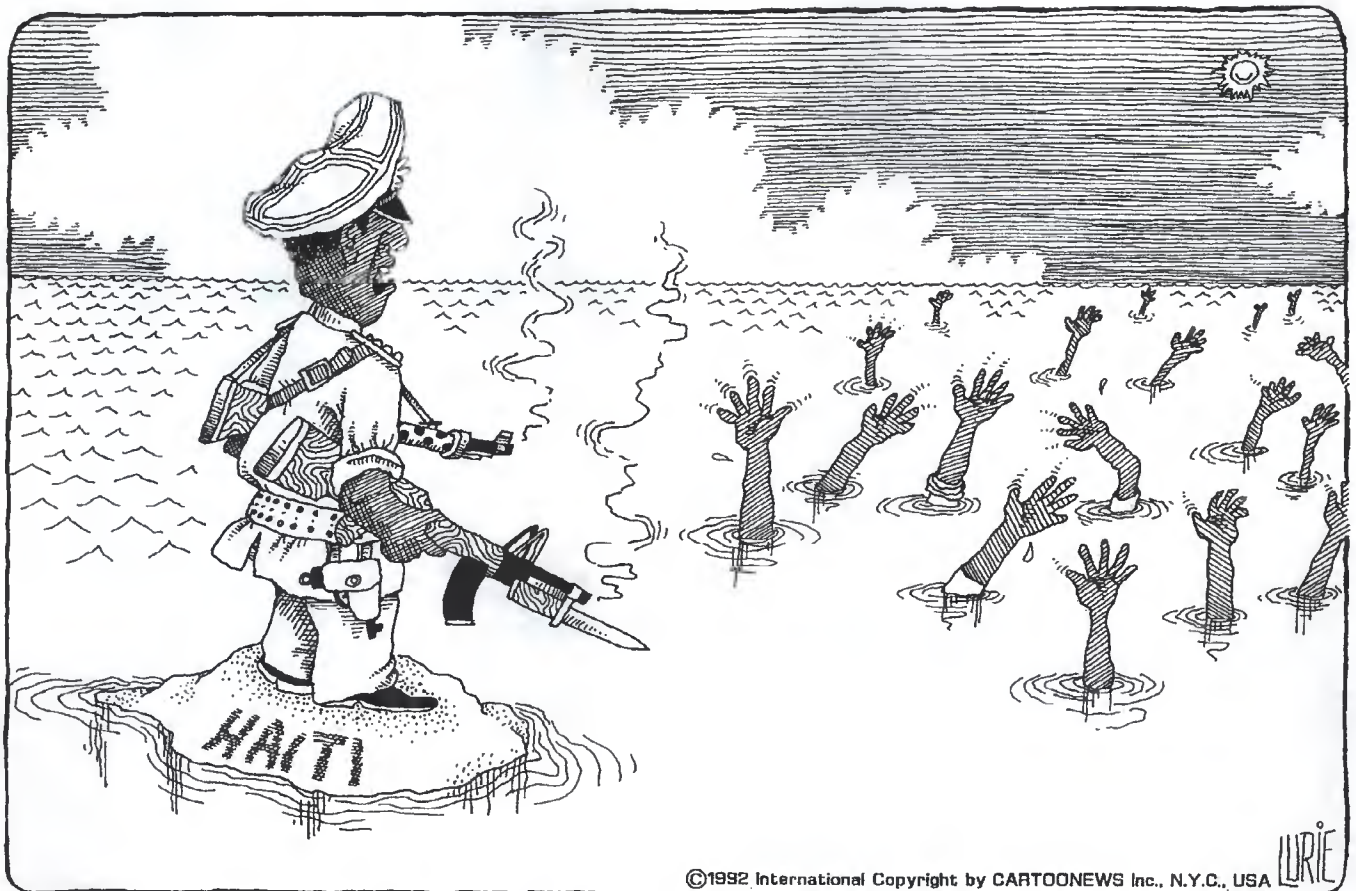
**A**s we grope for a new definition of American interests in a confusing post-Cold War world, the United States has put increased emphasis on support for democracy as an element of its foreign policy. It is not that policymakers see democracy as a miracle prescription for the new world order. But in the absence of other overarching themes, there is broad agreement that support for democracy offers the promise of an ultimately safer, if not necessarily less unruly world.

Vice President Quayle summed up the administration's point of view in his speech before the United Nations Human Rights Commission earlier this year: "... democracies have the best human rights records; democracies produce the greatest wealth for individuals and societies as a whole; and, in this conflict-ridden and blood-stained century of ours, it is a fact that no two democracies have waged war against each other."

These are principles with which few would disagree, but how is our policy working out in practice? In the last year alone, democracies and democratization movements have suffered setbacks in Haiti, Algeria, Peru, Thailand, and the former Soviet republic of Georgia. Washington's handling of these specific challenges shows that, although we are clearly taking the issue more seriously across the board than we might have a decade ago, the U.S. response has varied widely, showing little global consistency of policy application. A number of factors account for this: geography, the importance of other interests, policy inflexibility caused by the rather arbitrary criteria established in Section 513 of the Foreign Assistance Act; and conflict, in some cases, between the results of the democracy experiment and U.S. strategic interests.

## **Our own backyard**

We have generally held the nations of our own hemisphere to a higher standard than we do others. In the cases of both



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**“All those in favor of our new Prime Minister. . .”**

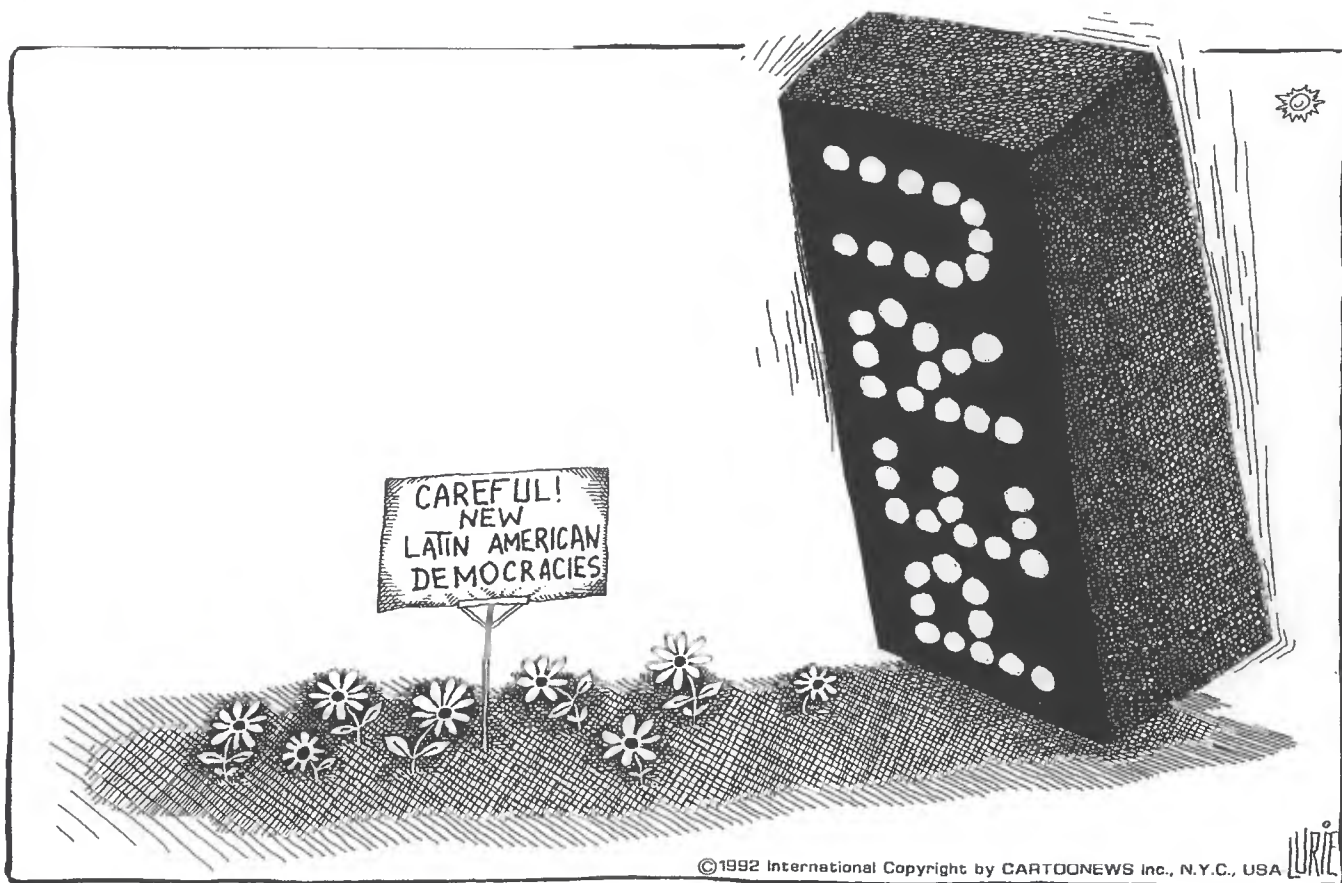
Haiti and Peru, the United States reacted with prompt and unqualified condemnation of the moves against democracy, and in both cases we immediately announced a cutoff of economic and military assistance (except humanitarian, and, in the case of Peru, narcotics-related). In dealing with Haiti, the executive branch had little flexibility in any case, since Section 513 of the Foreign Assistance Appropriations Act precludes assistance to any country “whose duly elected head of Government is deposed by military coup or decree,” language which fit the circumstances in Haiti too well to allow any escape hatches. But in the case of Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori’s self-arrogation of emergency powers last April, the executive branch had greater flexibility under the law. Nevertheless, the State Department believed a tough response was justified. The main considerations, according to officials of State’s Bureau of Inter-American Affairs (ARA), were the fact that Peru had been a functioning democracy for more than a decade, that Fujimori’s action ran counter to recent progress toward democracy elsewhere in the hemisphere, and that Peru could become a precedent for Bolivia and Colombia, where democratic governments were also under pressure from guerilla movements and poor economic conditions.

Even so, the experience with Haiti provided some object lessons by the time the crisis in Peru came along. Neither U.S. sanctions nor condemnation by the Organization of American States (OAS) had sufficed to soften the Haitian junta’s

opposition to reinstatement of Aristide, and the prolonged standoff had in the meantime saddled the United States with a refugee problem that had become a headache. In dealing with Peru, U.S. officials had no desire to go through another such unproductive impasse, particularly in view of the importance of U.S.-Peruvian cooperation in combatting the narcotics trade. The door was left open for diplomacy, which ARA officials believe is paying off. Fujimori’s speech to the OAS meeting in Nassau in May outlined a program for a return to democracy that the State Department found promising enough to permit relaxing the U.S. hold on approval of economic assistance from international agencies.

### **Cultural relativism**

Outside the hemisphere, the United States has a greater tolerance for cultural factors that impede democracy, especially in regions lacking a strong democratic heritage. In the aftermath of the Gulf War, officials of State’s Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs (NEA) have carried on a defensive campaign to explain why, given the cultural background of the Arabian Peninsula, it would be counterproductive to press the Gulf states for faster progress toward democracy. In Thailand, the military has intervened so often in the country’s political life that East Asian and Pacific Affairs officials believe the latest episode must be taken in a different context from the coup in Haiti or even in Algeria. (Nevertheless, the role of the



military was sufficiently clear-cut to require a cutoff of U.S. assistance under Section 513.) The cautious U.S. public response to the Algerian military's move to cancel the elections, which had produced an overwhelming victory for Islamic forces, was justified by an NEA official in part by referring to the prominent European role in North Africa—"generally we let the Europeans take the lead."

In the case of Georgia, officers who know the former republic describe it as "such a crazy place" that terms like "democracy" or "free elections" hardly apply. The importance of other interests has also clearly played a role. Our reluctance to press the Arabian Peninsula regimes for political reform beyond a certain point reflects the importance of our oil interests, reinforced by the special dilemma posed by the Gulf War: is it right, or even logical, to force these countries to change their form of government because they have been victims of aggression and we have helped to liberate or defend them? Speaking of our subdued response in the Algerian situation an NEA official said, "It's easy in Haiti and Peru, where our only interests are narcotics. Algeria is an important energy-producing country, and we have major investments there."

