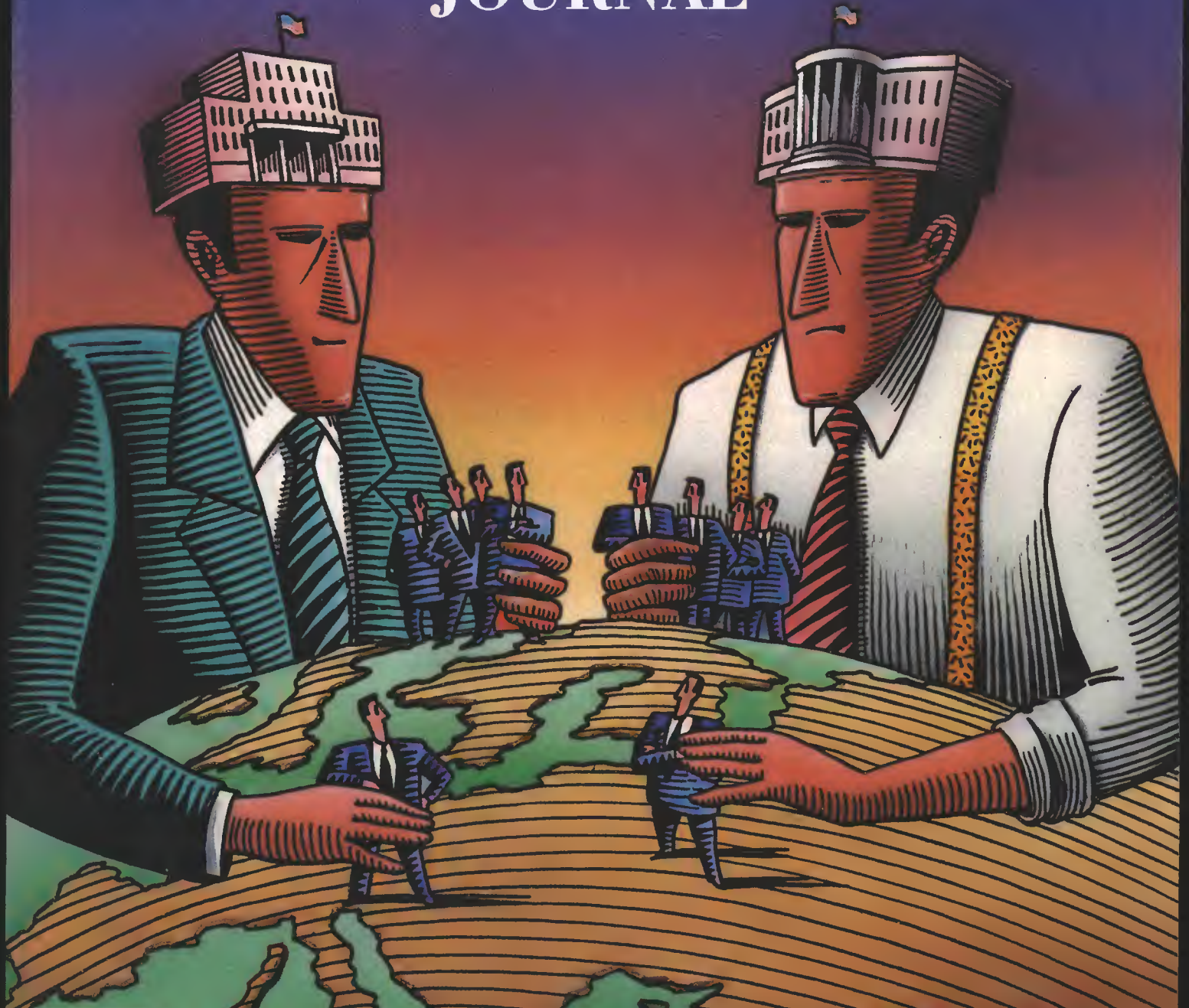


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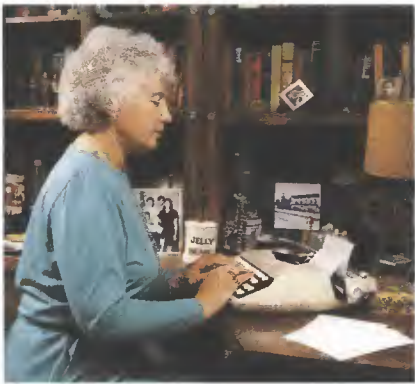
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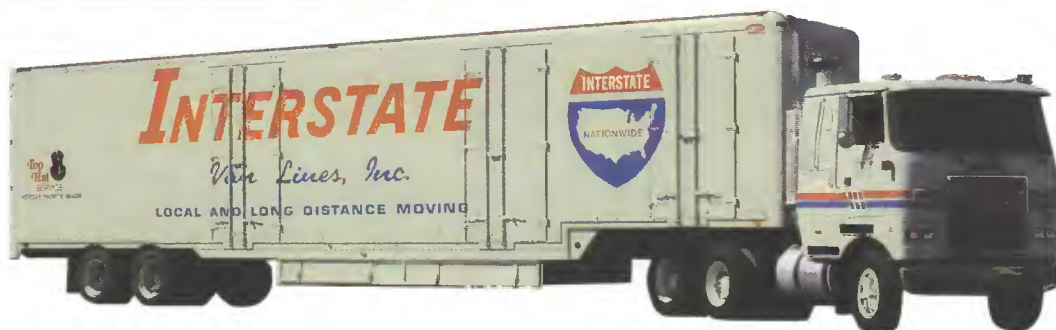
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## The Foreign Service in the Post-Cold War Era

During the Cold War, United States foreign policy was driven, out of necessity, by global military considerations. The new international challenges facing our nation are no less daunting, but of a very different nature. Success will come primarily through creative diplomacy rather than military power, and the front lines will be manned by a revitalized Foreign Service.

The post-Cold War era therefore requires (a) reorienting our foreign policy and structures to address the global challenges that threaten our common future and (b) restoring a diplomatic focus to U.S. foreign policy and strengthening the Foreign Service to play its proper role in that effort.

AFSA urges the adoption of the following priority objectives to which it pledges its wholehearted support:

### Help U.S. business compete while promoting U.S. and global prosperity.

- Act on the principle that domestic and foreign policy are inseparable; global leadership is founded on economic prosperity at home which, in turn, requires commercial success abroad.
- Reprogram foreign affairs resources to permit more active assistance to U.S. business interests abroad.
- Encourage and strengthen market forces worldwide, confident in the knowledge that the U.S. can compete and that prosperity is mutually beneficial.
- Restructure the U.S. national security apparatus to assure consistent application of our national economic priorities.

### Combat common global threats to peace, health, and well-being.

- Recognize that the global repercussions of ethnic violence, racial and religious intolerance, drug trafficking, environmental degradation and pollution, mass poverty and starvation, uncontrolled population growth, refugee movements and the spread of disease, including AIDS, adversely affect our national interest and well-being.
- Relate U.S. foreign assistance directly to confronting these problems.
- Promote a new "Global Charter" as a framework for affirming our values of peace and justice while rallying governments and peoples worldwide to eliminate these scourges.
- Magnify the effect of U.S. initiatives by building multilateral coalitions; unilateral actions are not sufficient for addressing global issues.

### Promote democratic and free market principles and practices worldwide.

- Uphold the U.S. role as champion of democracy and free-market reforms.
- Mobilize resources to project educational, cultural and economic assistance programs that affirm and enhance that leadership role.
- Promote multilateral institutions and initiatives that advance these objectives while providing a means of sharing the costs.

## U.S. Policy Objectives and Interests

It is indispensable that the United States remain fully engaged in world affairs in order to consolidate the freedoms unleashed at the end of the Cold War. We believe it would be contrary to our character as a people and our tradition as a nation to abdicate that leadership role just as those Cold War goals—for which we sacrificed some \$6 trillion of our national treasure—are within reach.

*(continued on insert page 6)*

# FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

DECEMBER 1992

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## NO COVER-UPS

*THE WASHINGTON TIMES*, OCTOBER 17, 1992  
BY WARREN STROBEL

Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger took responsibility yesterday for the State Department's improper handling of Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton's records, but said requests for information put the administration in a "damned if you do and damned if you don't" position.

On Wednesday, the State Department admitted that lower-level officials improperly expedited news organizations' requests for access to Clinton's files, which, Republicans have suggested, might contain damaging data from the nominee's days as a Rhodes Scholar in England.

However, Richard Boucher, denying political motivations, said those officials were not acting on the orders of higher-ups. Democratic lawmakers were not satisfied with that explanation, and accused the Bush administration of using low-level officials as scapegoats for wrongdoing.

Eagleburger, making his first public comments on the subject, objected to that charge. "Any implication . . . that we're trying to lay off mistakes, if there were any, on lower level people is simply not correct . . . the buck stops here. As acting secretary of state, if the State Department did something improper, that is my responsibility."

President Bush and his aides have questioned the Democratic nominee's 1969 trip to Moscow. There have also been repeated rumors, never confirmed, that Clinton wrote letters seeking to give up his citizenship because of the Vietnam War.

"This should have been dealt with in private for the benefit of everybody and not in the middle of some political campaign," he [Eagleburger] said. "But I will tell you now, the State Department is not going to cover up anything."

## SEE NO EVIL, MAKE NO POLICY

*THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY*, NOVEMBER 1992  
BY GEORGE KENNEY

So timid were the State



bureaucrats—both senior Foreign Service officers and appointed officials—that they refused to even probe into reports of Serbian concentration camps. As a result, their policy recommendations, when they did turn them out, were ill-conceived.

Policy was media-driven, responding only when confronted by what the press had been able to find out, and then in ways that were entirely inadequate. . . . There was no way for dissonant information to get through the door.

And while the administration was not seeking out reliable data, it also withheld what little information it had. On September 24, the administration submitted a report to the U.N., in accordance with U.N. Security Council Resolution 771, which called for all organizations to submit whatever material they possessed relating to atrocities and war crimes. The U.S. report listed 31 violent acts. But for more than five months the American Embassy in Belgrade had sent to Washington at least one cable per day on the situation in Bosnia, and each cable reported up to dozens of cases of atrocities. That makes at least 500 incidents the department did not forward to the U.N.

## Responding to Kenney

*THE WASHINGTON POST*, OCTOBER 22, 1992

George Kenney contends falsely that "the highest levels of State made the decision not to publicize more information for fear that it would prompt further public pressure on the administration to intervene."

I am the mid-level bureaucrat . . . who typed every entry of throats being cut, bodies being decapitated, and massive areas of the former Yugoslavia being "ethnically cleansed." I was often unable to stomach lunch as I read and summarized the inhumane

accounts that we reported to the United Nations.

No one at any level of our government asked me to cover up any incident of atrocity. To the contrary, my in-box has been so flooded every day from sources within and without the U.S. government that I began a second report before our first one arrived at the UN and before any member nation of the UN made a report.

PAUL P. POMETTO II  
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## HIDING BEHIND APRIL GLASPIE

*THE WASHINGTON POST*, OCTOBER 21, 1992  
BY JIM HOAGLAND

As Perot reminded the nation in [the] presidential debate, April Glaspie was the U.S. ambassador to Baghdad who met with Saddam Hussein on July 25, 1990—eight days before Saddam invaded Kuwait. She cabled Washington after the meeting that the Iraqi dictator wanted peace. . . . [Bush and Baker's] effort to deep-six Glaspie . . . needs to be brought into sharper focus.

Bush's friendly "oral response" to the Butcher of Baghdad's open but misunderstood threats to Glaspie simply carries forward—long after it should have been dropped—the policy line Bush decided on at the crucial, previously unreported National Security Council meeting on Iraq the previous year.

The July 28 cable simply repeats Bush's "let's get along" message. It was a philosophy that coincided with Glaspie's own thinking on Iraq. She helped shape that philosophy throughout her tour as the first American woman ambassador to the Middle East. . . .

She followed orders well, if not wisely. But when the roof fell in, Baker did not send the vacationing Glaspie back to the Middle East or give her a key role in Washington. She went into policy limbo, where she remains to this day.

On a Sunday morning television talk show after the Kuwait invasion on Aug. 2, Baker sought to avoid his

responsibility in misreading Saddam and subtly shift the blame to Glaspie. Today, Glaspie handles ECOSOC issues, whatever those are, as part of the U.S. mission at the United Nations.

[Glaspie's] rehabilitation should be one of the first symbolic acts of the new administration, be it Clinton, be it Bush. It would show character.

## PLACING THE HARD-TO-PLACE

*THE WASHINGTONIAN*, NOVEMBER  
EDITED BY LARRY VAN DYNE

Whether Bill Clinton or George Bush wins, the White House personnel people will face an old and delicate question: Where are the best places to stash political loyalists whose qualifications are a bit thin?

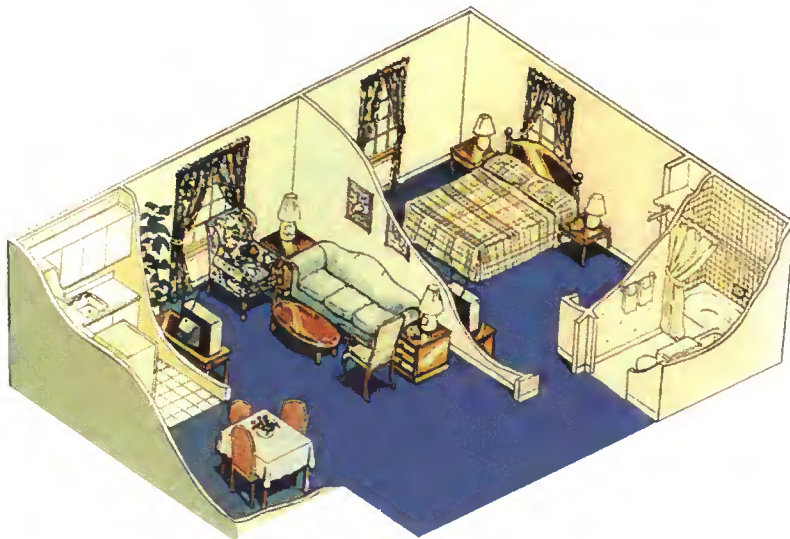
We asked old Washington hands how the task is best approached. They agreed there are several types of people who require care and imagination in placing:

- 1) Fat-cat campaign contributors whose business skills don't seem quite right for government work.
- 2) Lackluster politicians of one's own party who did not get re-elected.
- 3) Socialites whose success in running charity balls has left them brimming with confidence and ambition.
- 4) Inexperienced offspring of contributors and administration officials.

In every administration the idea is the same, says one observer—"try to park them out of sight, out of mind, and out of touch." . . . nothing ranks with ambassadorships when it comes to keeping political contributors appeased. . . . A Foreign Service officer who has monitored ambassador appointments says that for campaign contributors who are not up for big-time diplomacy, the most appealing posts fall into three groups. One is . . . the alpine playgrounds of Europe—Switzerland, Austria, and Luxembourg. Another group includes small tropical islands—the Bahamas, the Seychelles, Fiji, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Kiribati—where the living is easy. And the third group: our down-under friends, Australia and New Zealand. ■

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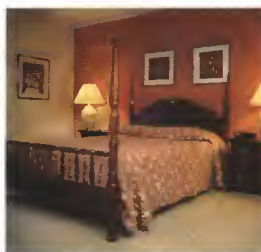
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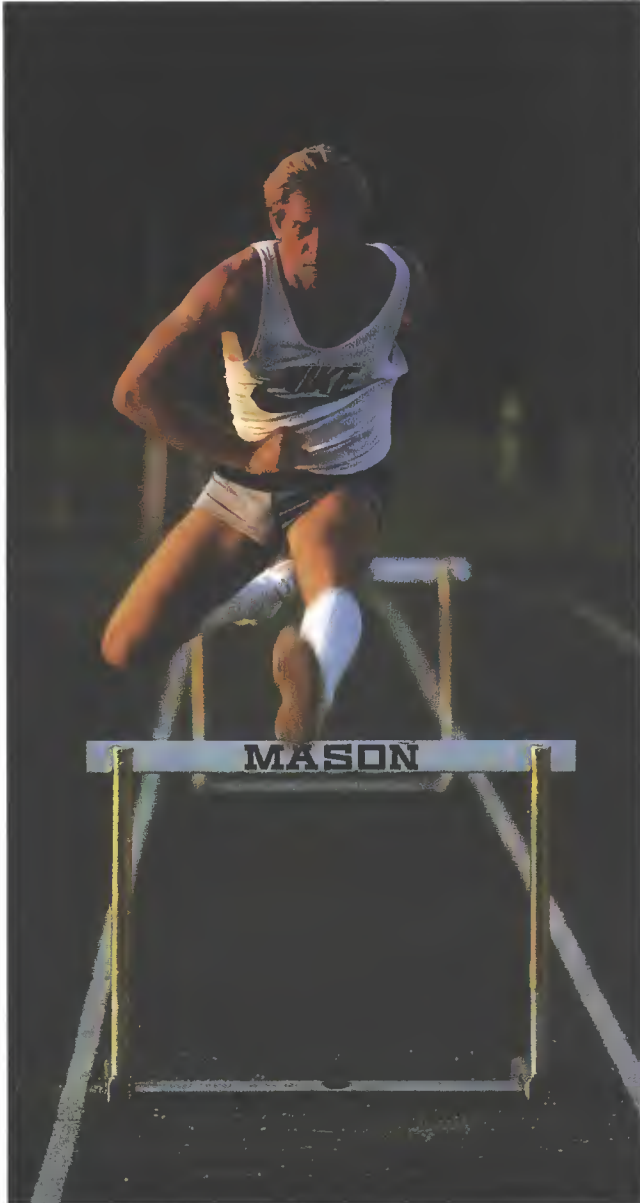
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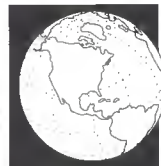
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The first issue of the Journal appeared in October 1924 along with

**Today is also a time of questioning. When has there been a better, harder, more important, or, as Consul Felix Cole already put it, more inspirational time to write? Letters are always welcome.**

the birth of a new organization, the American Foreign Service Association, combining the two branches, consular and diplomatic, of the Foreign Service. The first editor, Consul Felix Cole, appealed to his readers to supply material for the new publication. Cole said "its purposes are to add to the understanding of the tasks of the Foreign Service. . . . but the main purpose of the Journal will be inspirational . . . and personality will be at a premium in its columns."