### What hath democracy wrought?

The most troublesome gap between theory and application, however, has arisen in those cases when the U.S. government has been ambivalent about the results of the democracy experiment. Zviad Gamsakhurdia was brought into office as President of Georgia in May 1991 by an apparently free and fair election, but then proceeded to govern the country by increasingly autocratic methods. By

the time he was ousted six months later by paramilitary action directed by three of his disaffected lieutenants, his record was so poor that he had few international supporters willing to speak up for him. For its part the United States steadfastly refused to condemn his undemocratic ouster. At the noon briefings even persistent questioning by reporters on this point failed to draw the spokesman out of her carefully evasive guidance:

**Q:** Would it be fair for us—for reporters to point out that the United States government is not calling for the restoration of the duly democratically elected president of Georgia?

**Ms. Tutwiler:** The United States is closely watching this situation, and the United States acknowledges publicly that it is a very fluid, a very confused, and a very uncertain situation in the capital of the former Republic of Georgia.

In effect U.S. policymakers believed they had to accept the reality that in Georgia—as in Slovakia today—the goal of building an independent sovereign state was striking a more responsive and immediate emotional chord than the task of creating democratic institutions. The United States nevertheless pressed Georgia's new leaders for a return to democracy, and was encouraged when, three weeks after seizing power, they invited Eduard Shevardnadze to join them in governing the country. Shevardnadze's participation cautiously increased Washington's hopes that the regime's promises of human rights observance and elections later this year could be taken seriously, but more recently the regime's total preoccupation with the separatist movements in Abkhazia and South Osseta make any timetable for these internal reforms uncertain.

Washington's response to the crisis in Georgia also got  
*continued on page 31*

# afsa news

## Full-time AFSA vicepresidency for USAID

by *William D. McKinney*  
*USAID Vice President*

AFSA has been awarded a full-time USAID vice president position in a decision binding on USAID management.

AFSA has long argued that, with the size of the USAID membership and the numerous issues that affect our membership, a full-time USAID representative is required. Our colleagues at State currently have two full-time positions, which enables them to serve their membership in a more timely and responsive manner. After more than a year of negotiation and attempts to resolve this issue, AFSA sought the assistance of the Foreign Service Impasse Disputes Panel (FSIDP).

The panel considered the entire written record provided by both parties, and on July 11, 1992, after careful review of all pertinent documentation, the panel supported AFSA's position. It stated in part, "We conclude that the issue should be resolved by adopting the union's proposal . . . to permit the union vice president to remain 100 percent official time after the one-year period while the parties negotiate over a successor position."

This allows AFSA to establish a full-time position for an initial one-year period, to be followed by an evaluation and negotiations on continuing the position. During the evaluation period, the position will continue as full time.

## Hurricane aid

AFSA has established a fund to help State personnel posted to the Miami area whose lives have been disrupted by Hurricane Andrew. At least eight families are homeless and many employees suffered personal loss. To help your colleagues, send contributions to AFSA, Room 3644, Department of State. Checks should be made payable to "AFSA Hurricane Relief Fund— a/c #109942."

## Competition for spouses' jobs

by *Colleen Fallon*  
*Staff Attorney*

Congress is considering legislation that will amend the Foreign Service Act of 1980 to provide employment opportunities for U.S. citizens resident abroad. While agreeing in principle that Americans living abroad should be able to compete for jobs in the U.S. mission, AFSA is concerned with the amendment's impact on job opportunities for Foreign Service dependents.

The Rockefeller amendment would allow Americans resident abroad to compete for mission jobs; and as long-term residents, they could remain in positions for an indefinite period, hampering job opportunities for Foreign Service dependents.

AFSA has contacted the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to advise them of the possible disadvantage the amendment would create for Foreign Service dependents. Because of the "world-wide availability" required of every Foreign Service officer, dependents are subjected to undue employment hardships and require special consideration.

## AFSA sponsors minority internship

The first AFSA-sponsored minority intern, Colorado State University graduate student Russell Jones, spent the summer in the State Department's Bureau of International Organization Affairs. There he won praise for his work on key humanitarian issues in the Office of Human Rights and Women's Affairs. Jones also participated in AFSA activities.

In a letter to AFSA expressing the department's appreciation for AFSA's sponsorship of Jones, Perry Shankle, director, Office of Recruitment, Employment and Examination, wrote:

"Your contribution is significant because it provides a means for a talented young person to learn about life and work in the Foreign Service. It is our hope that as a result of the internship Mr. Jones will consider pursuing a career in diplomacy. . . . your organization's focus and personal attention to him will help immensely.

In these times of increasing budgetary restrictions, sponsorship of interns by AFSA will play a critical role in helping the Department achieve its goal of a Foreign Service that represents the diversity of America. I hope that AFSA can continue to sponsor minority interns in the future."

## USIA Election

Election ballots were mailed on September 15. Don't forget to mail your ballots back before the November 15 deadline.

# AFSA seeks retirement system addition

by Colleen Fallon  
Staff Attorney

AFSA is investigating the feasibility of amending the Foreign Relations Authorization Act of 1977 to reinstate voluntary contributions for Foreign Service personnel to the Foreign Service retirement system.

Prior to 1977, Foreign Service personnel were able to make voluntary contributions to the retirement system in the same manner as Civil Service employees. Under this voluntary contributions plan, employees can invest up to 10 percent of their earnings and currently receive a return of more than 8 percent per year. Foreign Service personnel lost this privilege with the enactment of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act of 1977. The department and Congress believed that the plan was not popular enough to justify its continuation. At that time, the plan paid only 3 percent per year and the inflation rate was much higher, so few employees participated.

However, changing economic conditions renewed interest in the plan, and AFSA has received inquiries about

renewing the voluntary contributions. AFSA agrees that it is desirable to maintain financial flexibility in light of changing economic conditions and has asked the department to pursue an amendment to the 1977 act, which would give Foreign Service personnel the same benefit as Civil Service personnel.

## Survey highlights USIA concerns

by Joe Johnson  
USIA Standing Committee

Job satisfaction and overseas housing are the top concerns of USIA's Foreign Service, according to a recent AFSA survey.

Last July, AFSA/USIA sent questionnaires to the approximately 1,100 Foreign Service officers and specialists around the world. In spite of summer transfers, more than 100 questionnaires had been returned by mid-August, with more coming in each day. The sample of available returns allows a preliminary look at what issues are of most interest to USIA's Foreign Service members.

In the survey, AFSA presented a range of its goals and positions concerning overseas housing, official travel, career goals and employment issues, asking respondents to rank each by its importance. The question-

naire also listed AFSA's principal areas of concern and asked recipients to name the top three.

Surveys received thus far show "reduced job satisfaction due to budget cuts or other factors at post" to be Foreign Service members' top priority. Housing issues followed by limited career advancement and stress on family and personal life from overseas tours followed closely. Child care, personal security, and equal employment opportunities were the lowest priorities.

More than three-quarters of the early respondents agreed strongly with AFSA's position on a series of professional issues, including the fight against gradual shrinkage of USIA's overseas presence and increasing marginalization of the Foreign Service within USIA. Nearly 90 percent wanted USIA to be a lead agency for democratic initiatives. A wide majority supported AFSA's positions on retaining VOA within USIA and eliminating TV Marti.

If job satisfaction is a concern and career advancement a worry, Foreign Service members are far from unanimous in supporting changes in the promotion system. Fewer than half wanted a review of time-in-class rules, promotion precepts, or performance pay guidelines. More than 50 percent thought open assignments should be more open than they are now (although one written comment wondered how they could be).

Flexibility is the key to overseas housing standards, to judge from early returns. Most believed space standards should be increased, but larger majorities wanted factors like representational responsibility, agency needs, and security to be given special consideration.

Family issues were important: three-quarters gave priority to more opportunities for dependent spouses, and half thought more attention to tandem assignments was important. On other matters, about half thought current levels of home leave and R&R satisfactory.

AFSA/USIA will publish the complete results of its survey, with hard numbers, when all surveys are in.

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## newsbriefs

**Speakers Bureau.** The response to our call for volunteers for the Speakers Bureau has been enthusiastic. Thus far, nearly 60 people, mostly Foreign Service alumni, have offered their time and energy to address world affairs councils, civic groups, students, and other community organizations on topics of current foreign-policy interest, as well as on the Foreign Service as an institution and a career. Our goal is to be able to respond positively to requests for speakers from anywhere in the country, so many more volunteers are needed, especially outside the beltway. If you'd like to help build a constituency for the Foreign Service and contribute to enlightened popular discussion of foreign affairs, please write Gil Kulick, AFSA Outreach Coordinator, or call at 202-338-4045.

**Miller v. Baker Update.** AFSA wishes to acknowledge the substantial efforts of the Thomas Legal Defense Fund in the preparation of the amicus brief for Miller v. Baker. As reported in the September AFSA News, the Circuit Court's decision preserves the Foreign Service Grievance Board's power to grant prescriptive relief to nontenured employees.

## What are they doing now?

by Michael Dailey  
Scholarship Assistant

Since 1976 the Merit Awards program of AFSA and AAFSW has jointly recognized 320 outstanding Foreign Service high school seniors.

Over 15 years have passed since the first award was given, and this year we asked ourselves, "What are the former Merit Award winners doing now?" We surveyed as many as we could locate from the years 1978 to 1986, receiving an overwhelming 65 percent response. Their responses indicate that many of these former students have set off on impressive and diverse careers.

There is one Fulbright Scholar, one seminarian, and several who are pursuing advanced degrees in law, international affairs, and business; eight are in Ph.D. programs in such diverse fields as history, German, political science, engineering, physics, computer science, and genetics. Former merit winners are also pursuing careers in law, banking, medicine, the military, and teaching. Careers listed include: attorney, assistant U.S. attorney, banker, captain in the Army, chemist, chemistry professor, child care specialist, dentist, ESL teacher, equity sales, financial analyst, health-care specialist, teacher, journalist, paralegal, photographer, physician, piano teacher, program administrator, research assistant, software engineer, and stage crew member.

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## Redefining U.S. foreign policy

by Richard S. Thompson  
Professional Issues Coordinator

Francis Fukuyama of the State Department's policy planning staff and RAND Corporation discussed some guidelines for U.S. policy in changing international circumstances at a well-attended luncheon at the Foreign Service Club July 24.

Fukuyama's basic premise was that relations with democratic or potentially democratic nations should be viewed differently from those with countries unlikely to follow a demo-

cratic path. The essence of the current debate revives a traditional dichotomy between realism and a new Wilsonianism that stresses democracy and human rights. Neither pole will be sufficient for a complete foreign policy. The most articulate champion of the realist position, Fukuyama noted, is Henry Kissinger, who always stressed a policy based on the balance of power with democracy and human rights in a subordinate position.

The neo-Wilsonian pole is based on the premise that modern liberal democracies do not seek to maximize their power, territory, and populations through war, and thus the promotion of democracy should be the centerpiece of U.S. foreign policy.

Fukuyama stated that usually the most reliable indicator of a nation's ability to sustain democracy is its overall level of socio-economic development. This suggests a strategy which emphasizes economic development ahead of political democratization.

Fukuyama concluded by raising three policy questions: First, the United States' relationship with its major democratic allies, especially Germany and Japan. With a major shift in the balance of economic and

## Welcome to new AFSA staff

AFSA welcomes two new staff members. Legal counsel Sharon Papp is a graduate of National Law Center, George Washington University and has been a practicing attorney dealing with labor and discrimination law, representing union clients in class-action discrimination cases. She will join staff attorney Colleen Fallon and law clerks Edwin Gania and Patricia Malone.

James Yorke, our new member services director, is a Foreign Service spouse, who served in the British Royal Navy for 31 years. He has extensive overseas experience, including work in the U.S. Consulate General in Karachi. He joins member services representatives Deborah Leahy and Julie Smithline.

political power, the traditional way the U.S. has dealt with those allies is not viable in the future. Second is concern with economic life in the liberal democracies, because a growing mission of U.S. foreign policy will be to promote domestic economic interests. Third is the extent to which we enlarge our alliances eastward in Europe. Do we really want to commit ourselves to defending Vilnius, Kiev and Warsaw?

In response to a question about U.S. involvement with Iraq as contrasted with a hands-off policy in Yugoslavia, Fukuyama said he did not see inconsistency. It is appropriate to look at both in realist terms; the danger of Iraqi control of oil coupled with development of nuclear weapons was a clear security threat. In Yugoslavia U.S. interests are less directly engaged.

## New AFSA reps needed at posts

by *Laurie A. McMichael*  
*Membership Representative*

Now that the summer transfer season has concluded, many of AFSA's Post Representatives have relocated, and thus some posts are temporarily without an AFSA rep. The role of the Post Rep is crucial due to the issues now confronting the Foreign Service. All posts without an AFSA rep should hold elections soon, and smaller posts should designate a volunteer.

Many larger posts select two post reps to handle State and USAID concerns respectively. There are four areas of responsibility involved:

- Representing collective and individual interests of Foreign Service personnel at post;
- Transmitting to colleagues AFSA's advisories on developments affecting career opportunities and conditions of employment;
- Forwarding to AFSA any proposals, complaints, or criticisms originating with the AFSA members at post;
- Expanding AFSA's membership.

The requirements for serving as post representative are minimal. Post reps should be either State or USAID employees as they may be in a posi-

## from the USAID vice president

by *William D. McKinney*

The decision to give USAID a full-time representative, even while evaluation and further negotiation continue, means that the next elected vice president will serve full time in this position. We who are currently serving as USAID representatives hope that a number of colleagues will be interested in seeking this office in the upcoming elections in May 1993. The decision states that "The agency agrees to allow the principal AFSA representative for USAID the election of either a time-in-class waiver or review by a selection board."

At a time when the agency and foreign assistance in general are under attack, to have a Foreign Service officer available full time to represent us is of critical importance. We must speak out as development professionals for USAID's central position in the debate on the role of foreign assistance in the developing economic agendas. Given these priorities, we will be appointing a full-time vice president in the near future to serve until the AFSA election in May.

We will be sending complete copies of the FSIDP findings to all AFSA representatives to share with the membership. AFSA's success in winning this impasse ruling is another step in providing comprehensive representation to our membership. Support your union! If you are not a member, join now and help us help you.

tion to negotiate with management on behalf of their bargaining unit constituencies. The only employees excluded from serving as official AFSA reps are management officials and/or confidential employees.

Posts preparing to hold elections may request a copy of the 1992 Chapter Manual, which provides guidelines for holding elections and describes the responsibilities, which are not strenuous or time consuming, of the Post Rep. Advise AFSA/Washington when a Post Rep is elected so that he or she can be properly certified. FAX (202-338-6820) or cable the AFSA Membership Department or call (202) 625-7153.

### Legislative news

## AFSA keeps eye on Congress

by *Rick Weiss*  
*Legislation Liaison*

Before Congress recesses for the general election, AFSA will be monitoring the following legislation that impacts on the Foreign Service.

• The appropriations conference between the House and Senate subcommittees that will determine the FY

93 budget for USIA and State. The major issue is the resolution of the Senate cut of 85 million from State's account, versus the House-passed 19-million cut.

• The appropriations conference that most likely will extend a continuing resolution for USAID's FY 93 budget.

• The authorizing committee conference on the Freedom Support Act (assistance to the CIS countries). This legislation provides an additional \$18 million for State and \$7 million for USIA operations in the new republics.

• The Senate Foreign Relations Committee action on Senator Joseph Biden's (D-DE) legislation to establish a Radio Free China under the Board for International Broadcasting. AFSA representatives in USIA will argue for an expanded role of China broadcasts through VOA, rather than establishing a more costly Radio Free China.

• Family medical leave legislation that would provide U.S. government employees 12 weeks of unpaid combined family and medical leave over a one-year period—appropriate employee-provided paid leave could be substituted for unpaid leave. This legislation should be sent to the White House for signature or another veto in September.

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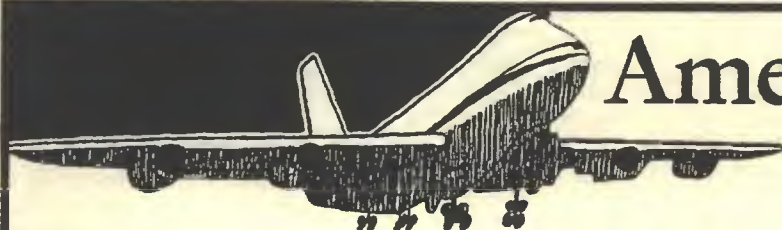
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swept up into the larger problem of framing policy toward all of the newly independent former Soviet republics. In order to extend recognition and be in a position to open diplomatic relations with reasonable promptness, the United States had to meet the "Baker Principles" criteria by certifying the new governments as "democratic," even though most of the Central Asian republics were still being run by the Communist Party under different names and by the same officials who had previously been the Communist bosses. What clearly would have been unacceptable in Ukraine or the Baltic states was okay in Uzbekistan or Tajikistan. The department's decision not to hold up recognition until higher standards could be achieved was probably the right one, but it has highlighted once more the dilemma of cultural relativism that dogs the efforts to promote democracy abroad.

### On eggshells

Algeria represented an even sharper policy dilemma for the United States. The effort in recent years to transform Algeria from a one-party, military-dominated, autocratic system to a democracy has been accompanied by the emergence of the extremist Islamic Salvation Front as the dominant political force in the country. In December 1991, in free elections, the Front won a sweeping victory, but before run-off elections could be held, the military forced President Benjedid to resign, canceled the elections, and set up its own ruling council. The Front's leaders had earlier given ambivalent and contradictory signals on the crucial question of whether they would continue to observe the constitution once they came to power. With the Front's landslide electoral victory, the military apparently believed it could not afford to take chances.

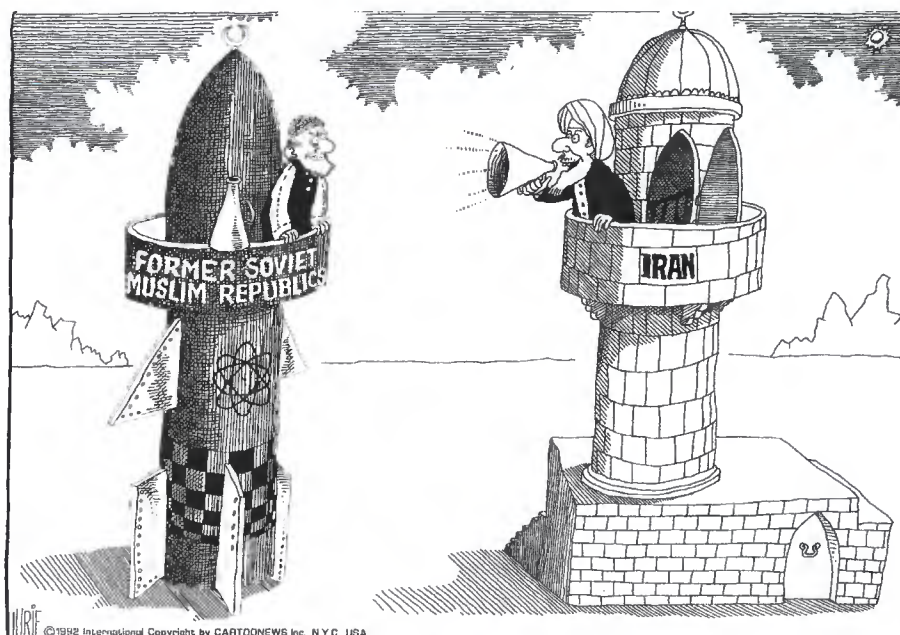
In notable contrast to the Haitian and Peruvian coups, to which the United States reacted with unqualified condemnation and a suspension of new assistance, the U.S. response to the Algerian military's move was restrained. In public statements the State Department refused to go beyond "viewing the situation there with concern," and it put the best light on the military's action by describing it as an "interruption of the electoral process" rather than a cancellation. From the outset, the State Department decided there was more to be gained by trying to work with the military to get the electoral process back on track, rather than by taking a confrontational public stand. In taking the non-confrontational approach, the United States apparently hoped time could be won for an improvement in economic conditions, which might better the prospects for the non-Islamic parties in the next elections.

In line with this strategy the United States did not suspend the small International Military Education and Training program (IMET) for Algeria, arguing that it was important not to sever connections with the Algerian military, and that furthermore the provisions of Section 513 did not require this, inasmuch as Algeria had not yet become a functioning democracy.

Although the regime's recent repression measures following the assassination of President Boudiaf constituted a setback, NEA officials see the policy as vindicated by the dialogue it has enabled us to conduct with Algeria's military leaders, which contributed, they believe, to the release of Islamic detainees and relatively mild sentences meted out to the Front's leaders. Yet the policy was not reached without a lively difference of view within the State Department and even within the NEA bureau. One NEA officer commented that "the higher this issue rose in the building, the more pragmatic our policy got." In the Algerian as well as the Georgian cases the policy that prevailed in both bureaus seemed to be well summed up by an officer who said, "We would never have supported a move against these democratic results, but once it occurred, did we really have to be so pure as to oppose it?"

### The Islamic challenge

Over the next decade political Islam will be a powerful force in the area stretching from Morocco to Pakistan, and it is likely to pose the most difficult practical dilemmas to our policy of support for democracy. The sources of Islamic inspiration—the Quran, the Traditions, and subsequent elucidations—do not have much to say about political systems one way or the other. It can be argued that an Islamic state could also be a democratic and tolerant one. But the very premise of Islam, that it provides divinely inspired guidelines for an ideal society, does not provide



**"Could you lend me your architect?"**

much confidence that an Islamic government, installed and run by zealots, will allow itself to be voted out of power or that it will respect the rights of non-Muslim minorities. The practical examples we have to date, in Iran and Sudan, tend to reinforce these doubts.

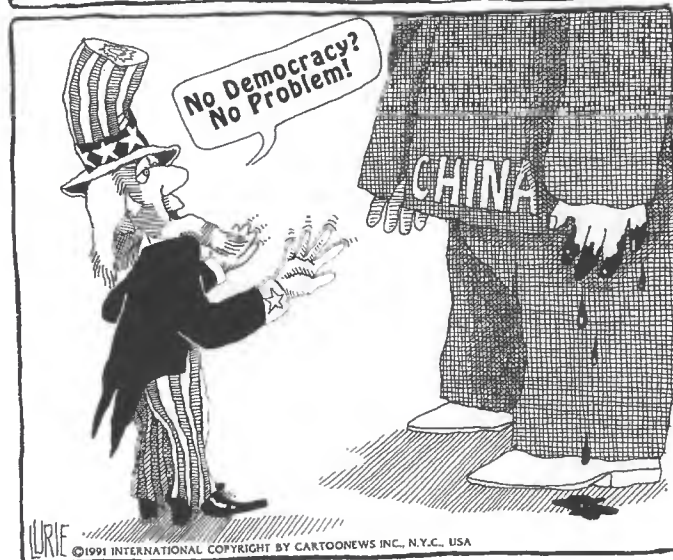
Nevertheless, American policymakers, without wishing to waffle on the democracy principle, sensibly do not want to place the United States athwart a highly popular political force in an important region. Assistant Secretary Edward Djerejian, in a speech delivered at Meridian House in Washington June 2, 1992, tried to make it clear that it is not Islam *per se* that is the problem, but the direction Islamic governments take on values we consider essential to a healthy international environment. Thus we would have no quarrel with Islamic governments that "broaden political participation" and respect human rights, but, Djerejian warned, "we are suspicious of those who would use the democratic process to come to power, only to destroy that very process to retain power."

This is a good doctrine to lay down, but it will not save us from difficult decisions in specific situations, mainly because we can never know for certain how Islamic forces will behave once they are voted into office. In the final analysis, if we take our commitment to democratization seriously, we are going to have to take some risks by accepting Islamic electoral victories with the reasonable confidence that, if Islamic leaders then attempt to usurp power, the people will eventually find a way of getting rid of them. This is not only consistent with our support for democracy but good political strategy as well: it is only when Islamic extremists have to face the responsibilities of national leadership that they will begin to decline as a political force in the region.