The Journal's worldwide circulation is now nearly 12,000, but as in its first volume years ago, the Journal today is as informative and thought-provoking, as influential and entertaining, as all of you—our contributors—make it.

As this year ends, and we turn the pages that open new chapters at home and abroad, so many of our interests, concerns, and feelings are engaged in new ways with new immediacy. Truly, these are times of change.

This December issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* looks ahead to the momentous changes of this decade with an examination of the ambassadorial confirmation process and how our new embassies are being staffed—and there's also a first-hand account of the challenges and rewards of opening a frontier embassy. We look back to a pioneering journey in 1873, and recall the Vietnam era, a time when many Foreign Service officers were questioning U.S. foreign policy.

Today is also a time of questioning. When has there been a better, harder, more important, or, as Consul Felix Cole already put it, more inspirational time to write? Letters are always welcome. Forward-looking articles on diplomacy, professional issues, historical insights and sketches of the human dimension in world affairs, as well as book reviews, are always needed.

Acceptance or rejection of submissions is made by an 11-member editorial board. Submissions should be sent to Editor, Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E St., NW, Washington D.C.

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*Brandon Grove Jr.*  
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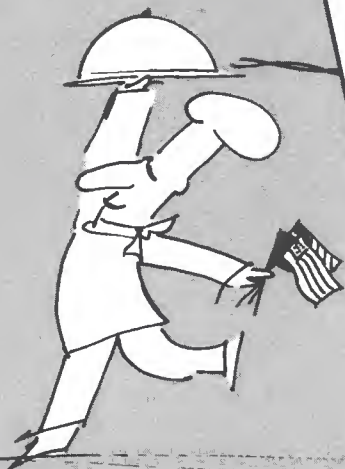
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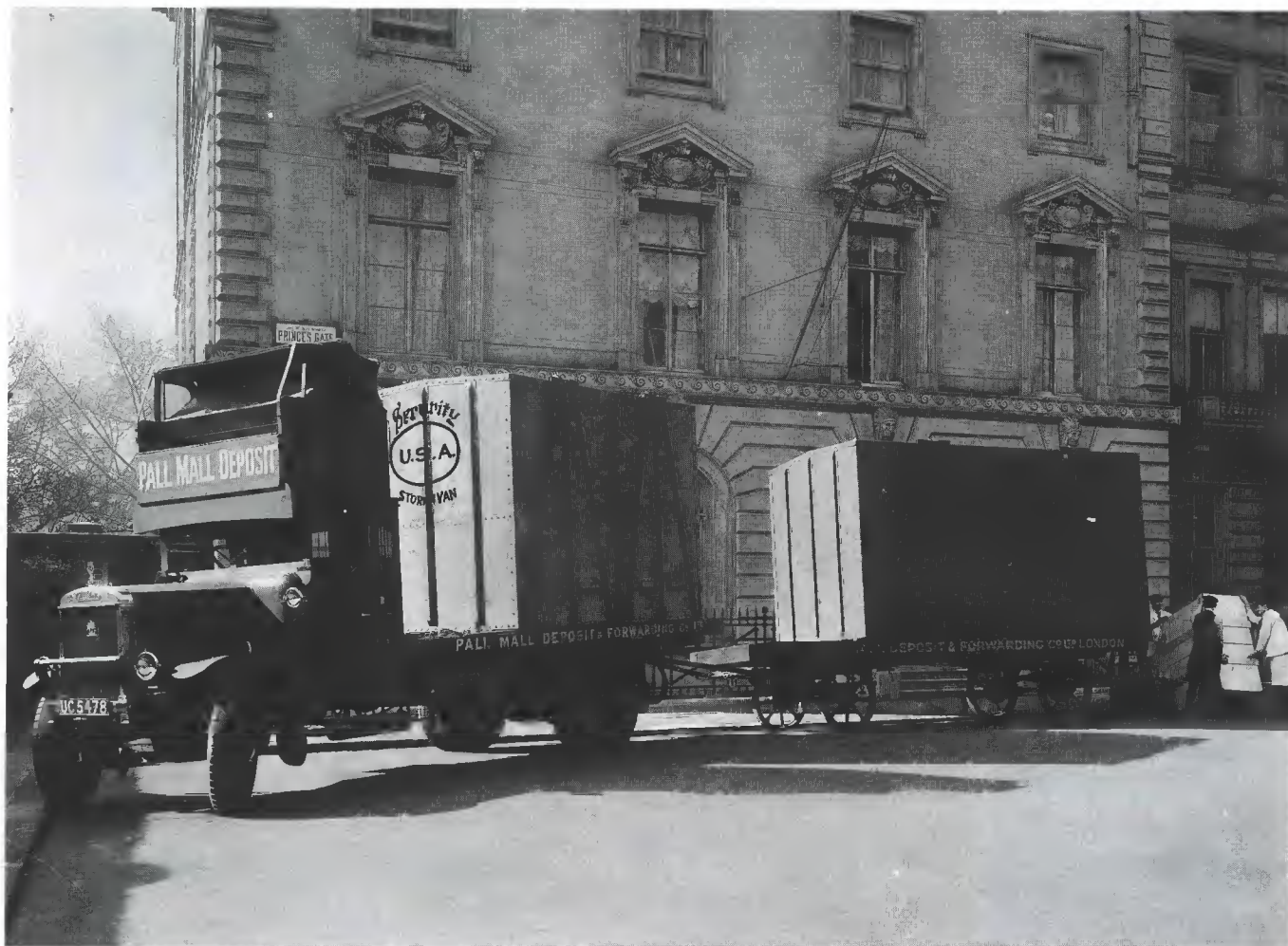
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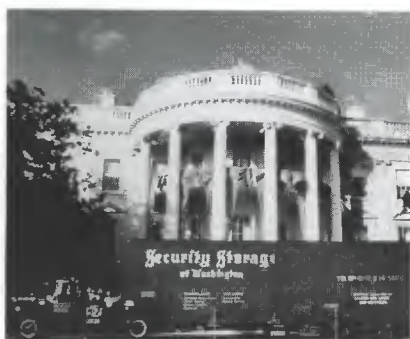
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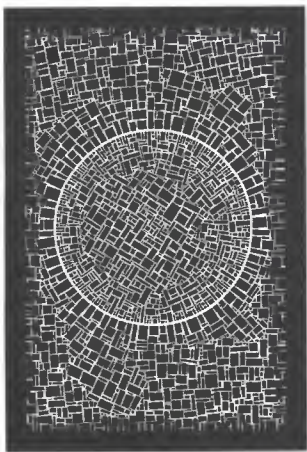
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# Think Tanks at Work

BY ANNE STEVENSON-YANG



The end of the Cold War in a sense restored the world to geopolitical complexity. Eastern Europe's cultural richness reemerged from the sepia snapshots purveyed by the Soviet bloc, and nations in other parts of the world broke out of the Cold War's ideological stranglehold.

Unlike many historical watersheds, the Cold War ended at a precise and universally recognized moment in history. It left no time for the slow accretion of political theory and its popularizations, leading to the formation of policy.

As the political theorist Michael Novak once commented, great nations are like aircraft carriers: they like to change directions very slowly, in degrees. But the post-Cold War map requires whole

new courses to be plotted in territory where a two-dimensional map has been given perspective by multiple ethnic, topographic, linguistic, and religious overlays. The Bush Administration's

"new world order," a vague organizing principle for international action, was inadequate to the challenge, and, as yet, President-elect Clinton has not articulated his views of the new U.S. national interest and its means of defense.

Into the breach come Washington's think tanks: last year several produced documents advocating foreign policy strategies for the coming decade. The selective review that follows considers papers produced under the aegis of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Heritage Foundation, the Overseas Development Council, the Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, and the Commission on U.S.-Japan Relations for the 21st Century. Copies of the documents can be obtained from the addresses listed on page 16.

The "unity" of foreign and domestic policy is the think-tank mantra for the year, a standard carried by such disparate crusaders as the Carnegie Endowment and the Heritage Foundation. This may look like merely a strategy for maintaining America's

international involvement during recessionary times, but the formulation contains much wisdom. The revolutions in Eastern Europe reaffirmed that the world is knit together more tightly than before. News travels too quickly now via satellite transmission, phone, and fax to come under complete control by repressive governments; money crosses borders with the speed of an electronic transmission; deforestation in Brazil can mean climate change in Canada; and the trade policies practiced in Tokyo can spell the difference between jobs and unemployment in Toledo. Most of the think tanks take being elbow-to-elbow with other nations as an opportunity rather than a threat; only Heritage, coming from the conservative tradition of reluctant international involvement and limited government, is cautious about the benefits of the new collectivity, which for many means forfeiting some discretion in international matters to the multilateral institutions.

### America and the new world

The most ambitious and thoughtful of the policy papers is Carnegie's *Changing Our Ways*, an immaculately written and ornately printed document in 87 pages of text. The Carnegie Commission's ideas and general aims are largely shared by the Overseas Development Council's *Challenges and Priorities in the 1990s*, though the latter focuses on proposing what the ODC considers a practical, politically saleable alternative budget for foreign affairs for the new administration, leaving discussion of the broader aims of foreign policy brief and businesslike. Heritage's report, by contrast, is a manifesto advocating strengthened hegemony in world affairs for the United States. The Georgetown Institute paper concerns itself exclusively with the Foreign Service and the personnel, training, and assignment systems it should adopt in order best to execute diplomacy in the 1990s. The U.S.-Japan Commission report concerns itself with cooperation between the United States and Japan, but within the broader context of a multilateralized international system.

The Carnegie Endowment assembled an extraordinary commission to produce its recommendations: 23 diplomats,

politicians, economists, journalists, and others, chaired by Winston Lord, the former U.S. ambassador to China and former chief of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff. The commission members included former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff William J. Crowe Jr.; Henry Cisneros, the former mayor of San Antonio; AFL-CIO Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue; Jessica T. Mathews, vice president of the World Resources Institute; and former Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci.

The report quotes the poet C.P. Cavafy:

*Now, what is going to happen  
to us without  
the Barbarians? They were,  
those people, after all,  
a kind of solution.*

In measured tones, *Changing Our Ways* proposes a radical shift in the focus and conduct of U.S. foreign policy. The commission argues that the post-Cold War environment requires a demilitarized foreign policy, one that concentrates instead on promoting economic growth in the United States and, by extension, in the world. U.S. foreign policy must change its stance from formal belligerence to cautious cooperation, argue the commission members. Without providing numbers, the group advocates deeper cuts in military spending than proposed by the administration, along with a restructuring of military forces to emphasize highly mobile, long-range weapons with space-based command and control systems and forces that, for the most part, would not require foreign basing. The international weapons trade must be curbed, regional collective security organizations should be nurtured, and NATO made more flexible. The commission recommends that the United States pay its UN assessments and support a broadened peacekeeping function for that body along with an expanded Security Council.

Nevertheless, in an echo of an earlier, unofficial Defense Department proposal that favored maintaining a U.S. ability to counter any threats to our military hegemony, the commission argues that the United States should remain the paramount military power. "The United States is the world's leading military

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power. We must keep it that way. . . . America's armed forces must do more than defend our interests from direct threats. They must also support our diplomacy, lending weight to our initiatives and helping shape how other countries see us. U.S. military power is a factor in the calculations of decision-makers throughout the world," comments the commission.

Perhaps as significant as the conclusions in the report's section on post-Cold War military needs is the implied dissent by two conservative commission members who chose to disassociate themselves from the report: former Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard N. Perle, now at the American Enterprise Institute, and James R. Schlesinger, former secretary of defense and director of the CIA, among other government posts.

In place of the militarily driven policy of the post-war era, the commission proposes that U.S. policy focus on promoting economic growth. ". . . America's first foreign policy priority is to strengthen our domestic economic performance," lest further deterioration weaken the U.S. foreign policy stance and prove destabilizing. The Carnegie group also advocates restructuring the international economic system to reflect its newly multilateral nature, aiding developing nations and the formerly Socialist countries in their effort to integrate with the global economy, and stimulating trade. The report analyzes the emergence of regional economic blocs but does not necessarily see regionalism as a threat. "[N]either the United States, the EC, nor Japan is able to go it alone. We share a common stake in an expanding global economy and improved international arrangements."

Carnegie's report also reviews a number of transnational issues that have only recently come within the diplomatic ambit—environmental pollution, the trade in illicit drugs, illegal immigration and refugees—and puts forth solutions that propose to stem the sources of these ills instead of simply managing their flow. The United States needs to show leadership in environmental policy and to promote "full-cost pricing" that takes into account the after-use costs a product

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incurs for environmental clean-up. Efficient energy use will require imposition of a stiff tax on gasoline rather than simply protection of access to sources of oil. Migration and refugee flows could be eased through diplomatic initiatives to protect the "right to stay," while the drug epidemic is best combatted by reducing demand. "After decades of blaming other countries for our drug problems, the United States simply must start taking responsibility at home," argues the report, which points out that the United States spends almost as much on international drug interdiction as on all its domestic treatment and prevention programs combined.

*Changing Our Ways* is magisterial in scope and bracing in the earnestness and reasonableness of its ideas. Of course, an unelected commission can afford to be frank. The increasingly sclerotic, interest-bound nature of American politics does not come within the scope of the commission's report, but that is the gauntlet its program must ultimately run, and one suspects that proposals for deep cuts to the military, a \$1-per-gallon gasoline tax, a substantial increase in humanitarian foreign aid, and a reorientation of education from kindergarten through graduate school to enhance the learning of languages and international affairs, to enumerate a few of the ideas put forth would be tickets to oblivion for any but the most courageous and imaginative politician. This is not to suggest that it is futile or naive to put forth a political agenda undiluted by political concerns; the political dialogue needs precisely such a nonpartisan vision. But changing our ways will entail more than vision.

The Carnegie commission's report does not address the domestic bureaucratic machinery that will be necessary to enact a foreign policy refocused on trade and multilateral efforts for peace; such proposals are to follow in a report that was to be released in November, and they will be critical to the viability of the commission's vision. The methods and purposes of the Cold War would seem to be as entrenched within certain civilian bureaucracies as in the military itself, and if foreign policy is to have increased international

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prosperity as its object, it must be conducted by publicly accountable institutions, such as the State Department, that are equipped to do economic as well as political reporting. That will entail some reordering of budgetary priorities domestically as well as abroad.

### An alternative budget

More concerned with the tools of foreign policy is the Overseas Development Council (ODC), which this year proposed an alternative foreign affairs budget for the new administration. The ODC's goals make it Carnegie's spiritual brethren, and the report repeatedly sounds the theme of domestic renewal as prerequisite to global strength: "[T]he traditional dichotomy between 'domestic' and 'international' issues increasingly is an anachronism; global action is needed to successfully address so-called domestic concerns as well as to advance long-term U.S. interests in building a

better world and promoting American humanitarian ideals." Likewise, the ODC stresses the importance of promoting an open world economy and expanded international trade, through debt relief, government-sponsored export promotion, multilateral financing, and bilateral aid. The ODC also stresses multilateral peacekeeping and conflict resolution efforts, like Carnegie, advocating that the United States pay up on its UN arrearages and support increased funding for UN peacekeeping. The money for these new or enhanced programs would flow from deep cuts in defense and other security-oriented programs.

But the bulk of the ODC report is dedicated to detailing where the money would come from and where it would go in the council's post-Cold War foreign affairs scenario. The biggest savings would come from trimming Foreign Military Financing Funds and Economic

Support Funds, which the council rightly points out have mostly been a smokescreen for strategic aid to military allies in the battle to contain Soviet expansion. Additionally, the council would cut funding levels for the U.S. Agency for International Development, whose role would be taken over by a new Sustainable Development Fund (SDF). USAID, instead of getting a direct funding allocation, would compete for money from the SDF. (For a thorough examination of the SDF proposal, see the November *Journal*.) The ODC also hopes to realize a \$1.2 billion savings from government broadcasting services, including Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, and the Voice of America. The report does not acknowledge, however, that prevailing political winds are against such cuts.