### Weighing advantages

It will come as a shock to no one that our policy of support for democracy, as in many other areas, is a blend of principle and pragmatism. The Cold War may have ended, but geopolitics are alive and well. State Department officials believe that U.S. foreign policy still has purposes that "go beyond social engineering," to use Henry Kissinger's recent phrase.

Even so, the new emphasis on democratization is clearly having an impact, although it is difficult to sort out how much of this is attributable to U.S. policy and how much to the remarkable world trend in this direction. The leverage the United States can bring to bear in specific situations is rarely decisive, but it is a factor that military leaders or others who contemplate interfering with democratic processes have to take into account, knowing they can no longer hide as easily behind a strategic-interest rationale. Even when the U.S. government has pulled its punches because of other interests, the diplomatic dialogue we have been able to conduct has added to pressures for a more rapid return to democracy. Ambassador James Bishop, acting assistant secretary of the Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs Bureau (HA), commented that while HA can't be expected to win all the bureaucratic



battles over specific cases, he was encouraged by the degree to which support for democracy and human rights had been internalized by the regional bureaus in their decisionmaking.

Two aspects of policy application must nevertheless be carefully watched if they are not to undermine the credibility of U.S. support for democratization. The first is the problem of consistency posed by the widely different standards U.S. policy brings to bear on various cultures. Are these to be decided on a totally *ad hoc* basis or do some rules apply, and if so, what are they? The second, as exemplified in particular by the Algerian experience, is the danger that we will be perceived as supporting democracy only when it yields results that please us. In both areas it will be important for the State Department to remain vigilant that practice does not stray too far from principle. ■

*Michael Sterner is a retired Foreign Service officer who served as ambassador to the United Arab Emirates from 1974 to 1976 and deputy assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs from 1977 to 1981.*

# Degrees of DIFFERENCE

**A**ugust 13 makes a useful starting point for tracing the course of the debate over foreign policy in this presidential election campaign. That Thursday in August was chosen by the administration to announce the resignation of James A. Baker III as secretary of state and his transfer to combined politico-foreign-domestic czarism in the White House. His farewell address in the State Department's Dean Acheson auditorium after three years and seven months in the post was a short course in the Bush campaign's foreign policy strategy, as well as a look at its domestic priorities. That was also the day chosen by Democratic candidate Bill Clinton to deliver to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council what his campaign people consider to be his basic defining statement on national security issues in this election. The timing was coincidental but the two documents will be markers for the rest of the campaign debate about foreign policy.

The secret that emerges from a close reading of the texts of the two speeches—Baker's in Washington and Clinton's in Los Angeles—is that there's maybe 12 cents' worth of difference between the foreign policy platforms of the two candidates. Generally, they agree on the U.S. role in the world today and how that role ultimately depends on America's economic strength. Compared with that consensus, the divergences are relatively minor: a nuance on how to deal with China, a subtle difference in emphasis on human rights.

Some phrases on the link between foreign and domestic policy, for example, in Clinton's August 13 speech and Baker's farewell address could have been churned out by the same word processor.

**Clinton:** "My first foreign policy priority will be to restore America's economic vitality" and "We must understand that

foreign and domestic policy are now two sides of the same coin."

**Baker:** "We must concentrate on the interrelationship between domestic and foreign policy, and between economic and security policy," and "I remain absolutely certain that we need a safe and strong America at home to be safe and strong abroad."

## Prodigal sons

This identity of purpose has caused a blurring of allegiances within the foreign policy establishment and soul-searching among those intellectuals who left the Democratic party when they thought it abandoned its Truman-era principles of fighting communism and are now groping their way back.

The list of people who signed a recent newspaper ad supporting Bill Clinton as "a leader for America in the post-Cold War era" runs through the spectrum of political complexions. Starting from the right, it includes retired Lieutenant General William Odom, former head of the National Security Agency and one of the most entrenched of the Cold Warriors; Paul Nitze, distinguished arms negotiator who has worked for both Democratic and Republican administrations since World War II, most happily for the Republicans; and, on the left in the new consensus, Martin Peretz, publisher of the *New Republic*, and Matthew Nimitz, under secretary of state during the Carter Administration.

Anthony Lake, former director of policy planning at the

*The Clinton  
and Bush  
campaigns map  
their foreign  
policies*

BY JIM ANDERSON

State Department and a key member of the Clinton foreign policy team, says, perhaps ironically, that the thing that distinguishes the Clinton foreign policy team is its diversity.

The return of the prodigal sons has to be understood mainly in terms of economic philosophy but also in terms of the end of the Cold War, with no Communist opponent to divide the American left into warring factions.

### Who's the pro?

Although they frame the question differently, the two candidates agree on what they believe to be the main foreign policy issue: competence in carrying out the new, post-Cold War bipartisan policy. Lake says the situations in Bosnia and in the post-coup Soviet Union provide examples of Bush's incompetence. Bush asks which candidate is more worthy of the voters' trust—a word he prefers over competence.



ANTHONY LAKE

Bush has repeatedly said that the election issue is whether there will be an experienced person on the White House end of the telephone when a foreign policy crisis erupts.

The same approach was used by then-incumbent California Governor Pat Brown in 1966 when faced with Ronald Reagan's challenge as a "citizen-politician." Brown asked voters to imagine themselves on an airplane when the pilot walked down the aisle, introducing himself as their "citizen-pilot" or in an operating theater when the man with the scalpel introduces himself as a "citizen-surgeon." The technique didn't work; Reagan won.

The debate would appear to work in favor of Bush, with his claimed success and experience under fire, including the splendid memories of Desert Storm. (Like many recollections of war, however, the memory in his campaign is selective. He conveniently forgets that he waffled for several days after the invasion of Iraq, until British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher met him in Aspen, Colorado for a backbone-strengthening session. He remembers that Clinton had similar doubts but wound up supporting Bush.)

A curious omission in the debate that turns on experience and effectiveness in foreign policy is the total absence of any mention by either side of the Panama invasion of 1988. Neither Clinton nor Bush nor Baker has mentioned it. It is a complex, somewhat tarnished episode that seems to have no partisan benefits and has simply disappeared from the American political consciousness.

### The growth candidates

Both Clinton and Bush stress again and again that the most important issue in the election campaign is not foreign policy but the state of the U.S. economy. In both campaigns, foreign policy effectiveness is seen as a result of a healthy economy, the external instrument of domestic strength. As Tony Lake put it in an interview, "We will hammer it home repeatedly. You can't make a distinction between the domestic economy

and foreign strength."

Richard Schifter, former assistant secretary of state for human rights, one of Clinton's pool of advisers, says the Democratic Party has returned to its pre-1972 (pre-McGovern) roots and has finally rejected the post-Vietnam radical isolationism that drove away some of its traditional supporters, including neo-conservatives such as Schifter himself. He links the realignment to Clinton's overall economic philosophy which—like Bush's—is essentially pro-growth rather than "re-distributive," stressing expansion of the economic pie rather than arguing about the size of the available slices.

Lake says he argues constantly with his neighbors in western Massachusetts who want more money spent on their local problems rather than around the world. He argues for more international engagement, saying the United States can't be involved internationally if it doesn't have the stakes to play at the table. It is the same argument that the Bush Administration is having with the right wing of the party.

Beyond economic growth, the core of Clinton's foreign policy, according to advisers who have been attracted to him, is a commitment to worldwide democracy. That represents an evolution of Jimmy Carter's absolutist approach to human rights. Clinton says that democracy is the starting point from which everything flows—human rights, peace, free-market economies. That is not unlike the policy that Bush and Baker have been selling, so ultimately it returns to the question of who is better equipped to achieve these desirable goals.

In an attempt to chip away at Bush's reputation for expertise, one of Clinton's advisers carefully chooses a word to describe how the Bush Administration's policy has worked—or hasn't worked: "triage." Overwhelmed battlefield hospitals "triage" patients, discarding those who are beyond saving and those who don't need immediate help, so they can treat those who can most benefit from the emergency treatment available. The Baker team—sometimes using the same word, "triage"—focused on some issues and put aside others. Germany and, somewhat belatedly, the former Soviet Union made it onto the Baker team's operating table. Somalia, Peru, Sudan, Japan, and Liberia did not. The Clinton team does not argue with the concept of apportioning finite resources to deal with infinite problems, but it does argue with the effectiveness of the Baker inner-circle process, which did not use resources that were available and may have unnecessarily ignored situations that cost human lives.

Clinton's advisers admit that the Baker inner-circle style of foreign policy management was efficient for handling big-ticket crises, like the unification of Germany or getting the Middle East peace talks started. But they contend that it was unable to deal with the thousands of worldwide sensory impulses that can turn into disasters when they're ignored. In any case, the Clinton argument goes, the Bush Administration's successes were due to Baker, not to Bush, and, after this grueling campaign, Baker will not be back at the State Department. Baker has told associates that he would not willingly submit to a new confirmation process, particularly as secretary of state, after a bitter partisan campaign in which he would be a central figure.

Although Clinton's Los Angeles speech made a nasty crack

# Personality Parade

## *Clinton campaign prominent*

**A**t its grassroots, the Clinton campaign staff has an attractive, amateur quality about it. Walking into the District of Columbia Clinton-Gore campaign headquarters is like entering an Andy Rooney-Judy Garland 1940s movie ("I know what we can do. Let's have an election!"). The telephones are ringing constantly, the copying machine is out of paper, and a constant stream of volunteers keeps coming through the door, offering themselves and their cars. One is caught up in a molecular motion of hundreds of friendly people of all ages (mainly women, mainly white, all of them wearing running shoes).

The system appears to work. Sign-up sheets on the wall calling for volunteers for menial duties for some event in Rockville six weeks hence are already filled. Bulletin-board entrepreneurs are selling car-roof-top Clinton-Gore signs that emulate pizza delivery identification.

In the formal organization, the process appears to be more orderly.

At the top level is Clinton, a former international relations major at Georgetown University and Rhodes scholar at Oxford. The members of his informal advisory team describe him as intelligent, informed, and capable of listening and asking relevant questions, with a fondness for late-night intellectual bull-sessions.

In policy terms after Clinton come Anthony Lake and Samuel (Sandy) Berger, who was once Lake's deputy when he was head of Policy Planning at the State Department from 1977 to 1981. Lake, a protege of Edmund Muskie and an African specialist, is now a professor at the Five Universities in the area of Amherst, Massachusetts. He is wealthy and smart. He lives an idyllic life at a farm near Amherst and says he has no ambitions to return to the battles of Washington. Berger, now a Washington attorney, is the Washington contact. Working with them, especially on national security issues, is Michael Mandelbaum, a senior fellow at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies who has written frequently on foreign and defense issues.

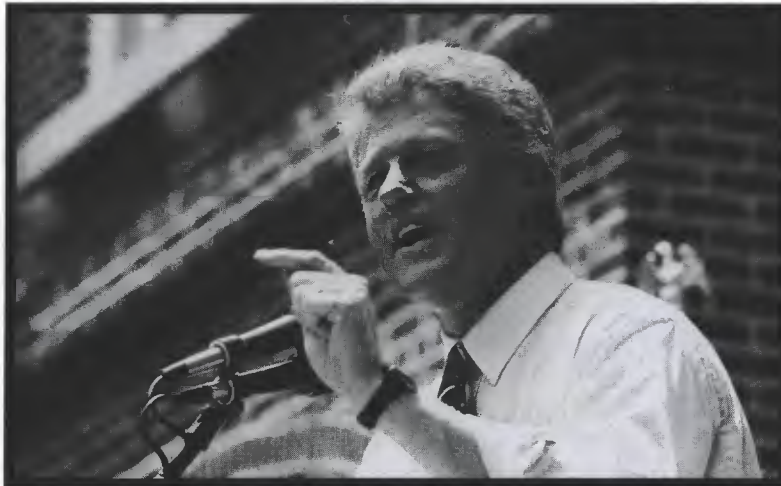
A prominent member of the Clinton team has been Warren Christopher, deputy secretary of state under Cyrus Vance and head of the vice-presidential search committee. A successful Los Angeles lawyer, he has the stature and experience to be secretary of state, but don't bet the farm on it. According to members of Clinton's team, he has little direct contact with the working foreign-policy team. Other names in the secretary of state sweepstakes are Representative Stephen Solarz and—a real long shot—Ron Brown, chairman of the Democratic Party, who would become the first black secretary of state in history.

In Little Rock, at campaign headquarters, the key person in foreign policy matters is Nancy Soderberg, a former generalist foreign policy member of Senator Edward Kennedy's staff. In addition to being the regular contact with Clinton, she is the connection to a small universe of Hill staffers, some of whom, such as Frank Sieverts, an aide on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, used to work at the State Department. These helpers have an informal, advisory role on specific issues and serve as a network to keep the campaign in touch with Congress.

The most influential Clinton voice on Capitol Hill appears to be that of Representative Dave McCurdy (D-OK), an early supporter of Clinton from the New Hampshire days and a respected member of House committees, including Intelligence.

The informal circle of brain-trusters and advisers, apart from Nitze and Schifter, includes some well known names and no apparent bomb-throwers, in Washington terms.

They include: Sam Huntington, of Harvard, a hawk turned dissenter on Vietnam within the Nixon White House; Morris Amitay, a former director of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee; Robert Leiken, author and former administration official in Central American policy; James Woolsey, a Washington lawyer and former negotiator on East-West conventional forces reductions in the Bush Administration; Walt Slocombe, another former arms control negotiator in the Pentagon and the State Department; Edward Luttwak, author and director of geoeconomics at the Center for Strategic and International Studies; and Richard Holbrooke, now a Wall Street banker and former assistant secretary of state for East Asia.



In addition, there is a small circle of journalists who sometimes straddle the line between reporters and supporters of Clinton. One would be Strobe Talbott, a Time magazine writer and fellow Rhodes scholar. He is the author of several works on arms control.

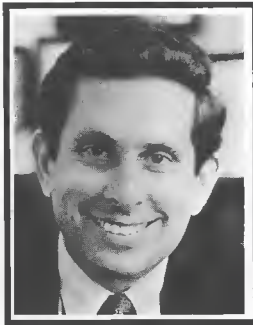
There is no single, unifying ideology identifying the group except that they are non-isolationist and generally moderate, and as Lake says, diverse.

The unifying bond—apart from ambition and a tradition of public service—seems to be a genuine admiration for Clinton, a belief that Bush and Baker are not dealing well with the new world order, and a feeling that the Democratic Party and its foreign policy have come home again after the divisions spawned by the Vietnam War and the Cold War.

—JIM ANDERSON

about the State Department bureaucracy—he would “change the culture in the State Department so that economics is no longer a poor cousin to old-school diplomacy”—the thrust of his attack is aimed at Baker’s methods, which ignored the talents and resources of the State Department in favor of his trusted inner circle. Presumably that argument will strike some chord of sympathy and hope at the State Department. The Clinton political support team is mainly male, energetic, intellectual, white and sometimes wealthy, just like the Baker-Bush team (with the exception of Margaret Tutwiler, former assistant secretary of state for public affairs, and Janet Mullins, former assistant secretary of state for legislative affairs).

The people Baker had in his inner circle at State and now at the White House are undeniably bright, hard-working, and loyal. Nobody who knows them denies the depth of knowledge and intelligence of people like Robert Zoellick or Dennis Ross.



REPRESENTATIVE  
STEPHEN SOLARZ

Some may have been embarrassed by Tutwiler and cringed at her Alabama accent and post-deb looks on television, but, for Baker, that simply proves a point: professional diplomats do not understand how the system works. Tutwiler knows Baker’s mind and helps shape his thinking with her finely honed political instincts. She helps influence his decisions by understanding the political and media implications in a way that Baker sometimes does not. Tutwiler ruthlessly made sure no freelancing bureaucrats cast any shadow over Baker’s accomplishments. The same role was generally played by Mullins.

Some noticeable differences in policy do exist, however, and would include:

### Smooth transitions?

Lake makes the point that the lack of substantive foreign policy differences means that a Clinton Administration would require little transition time from a Bush Administration. “There would be a continuity, while in the past a switch between parties would take at least a year while the new administration reinvented foreign policy.”

Some noticeable differences in policy do exist, however, and would include:

- **China.** Clinton would link China’s Most Favored Nation trade status with its human rights record and restraint on weapons sales, a switch from Bush’s tactic of trying quiet diplomatic persuasion. Clinton would establish a Radio Free Asia rather than “Radio Free China,” which would be more offensive to Beijing. Clinton prefers the less abrasive version, which seems to cast doubt on his more strident attitude toward Beijing.
- **Middle East.** No real differences exist now that a Labor government has taken over in Israel, but Clinton and Al Gore were both ardent supporters of Israel, even during the time of the Shamir government when Shamir’s expansionist policies strained relations with Bush and Baker. The Clinton foreign policy team includes advisers who opposed Bush and Baker’s insistence on bringing pressure

to change Israel’s settlement policy.

- **Latin America.** Clinton says he would “buttress democratic forces” in Haiti, Peru and Cuba, but he hasn’t explained what that might mean. Bush would point to the end of the war in Central America and talks of visiting democratic Cuba after the fall of Castro, but doesn’t say what he would do to hasten the end of the Cuban dictator.
- **Military force restructuring.** Instead of just shrinking the post-Cold War military establishment, Clinton would reshape it, along the designs suggested by Representative Les Aspin and Senator Sam Nunn. He would create a worldwide fast-reaction force with additional sea lift, funding the C-17 transport and the V-22 Osprey. The Air Force would turn toward tactical aircraft and the B-2 Stealth bomber program would be dropped.
- **Human Rights.** Clinton would not return to the Carter Administration’s emphasis on human rights *per se*. Instead, he outlines a general program to encourage democracy in the belief that human rights abuses and military aggression take place only in the absence of a democratically elected government. The U.S. Agency for International Development and the U.S. Information Agency would be maintained, but more of their resources would go to selling democracy. Clinton would establish something called the Democracy Corps, but he hasn’t specified what it would do or how it would differ from existing USAID programs in Eastern Europe.
- **International organizations.** Clinton says that Japan and Germany should be made permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and they—Japan, especially—should pay larger assessments to match their new roles.
- **The environment.** Partly because of the influence of his “Green” vice-presidential running mate, Al Gore, Clinton’s administration would move faster on the problem of global warming and the bio-diversity treaty.

Although Harry Truman seems to be the presidential flavor of the month, one member of the Clinton team uses a different president to describe the Democratic candidate. “He’s a bit more Wilsonian, with an understanding of the importance of *realpolitik* and the balance of power. Our allies should find that very reassuring.”

The policy starts with the assumption that there has been much that was good in the last 20 years of American national security policy. The Cold War is over, and the big decisions of the past two decades—such as arms control—have now been made. It is time to move on with a younger team with a fresh viewpoint, less interested in stability as an absolute value and more interested in a dynamic American presence that will help shape the new world.

As Clinton put it in his December speech at Georgetown University, “Now we’ve entered a new era, and we need a new vision and the strength to meet a new set of opportunities and threats.” He believes he has that strength and vision and Bush does not. ■

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*Jim Anderson is a correspondent with DPA, the German press agency, and has covered the State Department for more than 20 years.*

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# A Tale of Two Georges

BY YALE RICHMOND

In 1967, George Romney, one-time head of American Motors, three-term governor of Michigan, and cabinet member in the Nixon Administration, needed some foreign exposure to enhance his bid for the presidency. To give him some international seasoning, a whirlwind 28-day, round-the-world trip was undertaken. American politicians, it used to be said, had to visit the three I's—Ireland, Italy, and Israel—to be elected to public office. Russia was added to this list when Romney stopped in Moscow for three days, thus becoming the first declared U.S. presidential candidate to visit that country. Many others would follow in subsequent campaigns.

Romney's advance party arrived in Moscow in early December; in a meeting at the American Embassy, they asked if their man could meet with a group of average Soviet citizens, a request not unusual for an American politician. But the Vietnam War was escalating, U.S.-Soviet relations were not good, and it was questionable whether Soviet authorities would give their approval. As counselor for cultural affairs, I replied that the Soviets

could certainly arrange such a meeting if they wished, but I warned not to expect average citizens.

I suggested that the request be put to the Institute for Soviet-American Relations, a "quango" (quasi-nongovernmental organization) affiliated with the network of Soviet friendship societies that conducted cultural exchanges with other countries. When the

Romney advance party met with institute officials, they readily agreed to the proposal and a meeting with "average" Soviet citizens was included in Romney's Moscow schedule, to take place in Friendship House, the home of Soviet friendship societies.

## Disappearing citizens

Arriving in Moscow on December 18, Romney was briefed by American Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson. He visited a Moscow automobile factory where, as a successful Detroit auto tycoon, he kicked a few tires and talked shop with his Communist counterparts. (If there was one type of American that Russian Communists respected it was the successful capitalist.)

Romney's meeting with average Soviet citizens was scheduled for 4 p.m. on the day of his arrival. Thirty minutes before the meeting was to start, I received a call from an official of the Institute for Soviet-American Relations who requested that the meeting be postponed because he could not round up enough Soviet citizens. I explained that Romney was out sightseeing and could not be reached, and I urged the Institute to continue its efforts



Romney sightseeing in Moscow with Soviet guide Lydia Dubinskaya

to find some citizens.

Twenty minutes later, only 10 minutes before the scheduled start, the official called again, frantic this time, and said that the meeting must be postponed because he simply could not get enough Soviet citizens to attend. I suggested that he call the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Pravda*, and *Tass*, adding that they must have people there who would welcome the opportunity to meet a man who might be the next American president. I even suggested that the Institute had the wherewithal to round up some citizens from Moscow streets, if necessary. Concluding the conversation, I said that I would be at Friendship House in 10 minutes as earlier agreed.

At 4 p.m. I was waiting at the curb in front of Friendship House as Romney pulled up in the ambassador's Cadillac, unaware of any hitch in the planned event. Opening the car door, I escorted him into the building where, to my surprise, some 50 of the most prominent Moscow citizens were assembled—scholars, scientists, journalists, and government officials. Waiters were standing by with trays of vodka and *zakuski* (hors d'oeuvres), and the meeting commenced with no indication, or explanation, of the reported difficulties in rounding up citizens.

#### Flawless neutrality

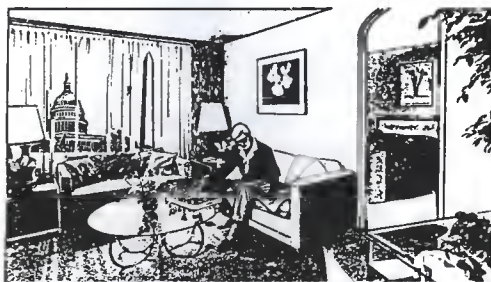
At the reception I was introduced to one Russian, Georgy Arbatov, whose name was new to the embassy. When asked what he did, Arbatov replied that he had just been named to head a new Institute for USA Studies (Canada was to be added later), also unknown at the time. When asked about his qualifications for the job and whether he had ever visited the United States, Arbatov replied with a smile, "I am neutral on the United States, because I have never been there, and that is why I have been chosen for the job."

The highlight of the Romney visit was a meeting with Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin in the Kremlin, where they discussed Vietnam, arms control, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and U.S.-Soviet relations. The Kosygin meeting was a surprise because the war in Vietnam was raging, and earlier that year Soviet

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officials had refused to meet with former Vice President Richard Nixon when he had visited Moscow. Romney, however, opposed the war and was publicly espousing a neutralization of Vietnam.

Romney departed Moscow for Israel and other stops on his round-the-world trip but his bid for the Republican nomination was not successful. Richard Nixon was eventually received by Soviet officials but only after he had become president and opened a new chapter in U.S.-Soviet relations—detente.

Arbatov's career in international affairs, however, was just beginning, and in the following months I met with him several times to discuss his initial U.S. visit, scheduled for September 1968. Arbatov wanted the American embassy to expedite his U.S. visa and facilitate his meetings in Washington. The visit was delayed, however, by one of those unforeseen events that from time to time have beset U.S.-Soviet relations—this time, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, in August.