In place of these programs, the ODC would fund initiatives designed to promote world trade and economic

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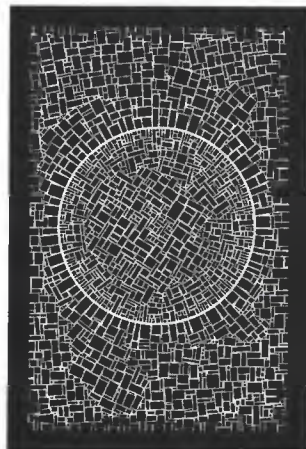
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development, facilitate conflict resolution, and promote "regional reconstruction"—assistance for areas emerging from war or other conflict. The report advocates more than tripling the money earmarked for debt relief, to \$3 billion over five years, favoring those countries that put into place macroeconomic policies that the United States considers sound. U.S. Export-Import Bank budget authority would also be increased to provide more support to U.S. exports.

The core of the ODC report lies in its championship of a classically liberal agenda in development. Programs it advocates would be specifically aimed at the poor and designed to strengthen what development experts like to call "human resources" rather than economic infrastructure. The four programs recommended as focuses for the Sustainable Development Fund



are slowing population growth, improving health, supporting agriculture, and developing new sources of non-

**The core of the ODC report lies in its championship of a classically liberal agenda in development. Programs it advocates would be specifically aimed at the poor and designed to strengthen what development experts like to call "human resources" rather than economic infrastructure.**

agricultural employment.

The Alternative Budget contains several innovative proposals—the Multilateral Reconstruction Fund, for example, and the SDF. Primarily, however, it is a numeric exposition of laudable humanistic goals that have tended to get lost in the last decade of

bootstrap rhetoric in development policy. It also provides a useful corrective for those who will inevitably cry penury in arguing against new initiatives in foreign policy.

### **A level playing field**

The Heritage Foundation's *Making the World Safe for America: A U.S. Foreign Policy Blueprint*, a forcefully worded and philosophically crystalline document, reads like the Nicene Creed of conservatism. The foreign policy stance advocated is entirely defensive; America must militarily protect its geopolitical interests and refuse to cede veto power over

American action to any country or multilateral body. The geopolitical interests to be protected, in the view of the report's authors, are the integrity of U.S. land, sea, and air frontiers; the freedom from domination by any hostile power of Europe, East Asia, or the Persian Gulf; market access and free

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trade; access to resources, and protection for Americans from threats to their lives or well-being, such as terrorism or drug trafficking.

Deterring hegemony by any hostile power will require substantially more military engagement, in Heritage's view, than envisioned by the Carnegie and ODC reports. The authors express concern over control of the strategic nuclear weapons remaining in the fragmented Soviet Union. To guard against their use, the United States must make strategic defense a top priority, the report argues, "with early deployment of a limited ground- and space-based system at the top of the conservatives' defense agenda." In addition, Heritage recommends mending what it characterizes as serious intelligence failures in the past not by cutting the intelligence establishment but actually by increasing U.S. intelligence capabilities. Specifically, the United States needs more local agents, specially trained U.S. personnel, and electronic intelligence systems devoted to gathering information in Central Asia and the Middle East.

Guarding against the rise of a hostile hegemonic power in the Mideast will require maintaining "forces armed and

equipped to project power rapidly from the U.S. to the Persian Gulf, even without the support of local allies." That means deploying a strong naval force in the Gulf, keeping fighter-bombers locally ready, investing in strategic sealift and airlift capabilities, strengthening military cooperation with conservative Gulf states such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and containing both Iraq and Iran with economic sanctions and support for domestic opposition groups.

Impediments to trade are seen as the only serious non-military threat to the United States, but to combat them, *Making the World Safe* advocates promoting free-trade agreements throughout the world. The report is not friendly to the Foreign Service: Heritage would welcome a "greatly reduced" State Department, while "bloated U.S. government bureaucracies like the Agency for International Development can be trimmed and reoriented toward projects to promote entrepreneurialism, investment, and growth in Africa."

Counter to the recently prevailing view, which has hailed the United Nations as a natural, if limited, successor to the bipolar international system, Heritage expresses a somewhat cranky suspicion of the United Nations. "A

dangerous legacy of George Bush's handling of the Persian Gulf crisis has been his reluctance to act without first winning approval from the United Nations Security Council, and hence from Moscow and Beijing, to say nothing of Paris," warns the report. Heritage also demands that such UN organizations as the UN Development Program and the Food and Agriculture Organization "abandon their anti-Western, anti-free market agendas" by 1995 or be threatened with U.S. withdrawal. "Working from the outside, the U.S. can pursue unilateral policies promoting international trade and investment, and assisting countries in adopting high-growth, free market agendas." In sum, despite the report's proclamations about the end of Soviet antagonism, the Cold War paradigm is everywhere in evidence on Heritage's scope. The chimeric new goal of U.S. foreign policy—preventing the rise of hostile hegemonic powers—is enough here to command nearly all the military resources once devoted to stopping Soviet expansion. A potential threat is as good as a military menace, and, while welcoming helping hands in NATO, ASEAN, and the CSCE, the United States should take on the greatest burdens of its bellicosity alone.

## 2001

The Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy's report, *The Foreign Service in 2001*, (see "Despatch," October Journal for a more thorough critique) takes on the questions of means that the other policy reports largely neglect. After a section explaining the assumptions underpinning policy recommendations in the report, the Institute provides its "strategic vision" for the Foreign Service then explains how it believes the diplomatic corps should be prepared to fulfill the vision. Unfortunately, a typically prescient comment from Pogo provided in the report's opening summary signals a certain defeatism that runs through the paper like a bass theme in a minor key: "We are surrounded by insurmountable opportunities."

Indeed, on the landscape of post-Cold War opportunity, the Institute seems simply to throw up its collective arms in despair of ever meeting the challenge.

## For Further Reading

**Changing Our Ways.** A report by the Carnegie Endowment National Commission on America and the New World, 1992, available for \$9.95 from the Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 797-6258 or 1-800-275-1447

**Making the World Safe for America: A U.S. Foreign Policy Blueprint.** By the staff of The Heritage Foundation, April 1992. Available for \$5 from The Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002-4999 • (202) 546-4400

**Challenges and Priorities in the 1990s: An Alternative U.S. International Affairs Budget, FY 1993.** By John W. Sewell, Peter M. Storm, and contributors, 1992. Available for \$8.00 from the Overseas Development Council, 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 1012, Washington, D.C. 20009. (202) 234-8701.

**The Foreign Service in 2001.** By the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 1992. Available for \$6.00 from the Institute, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20057-1052 • Tel: (202) 687-8971, Fax: (202) 687-8312

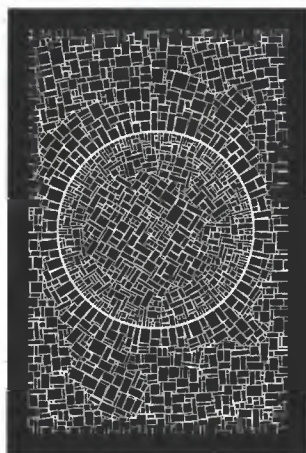
The document reads like a stern quarterly report from the new CEO of an ailing and poorly managed company: streamline, get rid of dead weight, tighten management, recruit able people laterally as well as from the bottom. Diplomacy is envisioned as the recourse of hard times, when the impoverished taxpayer is less willing to pay for "luxury goods" such as military and intelligence services. "In economic terms," the Institute explains, "diplomacy can be thought of as an 'inferior' national security good. Inferior goods are those for which spending increases when money is tight and buyers are forced to forsake luxury goods, as when we buy more potatoes and less steak. As money for the luxury, coercive side of international relations (represented by military and intelligence spending) declines, purchases of cheaper, persuasive diplomacy (such as at State, AID, USIA, and Commerce) should increase, by a smaller amount."

It may be an indication of the quality of the recommendations in the Institute's report that, of the papers under review, "2001" is the most poorly written. The remarks just quoted, for example, come under the bold heading, "Fully recognize the Foreign Service agencies as 'national security agencies' à la the CIA and Defense Department."

### Preparing for the Pacific Century

Narrower in scope than the other reports, *America's Stake in the Future of the U.S.-Japan Relationship*, nevertheless makes many of the same assumptions: that fostering economic growth internationally is a key goal of diplomacy and that many of the challenges of the new world must be met in multilateral fora. As a critical step toward modernizing the international system, the private Commission on U.S.-Japan Relations for the 21st Century argues that both countries should overcome the low-grade hostility that has led to increasing contention and accept the full burdens of international leadership.

For the United States, that means ceasing to blame Japan for decreasing American competitiveness. It also means that America must fix its educational and health systems, its budget deficit, and the lack of incentive to save and invest. For Japan, accepting responsibility means using its economic power responsibly, reducing its trade surpluses, and devoting a greater proportion of its GNP to international affairs. The commission suggests a long-term goal of 3 percent of the GNP. "Most of that should be dedicated to non-self-defense matters, eco-



**Ideas from these reports, particularly the Carnegie commission's, will provide useful direction to the new administration. Yet some critical assumptions underlying the more or less common goals of spurring international economic growth and containing conflict through multilateral efforts remain unexamined.**

omic aid and debt relief, the UN system (including peacekeeping), refugees, and the global environment."

The report, which was issued in November 1991 and followed more than a dozen more specific papers on aspects of the U.S.-Japan relationship, discusses cooperation in economic and security matters but also in safeguarding the environment, conserving energy, and promoting education and research in science and technology, among other issues. Vehicles for cooperation could include a Pacific Community "aimed at evolving rules and structures to make the Pacific economic regime genuinely open and inclusive;" a Center for Global Energy Efficiency that might be a "one-stop shopping center" for developing countries seeking to become more energy efficient; a joint commission to study ways to achieve sustainable economic growth in the developing world and Eastern Europe; and joint research institutes and projects that would seek solutions to problems in health, the

environment, and lack of technical expertise in developing countries.

Most of the recommendations, however, suggest not new structures but new mindsets. On barriers to trade, the commission remarks, "Rather than offering general criticism of the Japanese *keiretsu* system, the United States should understand the strengths and weaknesses of the system, which has been one of the keys to Japanese industrial success, to see if any of its strengths can be advantageous to our business organizations." On security, "The United States should urge Japan to define regional and global responsibilities and its physical and monetary contribution to them, using Japan's own yardstick of 'comprehensive security,' which covers everything from self-defense to refugees and economic assistance. Americans can, however, cease to press Japan to expand its military." The report provides a useful reminder, just when the U.S.-Japan relationship is tense, that it remains critical to building a new international order.

Ideas from these reports, particularly the Carnegie commission's, will provide useful direction to the new administration. Yet some critical assumptions underlying the more or less common goals of spurring international economic growth and containing conflict through multilateral efforts remain unexamined. The currently popular outlook, as articulated in these policy papers, assumes that worldwide economic growth and increasingly free markets will lead inexorably to democratization, and that democratized nations will prove more peace-loving than their Communist or authoritarian predecessors. In the more peaceable new world, conflicts will be regional, hermetic, and less likely to spread than were the conflicts that arose during the Cold War. One hopes that all these assumptions will prove valid, but they remain to be proven. ■

*Anne Stevenson-Yang is editor of the Foreign Service Journal.*

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# An Impossible Job?

Advice to the  
new secretary of state

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Alexander M. Haig Jr.

**A**s the Democrats prepare to take control of foreign policy for the first time in 12 years, there is good reason to believe that the State Department is headed toward a new era of enhanced influence and prestige.

During the high-stakes competition with the Soviet Union, security issues—and the Pentagon officials best-versed in

BY DAVID CALLAHAN

them—often tended to dominate discussions of the U.S. national interest and its defense. Today this is less the case, as issues like trade, democratization, and the environment increasingly take center stage in foreign policy debates. The end of the Cold War has made the world a vastly more complicated place, and as the need for a renaissance in American diplomacy becomes more obvious, the opportunities for State can only grow.

Perhaps as importantly, there now exists a consensus that the national security adviser should not have a policy advocacy role. In the unhappy past, powerful national security advisers often usurped the influence of secretaries of state and undermined their public position. However, after the policy gridlock of the Carter years and the Iran-Contra scandal of the Reagan years, many observers came to believe that the national security adviser should be a neutral figure confined to brokering policy, not making it. If followed under Clinton, as it was under Bush, this model is likely to become increasingly institutionalized, bettering the prospects for State's long-term domination of foreign policy.

In the years ahead, the new secretary of state will have an unprecedented opportunity for refurbishing both the powers of his department and the status of his office. But the task won't be easy. President Eisenhower once described the position of secretary of state as the "greatest and most important job in the world." While much of that awe still surrounds the government's top cabinet position, it has been tempered by the fact that these days a secretary of state is lucky to survive four or eight years with his reputation intact—if he survives at all. Just holding on to what has been called "the impossible job" will be hard enough. To rise to the opportunity at hand, the new secretary must fight two battles simultaneously: a policy battle to prove that State can indeed be a conceptual leader in shaping a complex new foreign policy agenda that mixes traditional politico-military concerns with economic and environmental issues. And, more familiarly, a bureaucratic battle to keep the president's ear and to maintain State's influence over a wide range of issues.

### Taking turf wars seriously

In theory, the State Department has a mandate to be the principal player on a wide range of matters, from foreign economic policy to military assistance programs to environmental treaty negotiation. But much of this potential influence can be stolen away by other agencies. At its strongest, the State

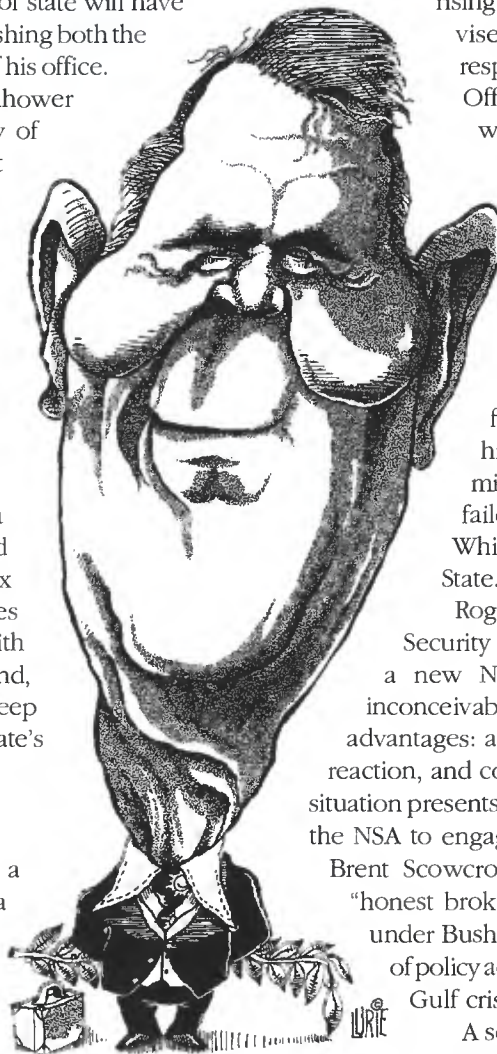
Department can chart the direction of American grand strategy, as it did during the Truman years. At its weakest, it can be reduced to an errand boy. The size of State's slice of the policy pie depends largely on the secretary's infighting and management skills.

A front line in the war for influence is the interagency policy-making process. Even a secretary of state who has steady access to the president can find himself outmaneuvered or overshadowed by rivals in the government. An easygoing secretary like Dean Rusk or Cyrus Vance, who takes the view that "we are all on the same side," may find himself with steadily diminishing influence, as encroachments on State's territory go unrepulsed. To preserve his position a secretary must show early on that he is willing to go to the mat, and resign if necessary, over issues of policy procedure and bureaucratic sovereignty. In the summer of 1983, for example, Secretary of State George Shultz learned that the Pentagon was planning a step-up of military pressure on Nicaragua. Shultz hadn't been informed of the move, which

coincided with a spate of news stories about the rising influence of National Security Adviser William Clark. The secretary's response was to march into the Oval Office and threaten to resign. Faced with the prospect of losing a second secretary of state (Alexander Haig had resigned in 1982) Reagan promised to give Shultz greater authority and better White House access. Over the next five years, Shultz threatened to resign three more times. His brinksmanship yielded results: Shultz avoided over-frequent humiliation and steadily built his influence. During the Nixon Administration, by contrast, William Rogers failed to make an early stand against White House operations that excluded State.

Rogers' tormenter, of course, was National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger. And today a new NSC-State rivalry is by no means inconceivable. The security adviser has two advantages: a small, flexible staff capable of fast-reaction, and constant access to the president. This situation presents an almost irresistible temptation for the NSA to engage in policy entrepreneurship. Even Brent Scowcroft, a well-known advocate of the "honest broker" concept before serving as NSA under Bush, occasionally strayed into the realm of policy advocacy, especially during the Persian Gulf crisis and war.

A secretary of state obviously can't stop the NSA from influencing the president through frequent contact, nor will State



Cyrus R. Vance

ever be as responsive to a president's immediate needs as a staff based in the White House. But a secretary can demand a very circumscribed policy role for the NSC adviser. During the Carter years, the frequent disarray in administration foreign policy stemmed from the ambiguous role of NSA Zbigniew Brzezinski. Although it was initially agreed that Brzezinski would mainly be a coordinator, Carter failed to stop him when he sought to become both a policy advocate and, increasingly, an administration spokesman out of step with the secretary of state. Vance made a grievous error by not strongly objecting to Brzezinski's power grab early on.

The new secretary of state cannot afford to be passive when policy process is being established during the opening phase of the Clinton Administration. He must insist that the security adviser's neutrality is clearly spelled out in guidance documents and that those documents are approved early on by the president. Alexander Haig rightly sniffed trouble when President Reagan failed to sign, in the early days of his administration, a carefully drafted blueprint for how the national security process would be managed. In the policy free-for-all that ensued, Haig and the State Department were frequent losers.

Another sure challenger to a secretary of state's power is the secretary of defense. While the importance of security issues is waning, the world remains a heavily armed place in which many overseas problems have a security component. During the early 1960s, Robert McNamara and his high-powered staff played a dominant role in developing U.S. policy positions on Cuba, Berlin, and Vietnam. Far more than State, it was the Pentagon that shaped the Kennedy Administration's geopolitical stance. One lesson learned on the New Frontier is that if the State Department leaves a conceptual vacuum, the Pentagon will gladly fill it.

This, arguably, is what happened during the Bush Administration. With Baker and his overextended inner circle scrambling to manage one crisis after another, the State Department failed to provide leadership on long-range strategy. Dennis Ross, the head of the Policy Planning Staff, would have been the most likely candidate to spearhead such planning. But Ross spent much of his time circling the globe on diplomatic missions with Baker. And Baker, himself a tactical thinker by nature, did not give a mandate to any other official to develop broad geopolitical goals for U.S. foreign policy.

Instead, it was the Pentagon that often took the lead in



Henry Kissinger

defining America's role in the new era. Paul Wolfowitz, the under secretary of defense for policy and Dick Cheney's chief ideas man, emerged as probably the leading geopolitical thinker in the Bush Administration. It was Wolfowitz's office, for example, that supervised the drafting of the 1992 Defense Planning Guidance, which offered a U.S. grand strategy for the 1990s.

If the new secretary of state is to recapture the initiative on long-range strategy, he must stay focussed on the big picture amid an unending stream of immediate demands and unexpected crises. Dean Acheson is an example of a secretary who deftly succeeded in this juggling act. Acheson served during a period of nonstop action comparable to that of James Baker's tenure. But, unlike Baker, Acheson never neglected strategic planning and actively nurtured the long-term planning work of State Department strategists like George Kennan and Paul Nitze. The new secretary must place conceptual thinkers in important positions and

give a high priority to their work. He must, moreover, insure that his system for long-range planning continues to function in times of crisis.

A final major challenger to State's influence is the Central Intelligence Agency. An energetic director of central intelligence (DCI) can use his position as chief intelligence interpreter to shape the way an administration views the world, thus affecting the intellectual parameters of policy. While less likely in this new era, he can also push for covert operations that have enormous ramifications for U.S. diplomacy. It is no exaggeration to say that DCI William Casey had far more influence over U.S. policy toward some regions of the world during the Reagan years than Haig and Shultz.

A secretary of state can counter such power grabs in two ways: first, as with the security adviser, he can insist on strict procedural limits on the DCI's policy advocacy role. Second, and more importantly, he can adroitly employ the considerable analytical resources he has at his disposal to insure that State does not lose the battle to interpret crucial world trends and events. Of course, this has proved difficult in the past. Henry Kissinger has complained that the State Department has an "allergy to conceptual thought." Expanding on this point, another observer has written that the "analytic caliber of State's papers and reports has been criticized roundly by many inside and outside the building. . . . papers are so cautious and vague as to be of little use to policy-makers who long ago concluded that such

'waffling' constitutes the quintessential character of the 'Fudge Factory at Foggy Bottom.'

There is no easy solution to this problem. Yet unless a secretary can better harness the expertise at State to sound analytic ends, he will always have difficulty capturing and holding the intellectual high ground in debates over U.S. foreign policy.

### Keeping the president's confidence

In Washington, a secretary of state who has lost the president's ear is much like a person with terminal cancer: everybody around him knows that their demise is inevitable and only wonders how much he will suffer in the meantime. In the case of William Rogers, the suffering lasted for years, as President Nixon excluded him from most important foreign policy decisions, which Nixon made in the White House with Kissinger. In the case of Haig, the end came within 18 months of Ronald Reagan's inauguration, when bad chemistry between Haig and the White House produced an early resignation by the secretary of state.

Historically, presidents have been quick to reach the conclusion that the State Department was unresponsive and inflexible. Kennedy and his aides saw State as "a bowl of jelly," incapable of new thinking or quick action. "What the hell is wrong with that department of yours?" Kennedy once asked the diplomat Charles Bohlen. Jimmy Carter reportedly complained near the end of his term that the State Department had not produced a "new idea in 20 years."

Foreign policy is one of the few areas in which a president can act decisively. If State is seen as diluting this power, through its slow reaction time and over-bureaucratization of problems, a president will work around the department—and its head. For a secretary of state, maintaining the president's confidence often has more to do with responsiveness than it does with ideological or personal compatibility. A chief reason that Cyrus Vance lost status in Carter's eyes was because he came to be seen as too much a creature of a cautious State Department. In his memoirs, Carter commented that Vance "mirrored the character of the organization he led," while noting that National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and his staff were "not handicapped by the inertia of a tenured bureaucracy." Under Kennedy, the seeming passivity of Rusk's State Department led the president to turn frequently to the Pentagon for geopolitical advice. Kennedy even got to the point where he was asking the Pentagon's office of International Security Affairs

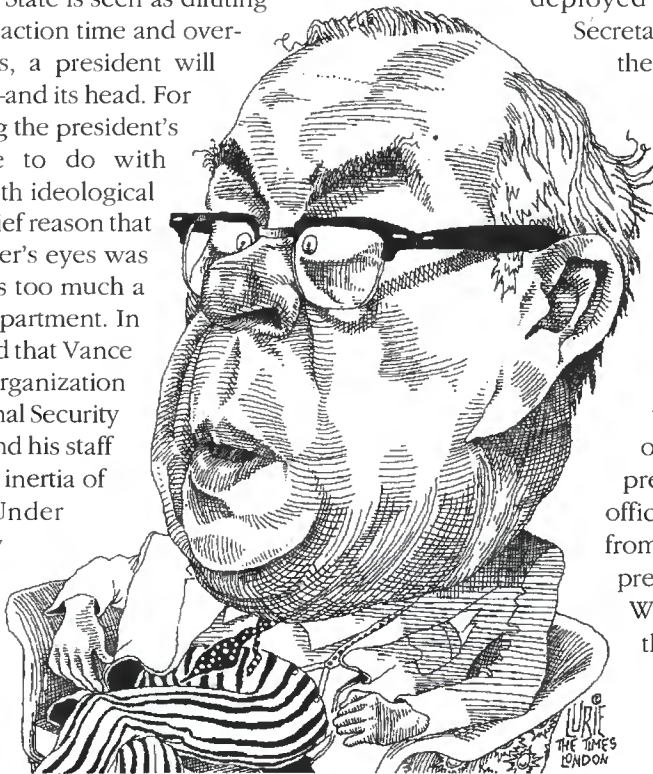
for basic briefing material before overseas trips.

The need to keep up with a fast moving White House or risk irrelevance places a secretary in an impossible position from day one. The secretary's institutional mandate often pulls him out of the presidential orbit. As Henry Kissinger observed, the secretary of state "presides over a vast catalogue of international relationships that are not always reflected on the presidential agenda or in the labors of the National Security Council and many are far from glamorous. . . . Inevitably, he must grapple with many mundane or highly technical subjects. He is forced to champion unpopular causes, such as the annual appropriations for foreign aid. There is always the risk that the secretary of state begins either to bore the president with arcane problems that require urgent presidential decision, or to appear to him like some special pleader."

On a deeper level, a strong belief in State's diplomatic mandate can be perilous for a secretary. A chief aim of diplomacy, of course, is to avoid resorting to force to solve international differences. However, a secretary who doggedly represents this perspective in administration councils runs the risk of looking weak or indecisive in the president's eyes. For example, Vance's insistence that only a negotiated settlement could end the Iranian hostage crisis ultimately cost him his job when Carter opted for a rescue mission in April 1980 and Vance felt compelled to resign on principle. In general, a secretary can find his influence and visibility wane during overseas crises, because he is not in the business of suggesting how military force should be deployed and used. Thus, Defense

Secretary Robert McNamara became the dominant player on Vietnam, eclipsing Rusk. And during the Persian Gulf crisis there was widespread talk of James Baker's diminished influence in the Bush Administration.

In the struggle to be relevant, a major battleground is the president's appointment book. Baker could meet with President Bush anytime he wanted, but such access was often not been available to his predecessors. Before Haig took office, he received a phone call from Richard Nixon. The former president who had so ignored William Rogers suggested to Haig that he should insist on a lot of personal contact with Ronald Reagan. Haig took this advice to heart, but found himself completely isolated from the President. There was no



George P. Shultz

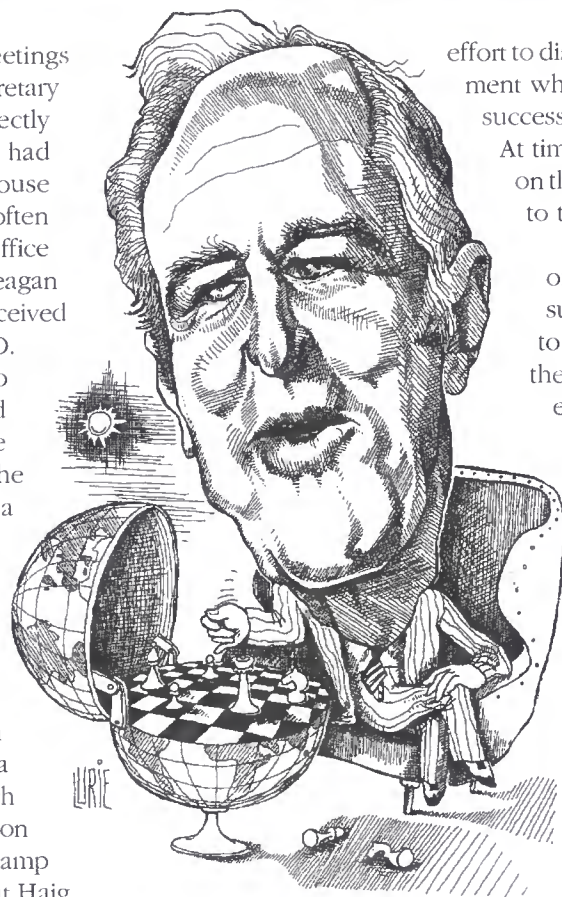
arrangement made for regular meetings between Reagan and Haig. The secretary did not even have a way of directly contacting Reagan. Instead, Haig had to communicate through White House aides like Edwin Meese, who often rejected his requests for Oval Office visits. When Haig wrote a note to Reagan requesting a weekly meeting, he received no reply. Cordell Hull, Franklin D. Roosevelt's secretary of state, also had problems with access, as did William Rogers. A secretary of state need not be good friends with the president to be effective, but if a perception emerges—even if its inaccurate—that he doesn't have the president's ear, the secretary's standing both in the administration and overseas can be greatly damaged.

Kiss-and-tell books by Reagan aides ridiculed Haig as a prima donna who got huffy over such minor points as where he sat on presidential helicopter rides to Camp David. There can be no doubt that Haig had an ego problem. But the sad truth is that where one sits on Air Force One can indeed matter in status conscious Washington.

### Rising above stereotypes

For decades, conventional wisdom has held that a new secretary of state faces only two real options for how to conduct himself. Under the first option, a secretary largely ignores the entrenched bureaucracy and concentrates on serving as a close policy adviser and trouble shooter for the president. Important matters at State, such as policy formulation and interagency coordination, is to be entrusted to political aides of unquestioned loyalty to the secretary. Foreign Service officers are seen as paper pushers and errand boys who lack either the political savvy or analytical skills to succeed in the Washington policy world.

This model was perfected by John Foster Dulles, who cast the State Department adrift and imagined himself as a kind of deputy president for foreign policy. To a less extreme degree, Secretary Baker followed the same approach. "I hope to be the president's man at the State Department, instead of the State Department's man at the White House," Baker said in an early interview, affirming his determination not be "captured" by State's bureaucrats. Baker's heavy reliance on political aides, his general indifference to management matters and his willingness to delegate vast responsibility on mundane issues to his deputy, Lawrence Eagleburger, were all indicative of his



William P. Rogers

effort to distance himself from the State Department while using it as a platform to achieve success on a few key foreign policy issues. At times it seemed that Baker's operation on the seventh floor had little connection to the rest of the department.

In making a case for this model, officials and commentators have suggested that the alternative approach to leading State—what might be called the Dean Rusk model—has invariably emasculated it. Rusk sought to take on the whole menu of responsibilities which fall to a secretary. He tried to keep up with a large percentage of the issues State handled; he took relations with Congress very seriously; he spent a great deal of time holding press conferences to explain U.S. policy; he put enormous energy into managing the department, working closely with bureaucrats at lower levels and taking a personal interest in the future of the Foreign Service. (Rusk proudly recounts in his memoirs how he reorganized State's filing system to save paper and floor space.) He

believed in State's procedures and was loathe to circumvent them.

Yet by most accounts Dean Rusk was one of the weakest secretaries of state in recent history. By doing everything right, by respecting the ways of the institution he lead, Rusk mired himself in a bureaucratic world and was unable to emerge as a creative policy innovator in the Kennedy or Johnson administrations. Vance is said to have committed the same error, although to a lesser degree.

However, despite the allure of the Dulles/Baker alternative, the new secretary of state would be ill-advised to adopt it. In reality, there is no stark choice between abandoning State and succeeding, or embracing State and failing. As George Shultz demonstrated, a secretary can widely tap the resources of the department without becoming a bureaucratic hostage or a policy invalid. Indeed, in the broad scheme of things, a secretary who fails to use all the assets at his disposal and to pay attention to the full gamut of issues in his portfolio insures his limitations as policy innovator and bureaucratic infighter.

To be leader in foreign policy, in other words, the new secretary of state must also be a leader at Foggy Bottom. ■

*David Callabau writes on diplomatic figures and foreign affairs.*

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# O, PIONEERS

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## PROFESSIONALS AT THE OUTPOSTS

**W**hen the Soviet Union splintered into 16 independent republics, it was reasonable to assume that President Bush would turn to the professional Foreign Service for ambassadors to represent the United States in the new countries. After all, dusty Central Asian backwaters like Dushanbe and Bishkek are not the sorts of prestigious diplomatic posts that are coveted by wealthy campaign contributors or other potential political appointees.

"These are real hardship posts, they are pioneering posts," said Alfred L. Atherton, a career diplomat who retired as director general of the Foreign Service. "If you picked a successful business person, this would not look like the glamorous diplomatic life that a lot of them have images of."

George Vest, who also held the director general position prior to his retirement, made much the same point: "You need people who understand the frontier scene, make their own contacts, and boil their own water. This is not the ideal place for political appointees."

So it comes as no surprise that Robert Strauss in Moscow is the only non-career ambassador serving anywhere in the former Soviet Union. Maybe less predictably, there are only professional diplomats running embassies in the other formerly Communist states in Eastern Europe, although these include such graceful capitals as Prague and Budapest.

On the surface, at least, this would seem to be a vivid demonstration of confidence in the Foreign Service. At the start of the post-Communist era, Bush relied upon career Foreign Service officers and resisted the temptation, to which his predecessors had so often succumbed, to send a political crony to an important post.

A senior administration official said Bush frequently turned to the Foreign Service for ambassadors because "with a Foreign Service officer, you know what you are getting and you can anticipate the kind of job he will do." The official, a key foreign policy strategist, added that the quality of political appointees at this writing. "Some of the best ambassadors are political appointees but so are some of the worst," he said.

Worldwide, less than a quarter of all U.S. ambassadors are political appointees at the present time. That is well below the historical average of about 30 percent. As recently as the closing year of the Reagan Administration, non-career ambassadors held more than 35 percent of the posts, causing concern over what was then seen as a politization of the foreign policy process. With a new administration in the White House, it remains to be seen where new ambassadors will come from—the professionals or the politicians.

Beyond those figures, however, lay the reality of the Bush administration State Department, at least until James A. Baker III was summoned to the White House to run Bush's faltering reelection drive. While the percentage of

BY NORMAN KEMPSTER



U.S. Ambassador to Russia Robert Strauss was the shining exception to the career rule. A lawyer, businessman, and Democratic activist, Strauss is, "in his own way, a professional."

WIDEWORLD PHOTOS

Foreign Service officers serving as ambassadors rose, Baker and a tight circle of associates controlled the policy-making process to such an extent that the department's professionals often felt left out.

### **New embassies**

Nevertheless, the concentration of career ambassadors in the formerly Communist East is unmistakable, especially because that region was always at or near the top of Baker's agenda during the years of his personal domination. The 15 new embassies were staffed very rapidly, according to Larry C. Williamson, acting director general of the Foreign Service, and, with the exception of the mission in Kiev, went into cities that had never had permanent American diplomatic representation before. "These posts are still in the organizational phase," Williamson said. "People are living in hotels and in many cases working out of hotels." Political appointees, he said, "would have a difficult time adjusting." He added, "These are going to be very difficult posts to live in for the next few years until we get ourselves established."