Acting on instructions from the State Department, I had to inform Arbatov that his visit to the United States so soon

after the invasion "would not be productive," meaning that he would not be received by U.S. officials.

Arbatov eventually made his American debut in 1969, seven months later than originally planned. On that visit, in a call at the State Department, Arbatov kept his U.S. host, Soviet specialist Boris Klosson, waiting for 10 minutes, most likely by plan. In receiving Arbatov, Klosson noted that he was 10 minutes late.

"No," replied Arbatov, "I am seven months and 10 minutes late."

### Unwrapping the riddle

Winston Churchill once described Russia as "a riddle, wrapped in a mystery, inside an enigma," and for many years I wondered what had caused the attempted postponement of Romney's Friendship House meeting. The answer came in 1991 during a chance encounter I had in Moscow with a Russian who had helped to plan the Romney visit.

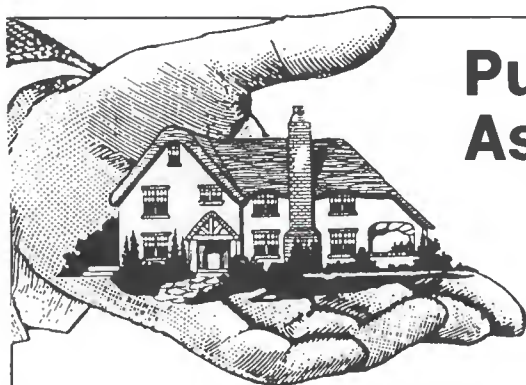
Shortly before the Romney meeting at Friendship House was to start, I was told, his Soviet hosts realized that they had failed to request authorization

from higher-ups in the party. A call to the Central Committee revealed that there was no objection to the meeting, but no one there was willing to give the authorization without going still higher in the party hierarchy.

Authorization was needed from Mikhail Suslov, the Politburo member in charge of ideology, but no one at the Central Committee staff dared to call such a high and mighty figure. However, when Suslov was finally called, only minutes before the scheduled start of the meeting, he readily gave his approval.

George Romney did not make it to the White House but Georgy Arbatov has continued to head the Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies all these years, serving as an apologist abroad for a succession of Moscow leaders from Brezhnev to Gorbachev and, most recently, Yeltsin. ■

*Yale Richmond, a retired Foreign Service officer, is the author of From Nyet to Da: Understanding the Russians, published by Intercultural Press.*



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# GUINEA GOES DEMOCRATIC

## Down an Open Road on a Half-filled Tank

BY FREDERICK QUINN

**W**e edged through Conakry's early evening traffic, past a taxi pushed by passengers and driver to a nearby gas pump, around an ancient yellow Volkswagen bus captioned "Good never lost," toward this West African capital's outskirts.

We were in Conakry in January 1992 for a pre-election assessment requested by the Guinean government through the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), an expert group helping countries hold free elections as part of the Department of State and Agency for International Development's global democratization initiatives. What would be needed to conduct credible elections in Guinea? Should the United States and other countries help? To help determine the answers we visited human rights advocates, members of the fledgling political opposition, several of the country's 40 lawyers, *imams*, the archbishop, diplomats, trade unionists, and government officials charged with the Herculean task of organizing free and fair elections.

### Starting from zero

Guinea is experiencing a bumpy transition from authoritarian rule to democracy after a century of French colonialism,

26 years of Sekou Toure's dictatorship, and seven years of military rule. In 1990, the country's military ruler, Brigadier General Lansana Conte, 56, a taciturn, methodical career army officer with no prior political activity, ordered a constitution written. A 36-member Transitional Committee for National Recovery (CTRN) produced a 96-article *loi fondamentale* and organic laws on holding elections, court organization, press freedom, and political party formation. The laws are part of Guinea's timetable to install democratic government by 1995. A 114-member National Assembly will be elected in late 1992, a president in 1993. After 33 years, political parties can form again.

Guinea is the size of the state of Oregon, with possibly 6 million people, a less than 30 percent literacy rate, three large distinct language and ethnic groups and 15 smaller ones, few paved roads, no daily newspapers, and limited television and radio coverage. Conakry Radio's aging Russian transmitters

cover only part of the country. In the absence of mail service or newspapers, most evening broadcast time is devoted to personal announcements, like "Issah in Kindera, contact your sister Josephine in Conakry urgently." And soccer scores: one night the Africa Cup announcers asked the 10 p.m. newscaster not to cut them off until the game, in sudden death overtime, was completed.

About 2 million Guineans, including the country's intellectual and managerial elite, fled the dictatorship of Sekou Toure in recent decades. Many found responsible jobs in international organizations, and in other African countries.

Guinea today is different from its days under Sekou Toure, but scars remain from a repressive quarter century. People are poor but energetic, hopeful yet fearful. Everything about the government is new, signs over ministry offices are freshly painted, laws must be written, courts appointed, furniture ordered.

### **Obstacle course**

"How do you find our constitution?" a young Guinean lawyer asked. The lawyer, one of 35 in a city of 1 million people, drove under Castro Bridge, a main crossroads with a crumbling cement overpass. Cars burning low-octane gas pinged through an intersection like balls in a pinball machine, dodging trucks loaded with people and firewood. Sekou Toure hanged political opponents beneath this crowded overpass without trial. "Even now, my stomach tightens," the young lawyer said. "They were hanged between two and four in the morning and left under guard until 6 p.m., when families claimed the bodies." The Guinean, like many of his generation, spent time at Camp Boiro, an infamous prison camp. Family and friends held a vigil at army headquarters until he was released.

We were on our way to dinner with several of the new generation of Guinean political leaders. A drive across Conakry is a drive across recent Guinean history, past a museum and statue to French explorers and a generic, Soviet-era war memorial of Sekou marking the 1970s defeat of a Portuguese-Guinean invasion. The caption: "The revolution is exigent. Imperialism found its tomb in Guinea." We circled the Chinese-built tin-and-cement People's Palace, and headed out beyond the seafront villa where Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's overthrown president, lived in sullen exile for several years as nominal co-president of Guinea. There were roadside food stands, curbside furniture merchants, and small mechanic's shops where skilled Guineans crafted replacement parts for aging Russian trucks. There were shops with signs like "Here is Moussah, King of Tailors!" Drivers low on fuel stopped for single-liter bottles of gasoline sold from roadside tables.

**The electoral system's plusses are many, however: anyone over 18, including Guineans living abroad, can vote, and there is an ambitious program to register voters, train election administrators, provide poll watchers from various parties, and relay results quickly to the nation's capital.**

The image of Guinea that emerged after several days' discussion of laws and elections was of a driver steering a car down a narrow road, feet alternating on the brake and the gas pedal, fearful of swamps marked "anarchy" and "tyranny" on either side.

"I see it differently," the French-trained lawyer said. "We are in a car, half-filled with gas. We know where we must go, but we are not sure we will make it." He was sole partner in a successful international commercial practice. His office was a single-story cement building of three rooms with a tin roof. In addition to a locally made wooden desk and piles of files, it contained one of the country's few word processors, a fax machine neatly covered by an African market cloth,

and a plastic-covered French lawyer's robe with lace bib, hung from a peg near the door.

### **Liberty, with reservations**

Political power in Guinea's new constitution is divided among a strong president, the National Assembly, and the Supreme Court, which has an implicit right, according to the vaguely worded constitution, to judicial review. Like the organic laws, the constitution lists freedoms up front and restrictions toward the end. "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people" is declared in Article 1. There are rights to property, human dignity, religious and political liberty. The restrictions that cause difficulties in many constitutions appear in Article 22. The law "cannot set limits to rights and liberties except those indispensable to the maintenance of public order and democracy."

Similar discrepancies, almost all lifted verbatim from French law, appear in the electoral code, a document otherwise clearly responding to Guinea's problems in establishing free elections. For example, the Supreme Court can suspend a campaign broadcast containing "grave lack of respect . . . for the republic's institutions."

The electoral system's plusses are many, however: anyone over 18, including Guineans living abroad, can vote, and there is an ambitious program to register voters, train election administrators, provide poll watchers from various parties, and relay results quickly to the nation's capital.

There was discussion among elections officials about using colored ballots in a nonliterate society, but this was rejected as impractical: there are 30 potential parties at present, and besides, local presses can print only four colors with reasonable accuracy. Ballot choices cannot be kept secret with a color system. Instead, the parties use symbols, such as the lion, panther, elephant, and crocodile, which are all printed on white paper, making ballot choices indiscernible to observers.

"If a man tells his wife to vote for a certain candidate, how

will she vote?" I asked.

"In Conakry, it won't make any difference," a woman lawyer replied. "In the interior a man still has that control over his wife; and a *notable* (wise older man) can tell a village how to vote."

Elections may be threatened by violence; in 1991 several hundred people were killed in local elections when voter names were left off electoral lists. There is no distinction in local languages between an opponent and an enemy and as yet few norms for political speech and behavior that encompass verbal fireworks but no physical violence. Guineans do not easily resolve power issues. "The chief eats power" is an African concept, meaning someone absorbs power the way they consume food. Still, traditional society offers several mechanisms for seeking consensus. For example, most villages have a "talking tree," the large, centrally located tree where people gather and talk through a problem, even if it takes several days. Local praise-singers, called "*griots*," are respected mediators between disputing parties and commentators on local issues.

"Transparency" in elections, or honesty and openness, is made somewhat problematic by Guinea's adoption of the French electoral system, which allows the Ministry of Interior to control everything from voter registration to balloting and

certifying results. Guineans accept that independent supervision is necessary to credibility, but they say it is impossible to set up an independent elections commission with no political agenda when they can't fully staff the Ministry of Interior. Even if staff could be found, five neutral, unbiased figures as members of such a commission would be hard to recruit in a new democracy where everyone is scrambling for a political role. Under active discussion are ideas for an autonomous elections office within the Interior Ministry and a greater role for political parties as watchdogs at each step in the process. I find ministry people as concerned as the opposition about keeping the process honest. Some opposition leaders have no clear program beyond toppling the president.

### **La loi, c'est moi**

"Everything will depend on what the Supreme Court does," Guineans said. "With courageous judges, we have a chance; otherwise the court will be a document registration office." The court will have 32 judges, only four of whom will rule on constitutional issues. The rest will decide administrative, civil, and criminal questions, essentially constituting an appeals court on the French model. The judges will be named by the president; assembly confirmation is not required. They will come from the country's 70 magistrates, 50 of whom

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reside in Conakry.

A longtime French resident described the judiciary's plight: "Justice is both a social and an economic problem. Local conditions are reflected in the law. If someone sends a local judge word 'one of the parties is a member of our family,' even if the judge spent 10 years at the Sorbonne, you know how it will be decided.

"If a judge makes the same salary as a foreigner's cook, how can you have an independent judiciary? He cannot live on a Guinean salary, let alone have a car or any standing in the community."

### Weary optimism

Evidence of Guinea's crumbling or non-existent infrastructure is everywhere. A poignant symbol on our drive back to the Independence Hotel is many neatly dressed school children sitting attentively under streetlights, their only source of light, and carefully copying out school lessons. Guinea's economy is a shambles, despite rich resources of bauxite, gold, and diamonds. Graduating students cannot find jobs, contributing to periodic strikes.

More than 60,000 government workers were dismissed as part of International Monetary Fund-mandated reforms; most remain unemployed.

We pass the Patrice Lumumba National Printing House, once the showpiece of African socialism. Today, it tries to turn a profit; privatization has caught hold. Most of its main presses are silent, lacking replacement parts and hard currency to buy them, but management rebounds. An advertising broadside says: "In spite of everything, the press, in its new offensive, is ready to receive your orders."

Even late on a weekday night, the city exudes energy. There are blended colored lights, poinsettia trees, music, animated conversation. A poster in the Nigeria Airways office sums up Guinea's hopes: "Better Flying Days Ahead for Africa." ■

*Frederick Quinn is author of the **Federalist Papers' Reader**, which will be published by **Seven Locks Press**. He has consulted overseas on constitutional, electoral, and democratization issues.*

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*Note: In the following memorandum, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles proposed to Deputy Under Secretary of State for Management Loy Henderson an early forerunner of the dissent channel.*

February 4, 1957

Dear Loy:

The White House is constantly in receipt of letters, usually from ill-informed people, which suggest ideas. However, sometimes these ideas have some merit. It occurs to me that there must be in the Department of State better informed people who probably have ideas, but perhaps the established procedures are such that they do not feel that they can write to the secretary of state in the same way that a citizen would write to the president.