"We're at our best when we are out in hardship posts," Williamson said of the Foreign Service. He said Washington "has the best Africa service in the world" because U.S. diplomats adjust well to difficult environments. But he said

it is unlikely that the former Soviet Union will remain the preserve of the professional Foreign Service for very long. "I would assume that the next group will contain some political appointees."

### **Atypical political appointee**

The most important non-career choice in Bush's administration—Strauss in Moscow—was not the typical political appointee. A Democrat in a Republican administration, Strauss had held a series of sensitive posts prior to his selection for Moscow. Vest, who spent much of his long diplomatic career promoting the interests of the Foreign Service, calls Strauss "a perfect choice."

"The old requirement for Sovietology and defense was replaced by a need for knowledge about trade, business, and how to make business and politics work," Vest said. Atherton agreed: "I would call Strauss, in his own way, a professional. He has a lot of experience and he is awfully good at using his career staff. He is a very quick learner."

As a lawyer, businessman, and political activist, Strauss brought to the job skills that are not usually required for diplomacy but, in this case, were extremely important. Certainly few Americans are better versed in the rough and tumble world of free market economics. One wag quipped

that sending Strauss to teach the Russians about capitalism was like sending Bonnie and Clyde to lecture on bank reform.

Strauss has played an important role in the lobbying effort on behalf of the economic-aid package for the republics of the former Soviet Union, which the administration gave the portentous title of Freedom Support Act. As a former Democratic national chairman, Strauss has credentials with the congressional majority that the president and his other aides lack.

"Strauss has spent an inordinate amount of time lobbying the Congress for the Freedom Support Act," said Senator Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), a ranking member of the Foreign Relations Committee. But Lugar said that the importance of the legislation to U.S. foreign policy objectives made the lobbying job one of overriding importance.

### Different strokes

Certainly the U.S. government expects its ambassadors in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union to perform very different jobs today than it expected 10 or even four years ago. Once the ambassador's focus was on managing an adversarial relationship between sworn enemies. Now he must be a mentor to developing democracies and free market economies.

"In Eastern Europe, the test is how well the ambassadors can deal with the American private businesses that will be trying to move into these countries," Lugar said. "Clearly this is the kind of relationship between governments that are at peace. That wasn't true during the Cold War."

A State Department official said the U.S. embassies in the former Soviet republics serve as sources of information for the fledgling governments. "There is no reason why the very small foreign ministries of these countries should have known anything about the incredibly complex arms control agreements to which they are now parties," the official said. "We can help provide that information. One of the functions of an embassy is to assist the countries where we can."

While the ambassador and his staff may have a near monopoly on the arcane details of arms control in some of the new nations, the new embassy has often experienced a severe shortage of other forms of information. The USIS wireless file is available almost everywhere and is appreciated as an important source of information. However, according to a State Department official, "Some posts are feeling very isolated because of a lack of media. Some can get CNN, but some are totally isolated except for shortwave broadcasts from the BBC and the VOA. In the kit we sent to each new embassy, we included a television, a VCR, and two shortwave radios."

It is also incredibly difficult to travel in some of the new countries, either within the republic or to the outside

world. "Dushanbe and Ashkabad are very difficult because Aeroflot is the only airline that goes there," the official said. "And in some of the new capitals, there is no banking infrastructure so everything has to be paid in cash."

Maybe worse yet, the official said, there are no savvy local employees to help out. "At a normal embassy, the Foreign Service nationals are the continuity," the official said. "A new officer can arrive at a post, walk in the door and the Foreign Service national knows what forms to fill

out, what cables to send, the contacts, the whole list of administrative-type things. In these posts, the Foreign Service nationals are just being hired and they have no knowledge of State Department procedures," the official added. "The officers are having to learn from scratch the minutest details, especially in the administrative area, so they can teach [others]."

In selecting ambassadors for the republics of the former Soviet Union, the State Department insisted that all candidates must be fluent in Russian, the language

that czars and commissars imposed on the regions added to a Russian-dominated empire. There may have been no real alternative, because very few Americans speak Kazakh or Uzbek or most of the other local languages. And all top officials in all the new republics do speak Russian, at least as their best second language.

But Paul Goble, a former State Department expert on the Soviet Far East who is now a scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, believes that the administration should have tried harder to find people who speak the local languages, especially Armenian and the languages that are derived from Turkish. Sending Russian speakers, he maintains, shows U.S. acquiescence to a Russian cultural imperialism.

Williamson insists there was no alternative. "We just don't have any depth of Central Asian language officers, either here or in the academic world," he said. "We are having a devil of a time setting up programs to train people who will go in the next *tranche*. We sent people who speak Russian because that is the *lingua franca* of the area. It isn't easy to train people in those languages and it just takes time." But, in spite of the difficulties, at least a few embassy officers already speak the local language in Tajikistan, Moldova, Armenia, and other republics.

### Two worlds

For Ukraine, almost certainly the second most important state evolving from the former Soviet Union, Bush selected an ambassador who does speak the language and seemed to have a foot in both the professional and political world: Roman Popadiuk, a Foreign Service officer, but one with very close ties to the White House. Popadiuk was the chief

(continued on page 29)



**"Popadiuk has seven or eight years of White House experience and close contacts with Brent Scowcroft, and a lot of more senior officers do not have that."**

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## DIFFERENCES IN STYLE

### BRANDON GROVE JR. TALKS ABOUT CAREER VS. NON-CAREER AMBASSADORS

**L**et me talk first about non-career people. . . . Very often these people are successes in what they did before, and they're accustomed to success. . . . This can be a minus and a handicap once they are ambassadors if they go to difficult countries. I think that one of the toughest things for non-career people to understand is that holding the line, in terms of the American/foreign country relationship, can itself be a good outcome, that surviving real stresses and strains can be a reflection of success in a relationship. People who don't know this by being in our profession are often shocked that they can't get more done more quickly and achieve the public recognition they are used to having, for their work as ambassador.

Non-career people are often good with other people. They've got a good sense of public relations. Many of them are extroverted in a positive sense. They have a keen nose for public diplomacy, for dealing with the media. Many of them are smart negotiators, particularly those who have come from the business world. A good sense of how to cut a deal. Many of them are gifted leaders in terms of organization, sophisticated in the kinds of training that they have had and experience they have had in running things—not immediately translatable in every way to running an embassy.

But there is a lot there of managerial experience and sophistication that can be very impressive. They tend also to be problem solvers. Their instinct is to get things resolved and to move on from there, something that doesn't happen that readily in foreign policy, where monstrosities like the Berlin Wall go on for decades, and you learn to live with them. At the same time, such people can lack depth in understanding the foreign policy issues themselves, and are often inexperienced in how the bureaucracy works. I think one of the most notable differences between even the very best non-career and Foreign Service ambassadorial appointees is that the Foreign Service side of the house knows the bureaucratic map, and the political people tend to be increasingly horrified as they understand how our bureaucratic system either does or does not work.

People who come from outside the Foreign Service, on the other hand, often have a very sophisticated understanding of our political system and how it works. . . . To a remarkable extent, such people can quickly empathize with leaders of other countries. They feel that they've shared the same dilemmas, that they have a unique understanding of what political heat is really all about.

#### Unrealistic expectations

On the debit side of the ledger, again, political appointees sometimes come to their jobs with too much enthusiasm about what they can get done, an unrealistic view of the prospects in the relationship, and an insecurity which can be quite translatable to an embassy staff, about their role, about their authority, and about what they should do when they get out of bed in the morning and go to the chancery.

I happen to have served under more political ambassadors than career ambassadors. They need careful handling (and this is where the DCM [deputy chief of mission] comes in), careful understanding in terms of what their sense of goals and objectives is, and an understanding, on the part of the DCM and the embassy staff, of the inevitable adjustment that a non-career person goes through in arriving at an embassy if they haven't had a lot to do with embassies before. That said, non-career people can be a lot of fun at a post, for many of the reasons I mentioned before.

. . . [T]he most intimate relationship at an embassy is between the ambassador and the DCM. It becomes very complicated, potentially at least, if the ambassador is non-career and inexperienced in foreign affairs. [There is a] need for a "psychological contract" between the ambassador and the DCM. It's critical, in the relationship, to the prospects for success of an inexperienced political ambassador or of a veteran Foreign Service officer.

#### Depth of knowledge

Foreign Service people, and I would include in that people who have had extensive experience in foreign affairs in other agencies—USIA, USAID, occasionally the military, occasionally CIA—very often have great depth in languages, areas, and issues in specific context, when it comes to individual countries or regions, and even globally. They have a sense of U.S. purpose worldwide which they have acquired over many years of experience. They are the experts in a very real way more often than not. They are, if they're any good at all, very savvy about bureaucratic politics. They know how the sixth and seventh floors in the State Department work.

Just as important, they understand the interagency process, the legitimate roles of other departments, sometimes the preponderant role in specific issues of departments such as the military, Treasury, Agriculture, for example, but not to the

continued on next page

exclusion of the primacy of the secretary of state in foreign affairs. On occasion foreign affairs issues are the legitimate, preponderant interests of other departments and agencies, something which is clearly understood by good people on the Foreign Service side.

They are experienced in the conduct of diplomacy because, from vice consul on, they have had a number of assignments, probably in different parts of the world. [They are] at home within the foreign culture itself. Not just among other diplomats at a post, and not just with the government, but in that culture. They are, in fact, recognized by everyone in the host country concerned with foreigners as being professional outsiders from the United States. There are subtleties. I think style is important. And there are certain rules that govern this. . . . Those within the Foreign Service, I think, have a concept of service itself, of service to country, which is very strong. It transcends the partisan feelings that each one of us has, is more extended and expansive than the immediate allegiances of political appointees to any given administration, but does not in any sense mean that the Foreign Service person would be less loyal or less dedicated or less supportive.

It's just qualitatively different, this concept of service, because you've lived it all your life. You've lived it through hardships. You've lived it in the sense of developing a long view of the U.S. purpose and of the nature of U.S. representation, the financing of programs, the structure of embassies, the staffing of embassies, the communications between embassies and the department, and the whole world of what that relationship means. All of these things are matters on which we've worked one way or other in our careers.

To refer to a point I made earlier about non-career people, those in the Foreign Service often recognize that strained relations with the host country can be the best you can hope for under the circumstances, and are not so "success driven" as some of their political colleagues can be.

Now there are also, of course, weaknesses that Foreign Service people have and display, and they're not necessarily generic any more than the strengths or weaknesses of political people. . . . These weaknesses can include micro-managing—the ambassador who just can't let go of the details of the operation of an embassy, or the economic section if that person primarily had economic experience, or of the political section if that person is primarily someone who has been a political officer—can't release to the DCM what the DCM needs to have to be the manager of an embassy under the direction of the ambassador. That's a big problem for many of our colleagues.

Sometimes I think Foreign Service people tend to take a smaller view of their responsibilities than they should. By that, for example, I mean that the outreach to the American business community is sometimes astonishingly poor. It is hard for some of us to realize that dealing with American business represen-

tatives, actively promoting American trade and exports, is a central responsibility of an ambassador. It's a new function for some people; they're not as good at it sometimes as they should be.

I also think Foreign Service officers occasionally are media-shy and public relations-shy, too timid in public diplomacy. I don't mean any heavy-handed propagandistic efforts. I do mean utilizing those tools that USIA provides, speaking engagements, a press policy, for maximum effect toward accomplishing U.S. purposes. . . . [W]e could do better in seizing the possibilities, in a media age, for very broad communication with the people of a country about ourselves as people, that modern-day media techniques provide.

Sometimes Foreign Service officers are too much focused not just on Washington but on the Department of state. This is not to denigrate the primacy of the secretary of state, the responsibility of assistant secretaries for conduct of our foreign policy, or their origins within the State Department themselves. It is to say that there are other legitimate players, and that you are the president's ambassador and not the State Department's ambassador.

[An ambassador] is the president's ambassador. And there are times when [the ambassador] will disagree with the State Department, will . . . believe that another agency is closer to the mark in what it is advocating than are the views of the department of State. This is a tough dilemma. Handling that, arguing it, is very delicate. It takes a certain amount of courage, but it's essential to do it. When we fail to provide a broader view about the interagency aspects within an embassy, I think we're letting the team in the State Department down.

On the question of policy, an ambassador is, after all, supposed to reflect the president personally. You are the personal representative of the president of the United States and therefore of the policy views of the president and of the administration. This is as true of Foreign Service ambassadors as it is of political appointees. You serve a president personally, and you take on the character of the administration as you represent our country abroad, at any given moment and under any given president. This can sometimes be difficult for Foreign Service people who, after all, have their own sets of values and political beliefs. It can cause non-career people to be excessive in their zeal, in an ideological way, in representing the United States abroad. . . . But . . . any ambassador is not the Department of State's ambassador but the president's ambassador. ■

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**This excerpt is from *American Ambassadors in a Troubled World, Interviews with Senior Diplomats*, edited by Dayton Mak and Charles Stuart Kennedy, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT., 1992. Copyright © by Dayton Mak and Charles Stuart Kennedy. Order from Greenwood Press at 800-225-5800, ext. 12.**

foreign policy spokesman and media contact for the president and National Security Adviser, Brent Scowcroft. Of Ukrainian extraction, Popadiuk is fluent in Ukrainian.

But this is only Popadiuk's second overseas posting and he was not promoted to the Senior Foreign Service until just before he left for Kiev. To some, he seemed to be a fairly junior officer to be named ambassador to a country with 50 million population and, for the time being at least, a nuclear arsenal. One department official who helped prepare the lists of potential candidates for posting in the former Soviet republics, said Popadiuk may be about one grade below that of most ambassadors. But the official added, "He has seven or eight years of White House experience and close contacts with Brent Scowcroft, and a lot of more senior officers do not have that."

Although Popadiuk is the son of immigrant parents, the appointment produced some controversy in the Ukrainian-American community. His detractors complained that Popadiuk showed little interest in Ukraine or in the Ukrainian-American community until the possibility of an ambassadorship opened up.

Eugene Iwanciw, director of the Washington office of the Ukrainian National Association, rejects such criticism. "I think people are proud that the son of an immigrant, someone born in post-World War II Europe is the first ambassador to the Ukraine," Iwanciw said. "I know the Ukrainian government welcomes him. Early on, there was some disappointment when the appointment was announced only because Evans and Novak had floated the idea of [former National Security Adviser Zbigniew] Brzezinski or [former Senator and White House Chief of Staff] Howard Baker. Some people wanted a big name."

### **The right side of the line**

The purpose of sending an American ambassador to a new republic in the former Soviet Union or elsewhere in Eastern Europe, or any other region is to have him represent U.S. interests, not the interests of the host government. In theory, at least, professionally trained Foreign Service officers are more effective than non-career political appointees in identifying that line and in staying on the right side of it. But it does not always work out that way.

"Clientitis happens to everybody," Atherton said. "Career people are not immune to it; I don't think anybody is." Of all the U.S. ambassadors in Eastern Europe during the collapse of communism, no one went about the job of promoting democracy and free market capitalism with more flamboyance than Robie Marcus Hooker Palmer, envoy to Hungary from June of 1986 until January of 1990.

Palmer, a career Foreign Service officer who ranked among the department's top experts on the Soviet Union,

charmed Hungary's reform Communists while maintaining ties with the Democrats who ultimately gained control. He played tennis with the prime minister, became a regular fixture on Hungarian television and advised both Americans and Hungarians about how to profit from the changing political climate.

When the reformist Communist regime in Budapest started pulling down the fence that for decades had marked the border between Hungary and Austria, the

government mounted snippets of the rusty barbed wire on plaques, which they gave to important visitors like President Bush and sold to others as pieces of "the iron curtain." The idea is widely believed to have been Palmer's.

As the Communist reformers gave way to a democratically elected regime, many saw new business opportunities. Around New Year's day in 1990, Palmer helped to form an investment company, Central European Development Corp., to cash in on what he once referred to as a "gold rush."

He had planned to remain as ambassador for the first half of 1990, leaving sometime in July. But when Baker learned of Palmer's private business plans, he hit the roof. Palmer left Budapest in early winter. Palmer did nothing more than follow his own advice, which was available to all potential American businessmen. Certainly, he was never charged with acting illegally. But there is no question that Baker and his top aides considered the ambassador's activities to be a serious conflict of interest.

There have been only a few non-career ambassadors in the former Soviet Union and its one-time allies in recent years, so it is difficult to compare the performance of the professional ambassadors with that of political appointees. But there is general agreement that the career Foreign Service officers who held the jobs deserve high marks. "Highly professional people ought to be assigned to extremely complex situations," Lugar said. "I think we have been well served by those who were sent to the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."

In the final analysis, every ambassador must be judged on his own skills and on his own achievements. Without question, some of the nation's ablest ambassadors have been political appointees like Ellsworth Bunker, David K.E. Bruce, W. Averell Harriman, and Arthur Burns, to cite only those who have served in this century.

But when choosing ambassadors for the new republics, the decision was clearly made to avoid risks. With trained Foreign Service officers, there are fewer costly blunders. And, so far at least, that's the way it has worked out. ■

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**Norman Kempster is diplomatic correspondent for The Los Angeles Times.**



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**Baker and his top aides considered the ambassador's activities to be a serious conflict of interest.**



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# afsa news

## Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps imminent

*By Ward Thompson  
Retiree Liaison*

Activation of the Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps (FARC) appears imminent, although the Department of State is still wrestling with last-minute technical arrangements and occasional bureaucratic inertia. AFSA continues to work with department officials to identify and overcome obstacles and to make sure that the FARC meets the expectations of those hundreds of State retirees who have volunteered for it.

The FARC was on the agenda for AFSA President Bill Kirby's initial calls on Acting Secretary Eagleburger and new Director General Holmes, both of whom expressed strong support for the Reserve concept. The concept moved closer to reality in October, when State Vice President Joe Melrose met with Office of Retirement and Career Transition Director Walter Lundy, responsible for administration of the FARC. That meeting produced agreement on procedures for hiring reservists, as well as on the need for flexibility in meeting the underlying FARC goal of making retiree expertise available quickly to meet the needs of the department.

Of the nearly 500 retirees who applied for the FARC, about one-third have been retired less than a year and do not need an extensive security clearance process. Their names will go into the FARC register as soon as their files are processed and will form the initial pool with which the FARC will be activated. The remaining applicants are expected to be certified by early

1993. Future Reserve candidates will be processed as their applications come in from newly retiring State Foreign Service and Civil Service employees, currently reemployed annuitants of the department who wish to transfer to the FARC, and other State retirees who were not available for the FARC in the initial application period. Department officials anticipate that eventually the FARC will include most re-employed annuitants, reflecting the advantage of having a centralized, pre-processed pool of reservists available to meet personnel needs.

What about retirees of foreign affairs agencies other than State? AFSA has secured State's willingness to expand the FARC to accommodate other-agency retirees—if the agencies themselves decide to participate in the FARC. We will work with these agencies with the aim of bringing them into the program soon, so that all of our retired foreign affairs colleagues will be eligible to apply for the FARC. Reserve

applicants will be notified by letter when certified and will be taken into the FARC for a four-year period (after which they may apply for a new four-year period). Their names will be registered in a skills bank. The FARC coordination center in the Office of Retirement and Career Transition will provide a monthly listing of the registered Reserve Corps members to the department's bureaus and will respond to bureau requests for names of reservists possessing particular skills. The bureaus will contact reservists directly to make reemployment arrangements for each short-term assignment.

The coordination center will make a note in the register of those reservists who enter into re-employment arrangements, but the files of such reservists will remain active. While there is no guarantee that a reservist will be offered employment, those who are readily available will be most likely to be called.

### AFSA president presents hurricane relief checks



In Miami, AFSA President William Kirby handed over checks totaling more than \$16,000 for distribution to employees affected by Hurricane Andrew at the Miami Passport Office and the State Department Miami Regional Center. AFSA members donated nearly \$24,000 to assist State Department employees and their families affected by the storm. Jamiss Sebert (left), head of the Passport Office and Dianna Ritter (right), director of the Miami Regional Center, which is now located in Ft. Lauderdale, accepted the AFSA donations on behalf of the assisted employees.

# AFSA Governing Board Retreat

By William A. Kirby  
AFSA President

The AFSA Governing Board met October 23-25 for its second annual planning retreat. The commitment of the members of the board to their responsibilities on behalf of AFSA was demonstrated by the fact that 16 of the 19 members devoted a beautiful fall weekend to in-depth discussion of the future of the association. One member was unable to attend because he was getting married the same day.

The Governing Board meets every other week--and the Executive Committee on the odd weeks--to carry out the business of AFSA. The retreat is not just a longer board meeting but rather provides an opportunity to take a broader look at where the association is and where it and the Foreign Service are going.

This seemed particularly relevant this year against the backdrop of con-

tinued phenomenal change around the world, the presidential election campaign, and the imminent publication of studies which could have profound consequences for the Service.

In the most general sense, the board concluded, on the one hand, that AFSA is successfully carrying out its mission both as a union and as a professional organization, but on the other, that this is no time for complacency. There is no reason for radical change, but there are areas for either consolidation or improvement.

As an organization, we can take pride in the continued growth that has resulted in a membership that recently passed 10,000. But we can still do better in convincing specialists and junior officers in particular of the importance of AFSA to them. The Membership Committee is charged with developing ideas for making AFSA more relevant to all members--and especially potential members.

AFSA's union activities will face special challenges in the coming year,

due in large part to our successes. We now have for the first time ever a USAID vice president authorized to devote full time to the concerns of our USAID colleagues. At this time of unprecedented uncertainty about the future of USAID, this is a most important development. In addition, we are cautiously hopeful that we will succeed in becoming the exclusive bargaining agent for Foreign Service employees at USIA. These two developments bring expanded responsibilities in our role as a union, but they also provide the opportunity to upgrade our labor-management resources. This we are doing, and all members of all of our bargaining units should benefit.

Growth has also occurred in our outreach activities, which have as their purpose bringing the message of the Foreign Service to as wide a public as possible. Our new Speakers Bureau has already sent several qualified individuals to the heartland of America and we have an impressive array of requests from all over the country and a long list of willing volunteers. In addition, our Minority Mentoring Program has provided most of last summer's State Department minority interns with mentors, drawn from the ranks of retired Foreign Service personnel living near their schools. The goal is that each of these former interns will one day enter the Foreign Service themselves.

Our outreach programs are not funded by member dues, but rely on contributions. It is necessary for these new activities to put down solid roots and prove themselves successful over time. We are therefore in a period of consolidation as regards our outreach and will be taking the occasion to examine how we can enhance our ability to raise funds to support such programs in the future.

The retreat also spent time talking about specific issues near and dear to members and which you will hear more about as they arise--housing, junior coning, EEO matters, travel regulations, spousal employment and the like. In the meantime, and as always, we need to hear your views. AFSA is your association and should meet your needs.

## *from the State vice president*

### **FSNs give to hurricane fund**

by Joe Melrose

As previously reported, shortly after Hurricane Andrew struck Florida, AFSA established an emergency fund to assist those State Department employees affected by the storm. While the effort has been successful to date, the drive to collect funds continues. AFSA has distributed 27 checks to State Department employees and their families who were severely affected by Hurricane Andrew. Checks disbursed up to this point total over \$18,000.

Donations were received from more than 250 individuals and groups, again demonstrating the generosity and caring that have long been hallmarks of the Foreign Service community. One donation of \$500 deserves special recognition. That check was from the Foreign Service Nationals' Association in Thailand. Often, we and the agencies that we serve forget about the most numerous group of employees in our Foreign Service, the Foreign Service Nationals. The world-wide community of FSNs forms an integral part of the family of State, USAID, and USIA employees. I welcome this opportunity to express our appreciation for their loyal support at this time when their American colleagues are in need.

The need for additional funds continues as AFSA strives to reach every employee who has been gravely affected. AFSA has worked closely with the director general and her staff along with personnel of the bureaus whose employees were affected by the hurricane to identify those most in need. We have sought to move the disbursement process quickly and efficiently. While the total funds received have reached nearly \$24,000, contributions are still welcome. If you have not done so already, please consider giving to the Hurricane Relief Fund.

# *from the USAID vice president*

## **USAID, AFSA, and change**

by *Carey Coulter*

Changes on the international scene in recent years have been dramatic, profound, and heartening. With the removal of the Cold War as the central theme of U.S. foreign policy, new horizons have opened for the advancement of America's positive agenda for constructive change in the world. USAID has been a primary vehicle for advancing that positive agenda. As the world has changed, so have we, with major new emphases on free and open markets, democratization and the environment; important initiatives to assist Eastern Europe and the CIS states in their transition to political democracy and free economic systems; and much more.

The world will continue to change at a rapid pace in coming years. USAID also must continue to change if we are to maximize the contribution that our experienced, highly qualified development professionals can make.

The calls for further change in USAID are now widespread and vigorous. They are internal and external, from both major political parties, from the legislative and executive branches of government, and from interested private-sector individuals and organizations. In some cases these calls for change contain unfair and inaccurate attacks on USAID and its career service. In such cases we will, as Bill McKinney wrote in the November Journal, "be passionate in our own defense." If we are not, who will be? But equally important, we are eager to contribute in a positive way to a constructive process of change.

We in USAID do not fear change. Indeed, change is at the very heart of our business. Do we want a clearer mandate, appropriate to evolving U.S. foreign policy objectives and changing international realities? Unequivocally, yes. Do we want internal procedures and organizational structures better suited to carrying out that mandate? Of

course. The question is not whether change is coming or whether it is desirable—it is both. The question is what form change will take, and how it will be implemented. We believe that USAID's Foreign Service has a valuable—indeed, essential—contribution to make. AFSA's position was summed up in a letter sent by then-USAID vice president Bill McKinney to Patrick J. Leahy, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee Subcommittee on Foreign Operations:

"We note your recommendation to the president that a conference on foreign aid be convened after the elections. . . . If such a conference is held, the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) should be at that table. The political leadership of USAID would have a legitimate and essential role in representing the policy perspective of the administration regarding foreign aid programs. However, they cannot

fully represent the literally tens of thousands of years of collective experience of the USAID career Foreign Service in conceptualization and implementation of development programs. In any attempt to formulate what you describe as 'the best, most cost-effective mechanism for providing our aid,' the voice of USAID's career Foreign Service development assistance practitioners, whom AFSA represents, should be heard.

Contrary to your description of our agency as 'tired, weak, and dispirited,' you will find USAID's career Foreign Service to be vigorous, committed professionals, willing and able to make an important contribution to any deliberations on the future of the U. S. foreign assistance programs. . . . I urge you and your subcommittee to take advantage of the valuable resource which our membership represents."

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**Deadline:** Applications become available in October 1992 and must be completed and returned to AFSA before **February 15, 1993**.

**Contact:** For more information and a 1993-94 AFSA Scholarship Programs application, clip this coupon and mail today to: AFSA Scholarship Department, 2101 E St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. FAX: (202) 338-6820.

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# Members voice housing concerns

By Joe Melrose and Julie Smithline

AFSA's consultations with the department on housing continue. (Housing is not a negotiable issue). Posts will have seen the ALDAC cable detailing our comments that were submitted to State. Additionally, we have received many comments about how the program is faring at individual posts. A high proportion pointed out the inflexibility of the policy. Many comments indicated that cheaper, larger houses were released for smaller, more expensive houses. The department acknowledged the potential for misunderstanding in this area and State cable 269551 was sent to rectify the situation. Since the issue of size in relationship to cost has been addressed, our comments focused on four additional concerns:

- **Insufficient space allocation for singles:** Married couples and singles are allocated the same amount of shipping allowance, but a single employee is expected to live in a house or apartment that is significantly smaller. AFSA urged the department to allow single employees and married couples equal amounts of space.

- **Insufficient space allocation for dependents away from post:** The policy allows one additional room for every two dependents not residing at post for more than 51 percent of the year. This policy presents problems for families with children away from post on educational allowances, especially if the children are of different sexes or have large age differences. Such limited space is inconsistent with the U.S. practice of maintaining a child's room for his/her return over vacation or holidays and could have a negative impact on the child. AFSA requested the department to consider children away at school on either of the post education allowances to be allowed a space allocation equal to children residing at post full-time.

- **Single-parent needs:** The new housing regulation does not address the different room configurations and additional space needed by a single parent. Presently, married couples

and single parents receive the same space allocation. However, a single parent needs additional bedrooms, entertainment, and study areas for children. AFSA believes single parent families should be treated the same as married couples with children in allocating space.

- **Seniority issues:** Seniority, particularly in those specialties with limited upward mobility, does not now affect space allocation. For example, a single senior secretary and a single first-tour secretary are allocated the same amount of space, although they have very different responsibilities and needs. AFSA recommends that additional space be allocated to employees with 12 or more years of service.

The housing program is an example of an issue in which the AFSA chapter at post can play an important role in assisting and determining how local issues are handled. Post-specific issues regarding the implementation of the A-171 program should be addressed at post, at least initially. These might include whether or not to request a housing exception based on significant representational activities. The housing pool should be a positive means of handling a very difficult situation, but much depends on the implementation.

In the future we intend to provide a package of information on how post chapters can better fulfill their overall labor management role at individual posts.

# Dues Increase

AFSA last raised dues in 1989. Not surprisingly, costs for personnel and operations have increased over this period. While inflation is partially responsible for this increase, there has been a small increase in staff. This staff increase enables us to pursue a more aggressive and active posture vis-a-vis Congress and to upgrade our labor management efforts. The number of grievance cases also continues to grow, and for the first time, we now have a full-time USAID vice president.

Frequently we are asked about the relationship between outreach and other professional programs to dues. Such programs are virtually self-supporting. Our financial position is currently sound, and a modest dues increase will ensure that it remains so and also will allow us to take initiatives in the labor-management area.

To meet new goals and to continue the work AFSA has done on behalf of its Foreign Service constituents, the Governing Board has approved a slight increase in 1993 membership dues. This increase is in accordance with the bylaws, which allow a dues increase of not more than the cumulated increase in the CPI since the last increase. Dues have **not** been raised to the maximum amount allowed. The Board has also designed a more equitable dues structure, with smaller increases for the lower ranks. Increases range from 6.25 to 13.9 percent.

## New membership dues beginning January 1, 1993

| Grade                      | Dues  | Bi-weekly allotment |
|----------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| FE-CA, FE-CM, FE-MC, FE-OC | \$188 | \$7.25              |
| FS-1, FS-2, FS-3           | \$165 | \$6.35              |
| FS-4, FS-5, FS-6           | \$125 | \$4.80              |
| FS-7, FS-8, FS-9           | \$85  | \$3.25              |
| <b>Retired members</b>     |       |                     |
| Annuity over \$35k         | \$62  |                     |
| Annuity between \$25k-35k  | \$55  |                     |
| Annuity under \$25k        | \$45  |                     |

A new category of **Life Membership** has been established exclusively for retirees. Those retirees who wish to become Life Members may do so for a one time payment of \$1,000. (Active members who choose Life Membership will continue to pay \$1,500.)

Annual dues for **Associate Members**, currently \$45, will be \$50.

**For active members who are paying dues by payroll deduction, the increase will be implemented in the first pay period of the year.**

# Targeting R&D for competitive advantage

by John J. Harter

*The president of the United States should, this coming January, put forth a series of interrelated proposals designed to encourage the American people to invest more resources in re-*

*search and development as a critical means of sharpening the overall competitiveness of the American economy; but more important than the amount of money so deployed is its focus.*

This theme resonated at an October 6 AFSA symposium on R&D. The keynote speaker, Dr. D. Allan Bromley, director of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy, told the conference the United States is on the verge of a golden age of discovery in science and technology. R&D in-

vestments don't always pay off in the immediate future, he noted, but they "do establish a foundation . . . They are at the cutting edge of economic competitiveness."

Dr. Roger Porter, assistant to President Bush for economic and domestic policy, suggested that "the technological frontier" will exercise the same force in shaping the future of America that the Western frontier did in determining the American spirit. He noted that we live in "an increasingly integrated global economy. . . [in which] the rapid diffusion of ideas, processes, and innovations now dominates the international economy."

Other key points stressed by conference panelists included the following:

- The emphasis of public policy is turning from a geopolitical to a geoeconomic focus, from ideology to reality, from process to outcomes. The United States must be concerned about where the most advanced production will take place in the world and our part in it;
- Extraordinary resources have supported military R&D. Comparable government allocations must now be directed to commercially useful activities in the civilian sector;
- The most important influence on our international competitiveness is not the government's technology policy but the overall economic environ-

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## newsbriefs

**Review of Skill Code Change Regulations.** The department has proposed changes to the regulations governing Skill Codes and Occupational Categories (3 FAM 150). AFSA is reviewing these changes and expects to begin negotiations shortly. One major change which AFSA applauds is the creation of a procedure that allows specialist personnel who have demonstrated their abilities in a skill group other than their primary one to redirect their career path by changing to a new specialist group. These regulations appear to have flexibility by allowing the director general, under exceptional circumstances, to designate additional personnel functional skill areas for conversion in areas that are not specifically in deficit. AFSA will provide updated information on these changes as negotiations progress.

**Changes in Packing and Shipping Procedures.** Effective November 1, the department has begun assigning and scheduling packing and storage contractors to individuals. The department has also begun a pilot program using the international through bill of lading (ITGBL) to a limited number of posts. Under the pilot program 50 percent of the shipments to these posts will be sent via the international through bill of lading, while the remainder are sent under the current system. AFSA provided input to a Department Notice concerning this program and will shortly be contacting the AFSA Representatives at those posts slated for the pilot program. We will be asking post representatives to have all new arrivals fill out a questionnaire on their experiences with either procedure.

**"Weingarten Rights" Reminder.** Foreign Service employees within AFSA's bargaining units are reminded of their right to have an AFSA representative present during interviews conducted by the inspector general or diplomatic security officers, if they believe the interview will result in disciplinary action. Your "Weingarten" right is available when you are the "target" of the investigation or when you have merely been contacted as a "witness" (subject to the condition that you believe you may be disciplined). Because Foreign Service agencies only announce your right to union representation annually, you will not be reminded of this right during the course of an IG or DS interview. It is incumbent upon you to request union representation, preferably prior to the interview. AFSA's attorneys, Colleen Fallon and Sharon Papp (647-8160), are available to assist you.

**Voluntary Contributions Update.** AFSA has been investigating legislation which could reinstate voluntary contributions to the Foreign Service retirement system. AFSA State Vice President Joe Melrose and AFSA Staff Attorney Colleen Fallon recently met with a member of Senator Robb's staff to explain our proposals. At this time prospects look favorable for the senator to introduce appropriate legislation in the next Congress.