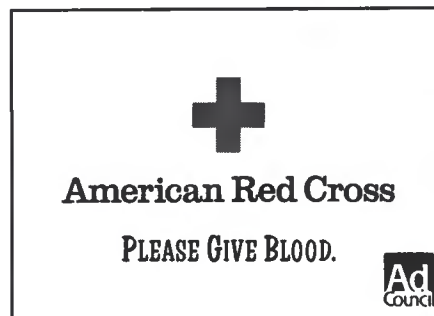
I am wondering whether we could not set up some system whereby a person could write under some anonymous symbol (which could be identified in the event of need) and thus at least get for his ideas the same kind of



consideration that would be given if such letters were written in a private capacity to the White House.

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### U.S. FOREIGN POLICY AFTER THE COLD WAR

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310 pages

#### Reviewed by Henry E. Mattox

As diplomatic historian John Lewis Gaddis phrases it, we have seen in the years 1989-1991 a rare "punctuation" point in history, an era of transition comparable in significance to any during the past two centuries. No one can tell exactly what has turned; the outlines of a new world order remain obscure at this time.

Almost certainly, however, the familiar assumptions, characteristics, and dangers of the Cold War will be replaced by new problems and challenges. No longer will European polarity, ideology, the arms race, and competition for influence in the Third World dominate international power politics.

If this assessment is even partially correct, a question obviously arises as to the role of the United States during coming years. While the nation may well have challengers for world leadership down the road, American power in all important respects will be paramount over the near term. How will the United States use this power? What changed responsibilities will the nation assume in international affairs? What will replace the umbrella policy of containment, however that policy has been defined in the days since Harry Truman? In what kind of world

setting will U.S. policymakers operate?

The volume under review presents an interesting variety of ideas on these questions. It contains more than two dozen disparate articles, all but one of which originally appeared in *The Washington Quarterly*, the publication of the Center for Strategic and International Studies. (The book's editor performs that function at the *Quarterly*, as well). Broad topics covered include expected shifts in alliances, revised regional policies, the need to remake U.S. foreign policy instruments, and the importance of domestic considerations in formulating policy. Two other sections address generally the newness of it all in the post-Cold War period, as reflected in the title of one article therein, "Starting

*Broad topics covered include expected shifts in alliances, revised regional policies, the need to remake U.S. foreign policy instruments, and the importance of domestic considerations in formulating policy.*

at zero," by Robert E. Hunter, the Center's vice president.

Inevitably in such a compendium, some of the *Washington Quarterly* articles chosen for publication are less than sharply focused on the central topic as reflected in the title. Robert A. Scalapino discusses the crisis of Leninism, for instance, concluding with a brief set of unremarkable prescriptions for U.S. policy; Robert L. Rothstein, in a long piece on the prospects for democracy in the Third World, presents an even more attenuated discussion of what it means for the United States.

Inevitably as well, some authors

suffered the indignity of being overtaken by fast-moving events. As an example, David D. Newsom's article is an informative historical view of U.S.-Soviet competition in sub-Saharan Africa, but, writing in 1990, he raises in it the possibility of continued rivalry which could provide the rationale for an active U.S. presence in the continent. Clearly, Ambassador Newsom prepared his piece before the USSR's collapse and before the extent of the former Soviet Union's loss of influence became apparent.

Nonetheless, these and most of the other articles repay close reading. USIA's Paul P. Blackburn makes specific recommendations on the future of that organization, as does Paula L. Scalingi with respect to the intelligence agencies. Editor Roberts's piece on the new world order and the U.S. response is thought provoking. Richard N. Haass of the National Security Council, while discussing only the Middle East, raises policy questions which appear to have broader applicability. The listing could be continued at length.

The interested reader, by dipping into *U.S. Foreign Policy After the Cold War* an article or two at a time, will find something to support his or her own views, or conversely, something against which to marshal arguments. And the consideration of no question could carry more importance. As Ambassador Richard N. Gardner holds in the concluding essay, the power diffusion of the post-Cold War era will lead to the United States' loss of hegemony in the 21st century; the nation's response in that challenging circumstance therefore becomes crucial. This volume will make a contribution to the discussions needed in shaping those policy responses.

*A retired Foreign Service officer, Henry Mattox teaches at the University of North Carolina.*

## Princess in the Maelstrom

DAUGHTER OF PERSIA: A WOMAN'S JOURNEY FROM HER FATHER'S HAREM THROUGH THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION

By Sattareh Farman Farmaian, with Dona Munker, Crown Publishers, 1992, \$22 hardcover, 416 pages

Reviewed by Jack H. Shellenberger

The word "paradise" is rooted in a Persian word, *pardis*, sometimes used to describe an enclosed garden where there is peace, beauty, and contentment.

For Sattareh Farman Farmaian, or Satti, experiencing paradise through her life's odyssey from the 1920s to the present has been increasingly a sometime thing.

Born into one of Iran's dynastic families, the Qajars, she recounts vividly her childhood as a princess with 36 siblings, a mother, seven stepmothers, and a slew of servants. Her father, well into his sixties when Satti was born, was the consummate patriarch and arbiter of his extended family's fortunes and futures. Through the eyes of the young Satti, the reader is introduced rather breathlessly to life inside and around the Farmaians' extensive but unadorned Teheran compound, the rituals and feasts, the jokes and games. Throughout the narrative runs a darker leitmotif, however: the political intrigues that eventually destroyed many of the Qajars, whose long reign from the late 18th into the 20th century included not a few despots or sycophants of the West.

In the early 1920s it was Reza Shah, founder of the Pahlavi dynasty and father of the last shah, who plundered Qajari assets and those of other pre-Pahlavi coup notables. She describes the dismay of devout Iranian women over the outlawing of the veil in 1935 and, more tangibly, the shah's order to destroy her family's Teheran compound. The shah's forces came, she writes, "like red ants tearing the flesh of a dead beast in the desert."

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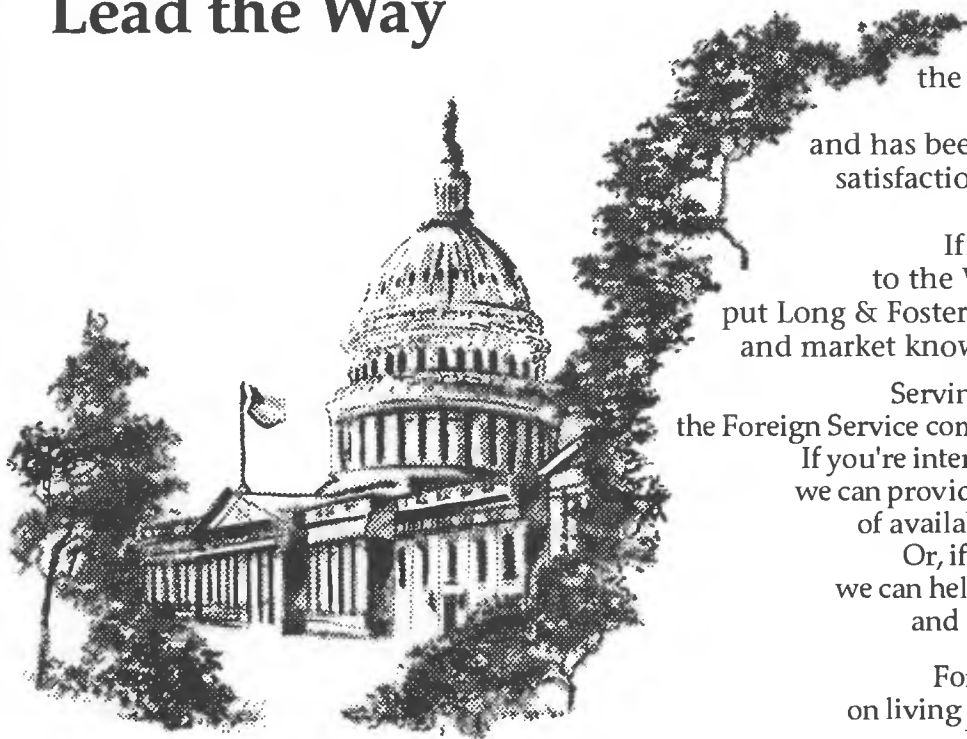
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Members of a Chuuk women's service organization, supported by the Micronesia Institute, load rice for distribution to families devastated by a typhoon in the Chuuk lagoon.

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# BOOKS

Persepolis, where centuries of Persian cultural resilience had prevailed over countless foreign invasions, confirmed a teenage Satti's ambition: "that I must have more education, that whatever else happened to me, to serve Iran and its people was my destiny."

Out of context, such a vow may verge on the sanctimonious. But, as the latter pages of this extensive work attest, that is precisely what Satti did. She found her life's vocation when a field trip arranged by the American mission school she attended introduced her to the squalor of South Teheran, where "there were no clean water, no electricity, and nothing green in view except the standing water of the clay *jubes* (or deep gutters), which stank like cesspools because they carried all the filth and garbage from the north. . . [S]ickly, scrawny children had no place to play . . . beggars were everywhere." A small American dispensary had opened in this quarter of

the city ministering to mothers and their sick children. Satti volunteered to serve in that enclave far removed from her relatively benign existence at the private girls' school.

Related by blood to the ill-fated National Front Premier Mohammed Mossadegh, she offers her perspective on his demise and the CIA-assisted return to power of the young shah in 1953, concluding that, "America . . . had thrown away food it did not want. Thinking only of its fear of communism and of the interests of American oil companies, it had used its great power to stifle our nation's aspirations to independence and dignity. The way we felt about the United States would never be the same again."

While scholars generally agree that America's action did anger and alienate large segments of Iranian society, especially the educated, Mossadegh's nationalist coalition itself had been losing the support of the traditional

middle class, the least advantaged, and religious factions.

A perfunctorily described and short-lived marriage to an Indian national that nonetheless gave Satti a cherished daughter contrasts sharply with her detailed descriptions of efforts to found Iran's first school to train social workers. Likewise, the growing public disaffection toward the modern shah and his court is thoroughly vented. "West-toxication" took hold as oil revenues mounted and corruption grew. "By 1977," she writes, "Iran was like a parched stand of trees in summer, waiting for lightning to strike and set the mountainside on fire." Toward the end of 1978, western hotels, cinemas, and banks on the northern heights of Teheran were set ablaze, by whom, it remains unclear. But the mountainside did glow.