### Sustain the Tradition of Excellence

Remember to nominate outstanding colleagues for the annual AFSA awards. Awards are conferred on a senior officer, a mid-level officer, a junior officer, and a Foreign Service secretary or group of secretaries. A Foreign Service family member is honored for volunteer service, and a number of awards are given for achievement in the study of hard languages.

The deadline for nominations is January 31, 1993. Details are in the November issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* and in a letter mailed to all active duty AFSA members. Questions? Contact Richard Thompson, 2101 E Street NW, DC 20037, tel: 202-338-4045, FAX: 202-338-6820.

ment in which our businesses operate. As long as the political system treats corporations as all powerful, we perpetuate a climate that is non-conducive to capital investment--and it is capital investment that creates jobs and increases the tax revenue base; and

- Our greatest technological asset is not the technology we create, but the people who innovate--the scientists and the engineers who work for the corporations and the government.

Panelists at the symposium included senior R&D executives at AT&T, Air Products and Chemicals, General Motors, Gillette, IBM, Merck, the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, Thermo Electron, and 3M, corporations that also contributed financial resources to help pay for the conference. (Allied Signal, Chevron, Ford, General Dynamics, ITT, Intel, and Pfizer also provided financial grants to support the conference.)

This was the 15th of a series of AFSA conferences initiated in 1989 to foster improved dialogue and better understanding between the Foreign Service and U.S. corporation executives.

AFSA will publish a "Highlights Report" on the conference in January. Any AFSA member wishing a copy should contact AFSA headquarters.

### Scholarships available

The following schools offer scholarships to dependents of Foreign Service personnel. For more information contact the AFSA Scholarship Office, 2101 E St. N.W., Washington D.C. 20037 FAX (202) 338-6820.

#### Secondary Schools

The American School in Switzerland (TASIS) and TASIS England; Castilleja School; Dana Hall School; The Foxcroft School; Grier School; Miss Hall's School; Middlesex School; The New Hampton School; Northfield/Mt. Herman School; The Phelps School; Phillips Academy; St. Albans School; St. Andrews School; Vermont Academy; Wykeham Rise.

#### Colleges

Dartmouth College; Vassar College; Yale University.

## AFSA Views

*continued from page 2*

To be faithful to the past and responsible vis-a-vis the future, it is in our highest national, long-term interest: first, to remain the flagship for democracy and market forces around the world by actively supporting political and economic reforms; second, to invest our moral authority and national strength to promote global prosperity while building multilateral coalitions to counter global threats.

U.S. leadership and national commitment in building a global anti-Communist coalition were vital to success in ending the Cold War. That commitment is no less urgently required in the post-Cold War world. The goals of peace, justice, stability, and sustainable economic progress in a healthy global environment, have universal application and are inseparable.

We understand the temptation of reverting to a simpler era of isolation and single-minded concentration on domestic affairs. To succumb to such a siren song at this critical time of testing, however, would demoralize and discourage the forces of freedom and economic reform that we have steadfastly supported and nurtured.

In brief, we consider continued U.S. leadership an essential, critical force in deciding which principles and values will prevail. In sustaining this U.S. leadership role, the Foreign Service has the capacity to provide informed policy counsel and professional implementation.

- \* First, we can spearhead the use of diplomacy's full potential in promoting U.S. economic interests and building the multilateral coalitions that are indispensable in addressing the critical issues of our time.

- \* Second, we can invigorate U.S. public diplomacy and consolidate support for democratic and free market reforms through programs of educational and cultural exchange.

- \* Third, we can implement economic development and humanitarian programs that are the indispensable basis for peace and stability by helping to reduce the gross disparities between peoples of the developing and developed world.

## Strengthening the Foreign Service

The structure, management and staffing of foreign affairs agencies must be comprehensively reexamined if we are to realize the full potential and promise of diplomacy in promoting prosperity, stability, and peaceful change. Greater efficiency, flexibility, and creativity are fundamental watchwords in seizing the opportunities of the post-Cold War era.

Specifically, as a first step, we urge an across-the-board management reorientation to decentralize authority, resources, and responsibility from central headquarters to action officers abroad. This will entail a reversal of the growing tendency to micromanage field operations which diverts resources and energies from programs to costly, unproductive, and unessential paperwork.

Examples of intrusive micromanagement include current efforts to prescribe Foreign Service housing and travel norms. The proposed regulations are rigid and nonuser-friendly; if approved, they would result in heavy additional administrative costs at the expense of program effectiveness overseas.

Second, training and recruitment must match service needs and personnel resources. The selection of career candidates should reflect the needed generalist skill codes with adjustments coming through the mid-level entry program and transfers among "cones." Specialists should have a viable career pattern in each speciality as well as opportunities for upward mobility and skill-code transfers for all specialists.

Third, as a matter of priority, entering officers should be actively recruited to reflect our country's diversity--ethnic, racial, and social.

In summary, the central focus of the personnel policies of foreign affairs agencies must henceforth be geared to achieve greater adaptability, flexibility, and efficiency. The objective is to meet the imperatives of changing service needs without endangering the principles of the career service.

*The above remarks are excerpted from an AFSA policy paper.*

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# Sorry, THE AMBASSADOR'S ON HOLD

**F**or 22 would-be ambassadors and other aspirants to high diplomatic office, 1992 was a heady period, at least for a while. Their nominations by President Bush had sent their hopes soaring, and the last hurdle in their way was Senate confirmation. But the only thing the Senate confirmed before adjourning in October was the suspicion of many of the 22 that the system for approving diplomatic appointees is in acute need of overhaul.

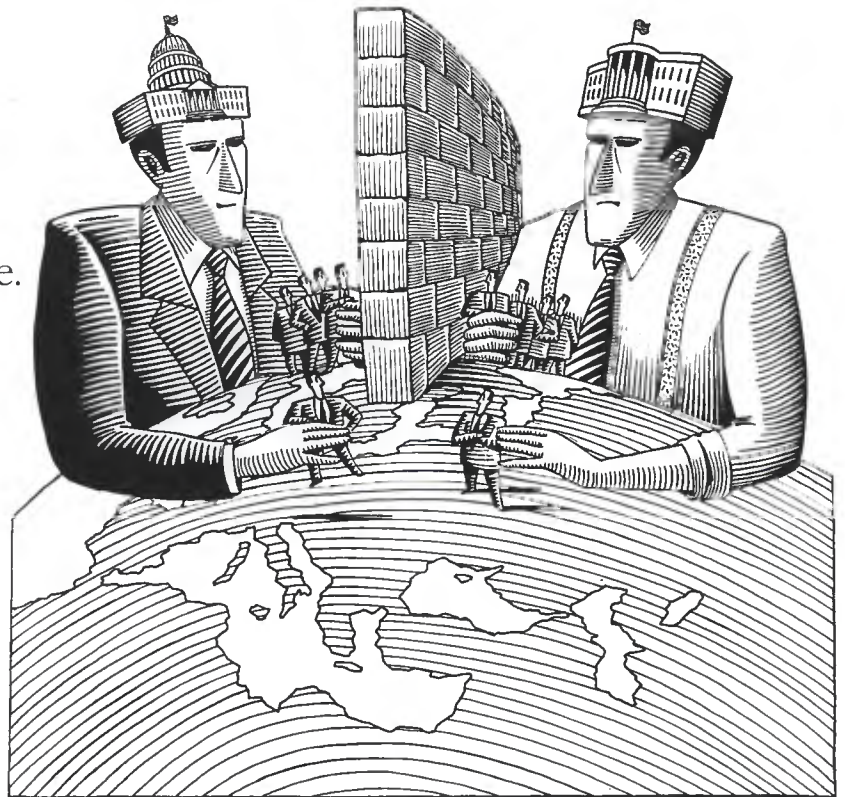


ILLUSTRATION BY DAVID CHEN

BY GEORGE GEDDA

It is a system that enables an individual senator to block nominees on the basis of whim; it matters not what the other 99 may think. And life for nominees—as some of these 22 learned—is even more harrowing and unpredictable in an election year than it is in off years. Also conspiring against early confirmation is the discouragingly long time it takes for background checks and other paperwork to be performed. In some cases, there simply was not enough time to take care of these details before the Senate adjourned.

As the clock ticked toward adjournment in the wee hours of October 9, there were efforts to give the green light to many of the 26 pending nominees, but only four squeezed through—John Monjo to Pakistan, Bill Rugh to the United Arab Emirates, David Dunford to Oman, and Edward Walker to the United Nations as deputy U.S. representative. The rest—17 career diplomats and five political appointees—came up empty-handed.

Of the 22, all but five were slated to be ambassadors to foreign countries. The rest were assigned to various posts that carry the title of ambassador and require Senate confirmation. The best they could aspire to after Senate adjournment was a recess appointment, a device by which the nominee takes up his duties without confirmation with the understanding that he would have to undergo Senate scrutiny within a year. Alternately, the posts will remain vacant until President-elect Clinton gets around to filling them—with Senate consent, of course.

### Consent by consensus

The degree to which Senate Foreign Relations Committee members operate on the basis of consensus rather than majority rule was evident throughout the year, especially during the final days of the Congress. For example, there

was broad agreement among senators that John F. Bookout, a friend of Bush's and a former CEO of Shell Oil Co., should be approved as ambassador to Saudi Arabia. But Senator Harris Wofford, (D-PA), believed it would be a mistake to confirm political appointees just before a presidential election arguing that a new president would want his own choices. Senate luminaries such as Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX), and J. Bennett Johnston (D-LA), both chairmen of key committees, implored Wofford to back down, but he stood his ground. The Bookout nomination fell by the wayside.

Another issue centered on what to do about nominees who had not had a committee hearing, as was the case with several proposed for Latin American posts. Jesse Helms (R-NC), and Christopher Dodd (D-CT), come from opposite sides of the political spectrum, but during the final days of the session they agreed not to stand in the way of such nominees to which neither had an objection.

But Paul Sarbanes (D-MD), felt strongly that no nominee should be approved without having appeared before the committee. Sarbanes's objection was enough to thwart those on the Helms-Dodd list. There was a separate list of appointees for posts outside Latin America on which Helms and committee Chairman Claiborne Pell (D-RI), were able to agree. But Sarbanes again prevailed with his no hearing-no confirmation stand.

### Canceled hearings

Various nominees might have been approved much earlier in the year, but Helms underwent heart surgery in June and asked that no action be taken on any of them during his convalescence. By August, the signs were somewhat more hopeful. A hearing was scheduled for the early part of the month, and the appointees, some with

## NOMINATIONS UNCONFIRMED BY THE SENATE

|                         |  |                           |   |
|-------------------------|--|---------------------------|---|
| Alvin Adams .....       | Peru   | Marilyn McAfee .....      | Guatemala   |
| John F. Bookout .....   | Saudi Arabia   | William T. Pryce .....    | Honduras  |
| Parker Borg .....       | Burma  | Nicolas Salgo .....       | Sweden  |
| Eric Boswell .....      | Director of Foreign Missions                                   | Steven Steiner .....      | START Joint Compliance and<br>Inspection Commission |
| James P. Covey .....    | Assistant Secretary for South Asian<br>Affairs                 | William G. Walker .....   | Argentina   |
| Lois Evans .....        | U.S. Representative to the U.N.<br>Economic and Social Council | Alexander M. Watson ..... | Brazil  |
| Harry J. Gilmore .....  | Armenia  | Allan Wendt .....         | Slovenia  |
| Victor Jackovich .....  | Bosnia   |                           |   |
| Mark Johnson .....      | Senegal  |                           |   |
| Michael Kozak .....     | El Salvador  |                           |   |
| Roland K. Kuchel .....  | Haiti  |                           |   |
| Mara M. Letica .....    | Croatia  |                           |   |
| Walter S. Light .....   | Ecuador  |                           |   |
| John J. Maresca .....   | Cyprus Coordinator   |                           |   |
| Marshall McCallie ..... | Namibia  |                           |   |

The nomination of Joe Sullivan as ambassador to Nicaragua was withdrawn by the White House shortly before Senate adjournment on Oct. 9.

Evans, Letica, Light, Salgo and Bookout are non-career appointees.

Source: Bureau of Legislative Affairs, Department of State

family members who had flown in from distant points, converged on the hearing room. The water was poured and everything seemed in order. But the session was canceled minutes before it was to begin. Senator Larry Pressler, (R-SD), irritated with the administration on an issue unrelated to committee business, struck back by bringing the confirmation process to a dead halt. The disappointment among the nominees was palpable.



They had seemed just days away from being sworn in. Instead they found themselves swearing at a system that allows a single senator so much power. For senators like Pressler from small states, sometimes the only way to get the attention of the administration is to sabotage the confirmation process. Pressler presumably thought there was nothing to prevent the hearing from being rescheduled. And, indeed, the committee took another crack at holding a hearing on September 25. Surely the nominees would have better luck this time. It was not to be. Once again, the hearing was canceled on short notice. Just who was responsible and what his (or their) motives were has not been fully explained. Efforts to try yet again to hold a hearing before adjournment were unsuccessful because, officials said, committee members argued there was not enough time.

### Roller coaster ride

It is difficult to exaggerate how much frustration these months-long delays have caused for the nominees. "You become a clock-watcher," said one. "I've had trouble keeping busy. There's basically nothing to do. It gets to be human torture." He said he felt compelled to keep as low a profile as possible while awaiting confirmation. To get involved in something controversial during the waiting period, he said, carries the risk of alienating a Senate committee member. In a system which operates on the basis of unanimous consent, that could prove fatal.

"I've been on an emotional roller coaster," another nominee said. "The final results are excruciatingly disappointing and in many cases truly outrageous. I have great disillusionment with the system."

The most vulnerable nominees are those with school-age children. One such example is Parker Borg, nominated ambassador to Burma. Acquaintances said Borg paid the non-refundable tuition fee in the spring for his children to attend a Washington-area private school in the fall. In effect, Borg was betting that his nomination would not be approved. He was right.

He nonetheless spent countless hours studying Burmese without any assurance that he'd ever see the country. Once again, the problem was not widespread Senate opposition, only that of a single senator, Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY). Moynihan believes the United States should signal its displeasure with Burma's repressive regime by not sending

an ambassador to Rangoon and by downsizing the embassy staff. The administration seems to agree with much of what Moynihan says but believes such decisions should be left to the president or the secretary of state. As one official put it, "Larry Eagleburger argues that he's not going to have senators and House members tell him how big embassies should be."

Another nominee left unconfirmed was William G. Walker, who was scheduled to go to Ar-

gentina, where career diplomat Terence Todman, a Virgin Islands native, has served since 1989. Some department officials were bemused by a letter-writing campaign waged on Todman's behalf by members of the congressional Black Caucus and by Ron de Lugo, the elected representative of the Virgin Islands to Congress. The letters expressed concern that Bush had not nominated Todman to a new assignment. But as the officials see it, Todman should be thinking about retirement, however ably he may have performed in Buenos Aires. They believe that a man of 66 who has been ambassador six times should be making room for deserving younger officers. Some officials believe the campaign was aimed at allowing Todman to stay on in Buenos Aires at Walker's expense. But Walker's inability to get confirmed seemed to be related more to the vagaries of the Senate processes than to the labors of Todman's congressional allies. For his part, Todman, a former assistant secretary of state, insists he had nothing to do with the campaign.

### Missing ambassadors

U.S. diplomats have trouble convincing foreign governments why the new U.S. ambassador they had been promised has not turned up. Many governments refuse to believe the claims of U.S. officials that the Senate system is to blame and often look for other explanations. Some think the United States is showing displeasure with them by keeping the ambassador's office vacant. In this kind of circumstance, Machiavellian theories abound.

Officials always speak warmly about those who fill in for absent ambassadors. But, unlike ambassadors, *chargés d'affaires* are not the personal representatives of the president and lack the clout and the access with foreign governments that accredited ambassadors have.

The administration, in most cases, is more than eager to have an ambassador on the scene. It certainly has wanted ambassador-designate Victor Jackovich to be in Bosnia to monitor the warfare and the humanitarian relief effort. The administration has been anxious to have Roland Kuchel in Haiti during the political trials of that country. The same holds true for Peru, to which Alvin Adams is due to go. And because of the stalemate in the Senate, Harry Gilmore has been unable to go to Armenia, the only republic of the former Soviet Union not to have a U.S. ambassador.

Both El Salvador and Nicaragua have not had a U.S. ambassador since February. The administration believes that having one in each country could make a difference as they struggle to consolidate their respective democratic systems.

The most bitterly contested nominations were those of Joe Sullivan, slated to go to Nicaragua; and Mike Kozak, to El Salvador. Sullivan is a career diplomat who spent three years as deputy assistant secretary responsible for Central America. Kozak is a civil servant who spent most of the Bush years as the No. 2 official in the Latin America bureau. Kozak is perhaps best known for his abortive effort in early 1988 to induce General Manuel Antonio Noriega to agree to surrender power peacefully in Panama.

At issue in the confirmation struggle of Sullivan and Kozak was a covert administration program to encourage Miami-based Nicaraguan opposition leaders to return to Managua in 1989. It was a time when, under pressure from the United States and Latin American countries, the Sandinista government was opening up the political process. The administration reasoned that the Nicaraguan opposition belonged in Nicaragua, not Miami, and a program to resettle opposition leaders back home was approved.