She weaves in the Khomeini phenomenon and the ensuing revolution with an insight and sensitivity

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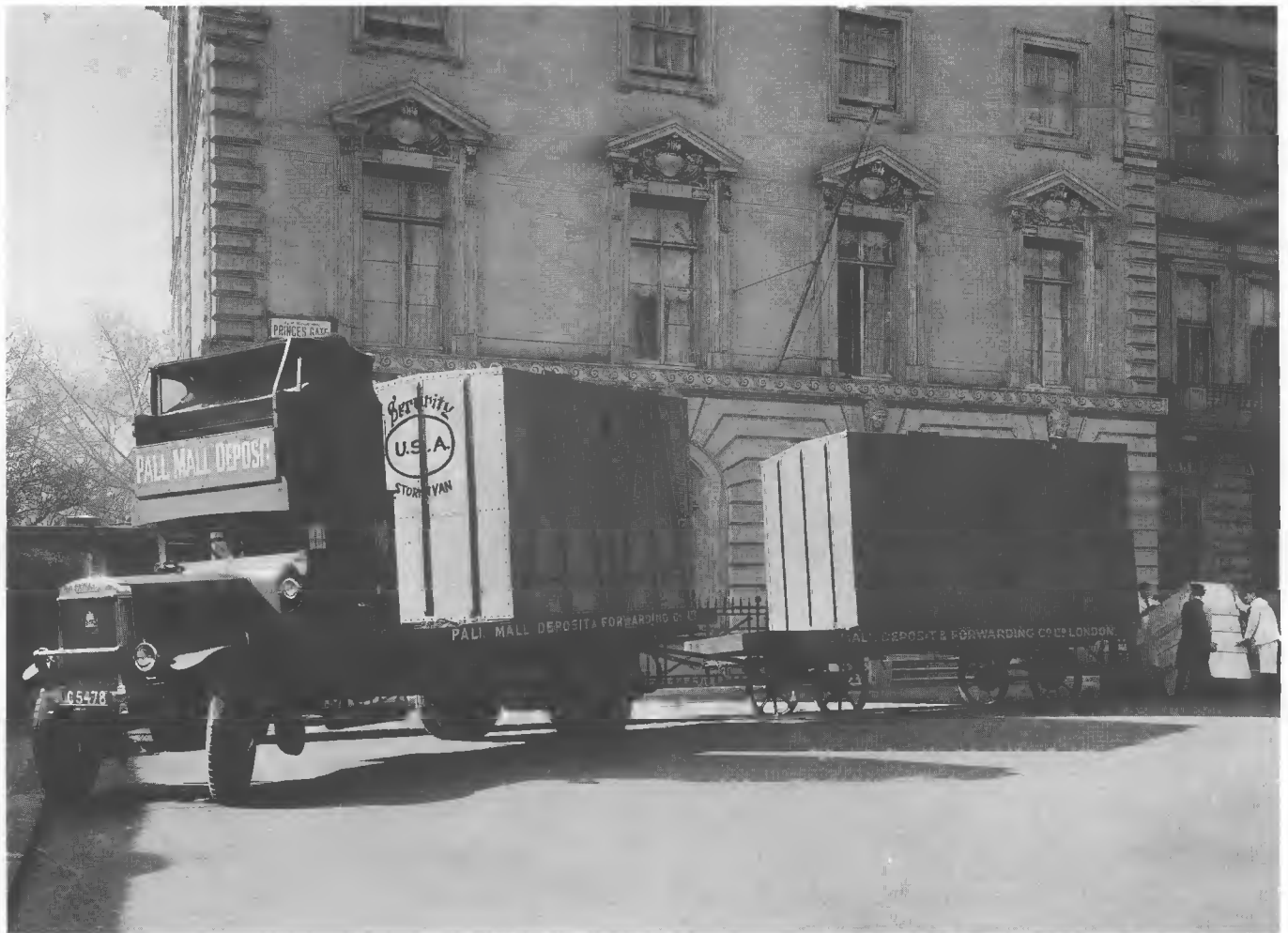
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## BOOKS

that only an Iranian living and working on both sides of the poverty line could summon.

The most harrowing sequence in *Daughter of Persia* describes her detention in the frigid courtyard of Khomeini's headquarters immediately following the 1979 revolution. For 16 hours she awaited interrogation on charges brought against her by a group of zealots from her school who charged that she had been a tool of the shah's secret police, Savak. Of course, Satti's school was dependent on government grants during the shah's reign (and she personally appealed her case to him), but she documents at length her resistance to any intrusion by the state in its management.

The charges, 11 in all, were dismissed on the spot by a Khomeini insider, who negotiated her release based on testimonials to her acts of charity on behalf of the poor. But it was clear that Satti could not resume her position at the school without risking her life. Summary executions were common in those days, with vengeance or self-advancement the usual motives. Her quest for an exit permit and her eventual departure from Mehrbad Airport in May of 1979 are Kafkaesque in their frightening halts and starts.

Satti now resides in the United States not far from her daughter, son-in-law, and grandchildren. She yearns to return to her native land, but that would pose risks. The Farmaian family included great flouters of wealth and West-toxicants. (For the diplomatic corps in Teheran until 1978, the annual bash at the estate of one of Satti's relatives was the party of the year.)

Satti remains the idealist, an uncommon and caring daughter of Persia, whose highly personal memoir affords a rich, variegated tapestry of a country known to many but understood by few.

*Jack H. Shellenberger served as public affairs counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Teheran from 1977 to 1979.*

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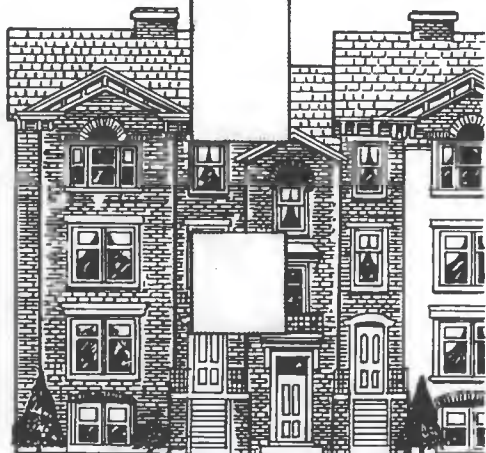
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## BOOKS

### Terror in Europe

#### EUROPEAN TERRORISM TODAY AND TOMORROW

Edited by Yonah Alexander and Dennis  
A. Pluchinsky, Brassey's (U.S.),  
Washington, D.C., 1992, \$30 hardcover,  
208 pages

Reviewed by Mayer Nudell

Frequently, books dealing with terrorism are published after their content has been overtaken by more recent events. Fortunately, one of the newest entrants in the field is different.

The Brassey's (U.S.) division of Macmillan Publishing Company began a series several years ago dealing with contemporary issues in terrorism under the general editorship of Yonah Alexander, a well-known and respected academic researcher with years of inquiry in the field. The fourth book in the series, *European Terrorism Today and Tomorrow*, concentrates on one of the areas most troubled by terrorist activities: Europe.

The publication of this book is extremely timely in view of the changing political face of Europe. The reunification of Germany, the dissolution of the former Soviet Union, the democratization and ethnicization of Eastern Europe, and the unification of Europe are among developments that will have far-ranging implications for terrorists. Their effect on terrorism has already been seen in the re-organization of terrorist groups, the disappearance of former safehavens (most especially, East Germany), and the general reduction in the incidence of attacks in Europe. In the past 20 years, Europe has been victimized not only by terrorism from European groups; it has also been the scene of considerable "spillover" terrorism from the Middle East. The changes in Europe and the increased potential for peace in the Middle East may alter this.

Despite the end of the Cold War, terrorism remains with us. Its character is in the process of changing, and the threat is only temporarily diminished.

Many of the regional disputes of the past threaten to erupt, as events in the Balkans and the former Soviet Union demonstrate. As Europe moves toward economic and political unification, a continent with fewer frontiers offers new security vulnerabilities at the same time as it offers the potential for increased counterterrorist cooperation.

Professor Alexander can be congratulated not only on his timing, but on his selection of co-authors as well. Co-editor Dennis Pluchinsky, senior European analyst in the Office of Intelligence and Threat Analysis of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security, offers a the most current organizational and operational analysis of Germany's Red Army Faction available. Andrew Corsun, another respected State Department specialist, provides an excellent profile of the Greek November 17 terrorist group, which has assassinated several members of the U.S. military. Marco Rimanelli, now a professor at George Mason University, reviews the international aspects of Italian terrorism since 1968. Finally, Bruce George, a member of the British House of Commons' Defence Select Committee, and Timothy Watson, George's parliamentary research assistant, look at how Europe might combat terrorism in the wake of this year's unification process.

Victimized by terrorists for reasons both endemic and external to the region, Europe remains an area of considerable importance to the United States. As it enters the brave new world of unification and the elimination of borders, the security implications are considerable. Vulnerabilities may be enhanced at the same time as incentives to cooperate increase.

As the United States moves slowly toward creating its own free trade zone, how well Europe handles the security aspects of the lowering of barriers will be instructional for our own policymakers. Whatever the result of Europe's move toward openness, we must watch it closely in the security arena and benefit from its lessons. ■

*Mayer Nudell is executive director of the International Association of Counterterrorism and Security Professionals.*

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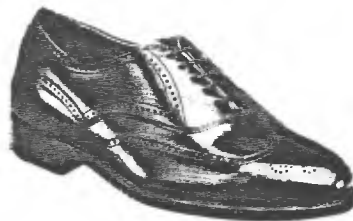
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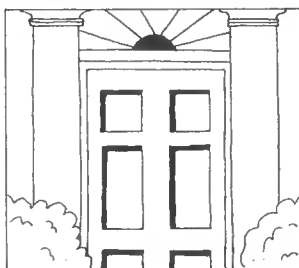
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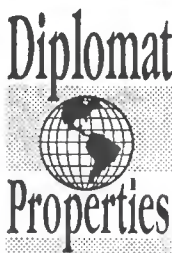
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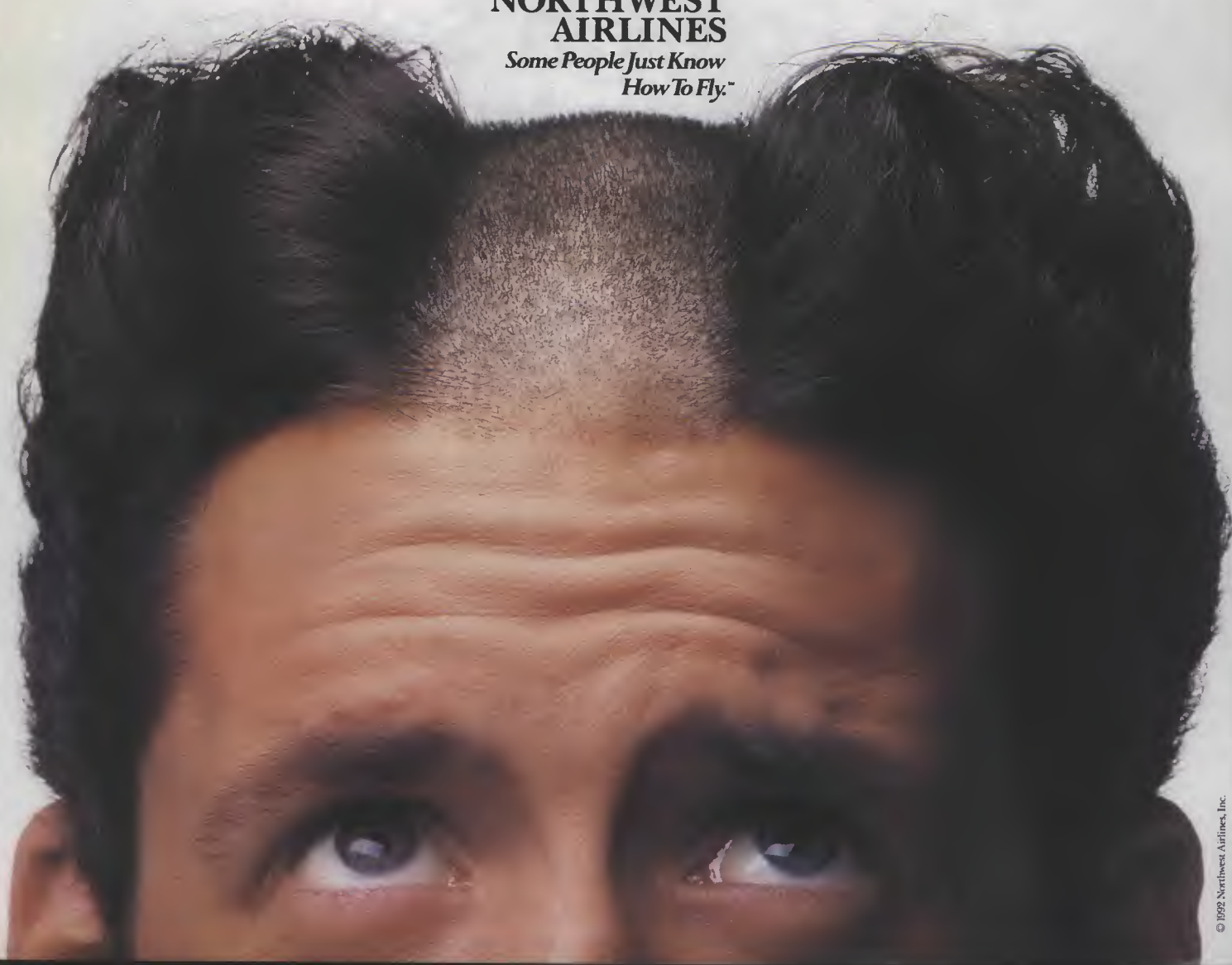
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