But disgruntled former Contras alleged that the program was actually used illegally to promote Violeta Chamorro as the candidate to face Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega in the February 1990 elections. Ignoring an inspector general's report exonerating Sullivan and Kozak from any wrongdoing, Helms and Dodd insisted U.S. funds were indeed used

illegally and blamed Sullivan and Kozak. When Bush nominated the two as ambassadors, Helms and Dodd blocked their confirmation.

Among some State Department officials, the action left embittered feelings, which were aggravated when the two senators refused to allow the nominees to defend themselves before the committee. Sullivan and Kozak have not been able to go public with their case because that would entail uncovering a covert operation, a precedent the administration has been unwilling to set.

In late September, less than two weeks before Senate adjournment, a notice appeared in the Federal Register formally announcing the withdrawal of Sullivan's nomination. The announcement caused surprise at the State Department. Officials there had decided that Sullivan's nomination was not salvageable, but formal withdrawal was supposed to come later. The announcement in the *Congressional Record* was described as the result of a misunderstanding between the White House and State Department officials. The one bright spot for Sullivan in an otherwise frustrating year was his receipt of the presidential distinguished service award, worth \$20,000.

As for Kozak, he was one of the 22 who fell through the cracks of the Senate confirmation process. He and the others can only hope that they will have another chance in 1993. ■

*George Gedda is a diplomatic correspondent for the Associated Press.*

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During its years under Soviet domination Mongolia became an extension of the Soviet Union—its life and society were totally dominated by the USSR Events in the

USSR from Stalin's purges of the 1930s to the first glimmerings of *perestroika* were mirrored in Mongolian society. Its knowledge of the West was through the distorted prism of Moscow. A classic colonial society, Mongolia fed raw materials to the Soviet economy and received finished products in return. Everything—from window glass to peak-use electricity—was imported.

In the summer of 1990, Mongolia had many advantages as it faced a transition to a democratic society: a relatively simple economy with a strong animal husbandry foundation, an extremely well-educated population—the literacy rate is in excess of 90 percent, and a tremendous, essentially untapped natural resource base to sustain long-term development.

## **Soviet ties broken**

But on January 1, 1991 an economic barrier suddenly came down between Mongolia and the Soviet Union, tearing apart their unified economy. Suddenly, Mongolia had to use hard currency to pay for Soviet imports. Soviet aid, which had averaged 30 percent of GNP annually

**BY JOSEPH LAKE**

during the last 30 years, came to an end. The international donor community came forward to support Mongolia in its transition to a free-market economy. However, no one anticipated the collapse of the Soviet economy and eventually the Soviet Union itself. The



**Picnic at 20 below**—Left to right are embassy families Sharon Senko, Dita Senko, Sally Nist, Mike Senko, Ted Nist and the Nist's dog, Shannon.

ripple effects of these dramatic changes were particularly acute in Mongolia—a country where more than 90 percent of its foreign trade was with the Soviet Union.

Last year foreign trade fell 40 percent and continues a downward spiral this year. Unemployment is likely to rise to over 10 percent by the end of the year. Inflation, which was more than 100 percent last year, is running at approximately 12 percent a month this year. With the winter approaching, Mongolia's power stations and coal mines are teetering on the brink of disaster. In January, when the temperature is minus 40 degrees, the power system could fail leaving an estimated 200,000 people without any source of heat.

Today, Mongolia faces a crisis that threatens to destroy the infrastructure it has created, and its efforts to firmly establish democracy and a free market economy are trapped in a crisis brought on by the economic and political collapse of the Soviet Union.

### Embassy pioneers

In January 1987, the United States recognized Mongolia. And in the spring of 1988, Steve Mann and Toria Nuland were the Foreign Service pioneers who arrived to open Embassy Ulaanbaatar. Symbolic of Mongolia's modern history and prophetic of future problems, the first telex sent to the new U.S. embassy was delivered to the Embassy of the USSR—the post office had never heard of the Americans!

As planned, Mann and Nuland departed that fall after Dick Williams, our first, non-resident ambassador, presented his credentials. Mike Senko and Ted Nist reopened the embassy on a full-time basis in the summer of 1989. They and their families, including the Senko children aged 2 and 16, had the distinction of being the first Americans in recent

history to winter in Ulaanbaatar. Among their winter activities were Sunday picnics in sub-zero cold.

During the 1989-90 revolution, demonstrations in sub-zero weather challenged the demonstrators, as well as those reporting on the demonstrations.

Many Foreign Service officers have witnessed dramatic turns in history—but few have spent so many chilly hours doing it. An unreliable telex connection through Moscow continued as the only channel of communication. A Cyrillic keyboard on the telex machine added to the challenge of drafting an English-language message as desired by the Department of State.

There was no ambassadorial office, apartment, or furniture before my arrival in July 1990. Fortunately, someone vacated a fifth floor walkup in the same building as the embassy, and the Nists moved upstairs from their second-floor apartment, providing office space for the new ambassador in the living room and a communications office in the kitchen. A temporary-duty apartment next door became the "residence." Japanese furniture discards provided a dining room table and a desk for the new ambassador. There was one minor problem with the dining room table—the extended leaves fell off the end of the table—encouraging small representational events.

The furniture problem was solved when Embassy Beijing donated one apartment of furniture for the ambassador in Ulaanbaatar. However, unloading the furniture from the train and bringing it to the apartment was another challenge. The driver of the only forklift available had gone on vacation and taken the keys with him. Ultimately my wife went to the rail yards, climbed into the box car, and personally supervised the unloading of lift vans. Tools were one of many things the embassy did not have—I put the furniture together using a screwdriver and pliers from one of the two embassy vehicles.



**First American embassy building in Ulaanbaatar.**

### Expanded embassy

Even though the expanded

embassy now occupied two apartments, space was still at a premium: the copying machine was kept on a board on the bathtub, the telex, which now had an English-language keyboard, was housed in the closet. However, my favorite space story concerned the interview I did for an American television team. It proved extremely difficult to fit the camera, the interviewer, and myself in the small office. Finally, the camera remained in the doorway. After the interview, the cameraman commented that he had never before filmed an interview in a closet.

The two weeks after my arrival were hectic: the embassy provided an observer team for the first democratic elections in Mongolian history and prepared for the secretary of State's visit to Ulaanbaatar. With the elections—a giant step toward democracy—and Secretary Baker's visit, the U.S.-Mongolian relationship changed dramatically. Over the next year, U.S. foreign assistance to Mongolia grew from zero to over \$20 million. As the relationship exploded, our tiny embassy of three people was swamped with a flood of visitors from almost every agency in the foreign affairs community. One week the permanent staff was outnumbered seven to one by temporary-duty personnel.

At the time of my arrival, the new building selected for the location of our embassy was under construction. To a cynical Foreign Service officer who had served in the Communist bloc before, this building looked like a poor hope for the future. As a matter of fact, the building is still under construction as of October 1992. I immediately began a search for a different site. After extensive and frustrating efforts, I finally went to President Ochirbat and said that if we could not find an embassy site, we could not do our job. That afternoon we were offered the building an Foreign Building Operation's team had turned down three years earlier. They were probably right, but it was the



**Ambassador Lake serves mutton as Administrative Staff Director Luvsanjav looks on.**

best in town.

We wintered in the old embassy. There was plenty of space in our tiny offices that winter—it's remarkable how few visitors you have when it is minus 40 degrees. My winter was relieved when I accompanied President Ochirbat on an official working visit to Washington—the first by a senior Mongolian official.

The visit was a tremendous success from the perspective of U.S. goals and Mongolian interests. However, it did have its lighter moments. I suspect it was the first visit to the Blair House by

a group that did not eat vegetables or fish—presenting a unique culinary challenge for the staff.

Winter was far from over when I returned to Ulaanbaatar. We moved into our new building on April Fools Day in 1991. While it did provide more space for our growing staff and visitors, we faced new problems. I missed the 50 degree office temperatures—in my new office the temperature was frequently in the 40s. But snows stopped as usual in May, and the summer brought us some welcome relief.

### **Improvise or do without**

In Ulaanbaatar, everything we need—from fresh fruit and vegetables to nails and paper is brought in from Beijing. When one of our vehicles was involved in an accident, there were no spare parts to repair the grill or frame. However, my driver is very creative. I suspect we had the only embassy vehicle in the world with a two by four as part of the frame and animal hide painted to match the vehicle for a grill.

We developed interesting skills to cope with the frequent absence of electricity. A candle placed in front of a mirror provides enough light to read by when the power is off. A refrigerator must be used to keep food warm enough to eat. One of our winter arrivals was in his apartment for a week before he realized the refrigerator was not plugged in.



**The staff of Embassy Ulaanbaatar:—Sally Nist, Kharnuden, Ted Nist, Dunkerjav, Mike Senko, and Luvsanjav.**

We also needed to be creative to plan for visitors. Late one Saturday night we received word that Secretary Baker was going to make his second visit the following Thursday. Four days of preparation for a four-day visit by the secretary of state was one of the more interesting roller coaster rides of my Foreign Service career. Fortunately, by the time of the visit we had upgraded communications and had a telex with a computer terminal and an INMARSAT satellite telephone. Now it only took us five minutes to receive a one-page cable.

A cold night spent by candlelight may not be the same as a cocktail party in Western Europe, but there are rewards. The challenge facing the Americans who serve in Mongolia is how to transfer 200 years of experience with democracy and free enterprise to a people who lack that experience. The 50 Peace Corps volunteers and staff, the small USAID staff and contractors, and the State officers who serve there are all making a difference.



Shannon, the Nist's dog is immortalized on a Mongolian stamp.

Service in Mongolia offers an opportunity to help build a nation's future. Our colleagues in the new embassies in the former USSR have the same opportunities, and I suspect will face some of the same challenges. Our experience in

Mongolia has shown that it is crucial to have reliable communications, adequate funding, and flexibility in management to allow the embassy to focus on key issues.

By the way, in October 1991, we finally established regular unclassified communications with the department. However, when the frozen ground melts in the spring, or it rains in the summer, communications fail for a few days at a time. It is still the frontier. ■

*Joseph Lake has been U.S. ambassador to Mongolia since July 1990. The views expressed are solely the author's and do not necessarily represent those of the U.S. government. (Photos by Sally Nist and Karen Euström.)*

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# LOYALTY AND DISSSENT

**F**oreign Service officer George Kenney's resignation has been hailed in the media as an act of courage and conscience and treated with respect even by Acting Secretary Eagleburger, whom Kenney criticized. Foreign Service officers don't often resign because they differ with official policy. The entire system of government is designed to find consensus. If anything, disputes tend to be over turf, roles, or resources, not principle.

After passing the Foreign Service exam and being admitted to the Service ahead of many thousand other applicants, very few want to chuck it all to make a point, wreck a career, and leave as a martyr. Very few FSOs resigned over our involvement in Central America despite revelations about Iran/Contra, human rights violations, and serious questions about the morality of our involvement.

However, the war in Southeast Asia did elicit significant internal dissent. I'd like to recall those events. This is the story of what happened to eight officers in my Foreign Service class, myself included, who, along with others who entered the Foreign Service in that era, were assigned to Vietnam.

We took the written exam in 1967, but we were only informed of having passed the full written and oral exam over a year later, in January 1969. At that time the State Department also informed us that it had curtailed the intake of new officers, and we might not be offered an appointment any time soon. At the time I took the exam I was a graduate student at Columbia University's School of International

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## THE FOREIGN SERVICE AND THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Affairs, and the uncertainty of a future appointment was a serious disappointment.

But one month later, I received an unusual letter, stating: "The Department of State is prepared to offer career appointments to a number of Foreign Service officer candidates who will serve their initial tour of duty with the Agency for International Development in

Vietnam. . . . Upon completion of this assignment, officers selected for the program will be phased into the Foreign Service . . . as rapidly as possible." Though the term was not used, in fact we were being solicited to join the "pacification program," designed to "win the hearts and minds" of the South Vietnamese people.

It appeared to me that this curious combination of 1) indicating that normal Foreign Service entries would not likely be available; and 2) a sudden offer of an assignment to Vietnam as perhaps the only way into the Service, was a subtle form of blackmail to assure that State was able to fill its quota of officers assigned to Vietnam. The State Department also had taken the unusual step of not holding the annual Foreign Service examination in 1968.

A number of colleagues accepted the Vietnam offer. A number of us, myself included, did not. Though painful, I did not agonize over the decision. I had spent all of 1968 in the anti-Vietnam War movement, actively supporting the peace candidacy of Senator Eugene McCarthy for president. Being a "McCarthy kid" meant more than just being against the war;

BY DANIEL A. STRASSER



1970 scene of the main street in downtown Phan Rang after a rain.

it was a manner of fundamentally expressing our faith in and desire to work within the democratic system and opposing the takeovers and hostage takings sweeping the university campuses.

It was inconceivable, therefore, for me to volunteer for Vietnam service in the pacification program. I declined the offer, writing: "I stated my opposition to this nation's involvement in Vietnam to the examining panel during my oral examination. Therefore, I cannot in good conscience voluntarily contribute to that involvement." The answer I received to this was straightforward: "Whether or not you accept the offer tendered you. . . is entirely up to you. You should be aware, however, that even if you were to enter the Service on terms which did not directly relate to Vietnam, you might wind up there anyway." Having completed this exchange, I mentally kissed the Foreign Service goodbye.

### Another chance

It was with great surprise, therefore, that I received a letter that June offering me a regular Foreign Service appointment. Five of the class entering that August had accepted the first offer of Vietnam service. Though not a total surprise, it was a shock when I and two others who had rejected that offer were assigned to CORDS (Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support—not only a mouthful, but also a misnomer)—the pacification program in Vietnam. The three of us sent a joint memorandum to the then-Director General John Burns. While accepting the worldwide availability provision, we stated that we considered our assignment to CORDS/Vietnam "inconsistent with the circumstances under which we entered the Service," given that we had turned down the previous offer of Vietnam and had clearly stated our desire not to be assigned there.

However, the department was said to be under severe pressure from the White House to demonstrate its loyalty to the policies in Vietnam and to come up with "bodies"

to serve in the pacification program. Thus our fate was sealed; the DG refused to change our Vietnam assignments. In the end, however, I was the only one of the three actually to serve in the pacification program. One resigned rather than go to Vietnam. The other was allowed, as a modest concession, to serve in a regular embassy position in Saigon. His Saigon apartment would later become a favorite gathering place for those of us who were assigned to the "boonies."

My dedication to the Foreign Service as a career did not permit me to resign over my Vietnam assignment; I took my commitment to worldwide availability seriously. Although I would go to a war that I considered folly, I would not commit a dishonorable act and would try to be a force for good. I seriously believed that the American system of government was the best and that people of liberal temperament could not abandon govern-

ment service to the hardliners and opportunists. I would do what I could from the inside.

### In training

Determined not to be faulted on my performance, I completed 47 weeks of language training and became (I was told) one of the department's 10 best linguists in Vietnamese. The following March, a personal letter from the director general said, "I want you to know that I am gratified by the way you accepted this difficult assignment and by the efforts you are making to prepare yourself for the tour in Vietnam." Though still bitter, I appreciated the consideration.

Washington during that year was a strange place to be studying Vietnamese. The city was full of protests. I did not hide my own opposition to the war among my 150 fellow students at the Vietnam Training Center (VTC), located in the garage area of a Rosslyn apartment building. After seeing all my military colleagues with lapel pins in their suits symbolizing one thing or another, I went to a jeweler and had him design a gold peace-symbol lapel pin, which I wore every day to VTC. I was determined that everyone would know where I was coming from. I felt a need to preserve my identity and self-respect.

I was certainly not alone in my skepticism over the indoctrination we were receiving. Most of our group jokingly code-named the pacification program "Operation Prop-up." In February 1970, 10 of us formed a Vietnam Study Group, "to discuss all aspects of the Vietnam problem, provide a forum for ideas . . ." The study group became a significant forum for discussion of the issues surrounding our upcoming assignment. We developed 11 different themes for discussion. We read books; met with Tran Van Dinh, an exiled writer and former South Vietnamese diplomat; and—at my initiative—met with Averell Harriman at his Georgetown home shortly after he resigned from the Paris peace talks. It was only some years later that I learned from the *New York*

*Times* that our meeting with Harriman had been monitored by the FBI on orders of the White House because we were among those President Nixon suspected of leaking secrets to the press. This seemed quite humorous, since none of us knew any secrets whatsoever.

### A letter of protest

The April 30 invasion of Cambodia was the real watershed for many of us. On May 4, the Kent State shootings took place, and on May 9, 100,000 people demonstrated in Washington. The day before, however, 250 foreign affairs personnel, including 50 Foreign Service officers, sent a letter of protest to Secretary of State William P. Rogers. The core of this protest included those officers in the study group. The letter said: "Our sense of responsibility to you, to the department and to ourselves, precludes our remaining silent on these critical issues. As the advice you offer the president reflects your judgment and conscience, we, in the same spirit, offer our views to you. In our opinion, the expansion of military activity should be reversed. We fear that this expansion threatens the prospect for an early peace and heightens the serious problem of divisiveness at home. For these reasons, we question the recent military decision. We urge you to seek reconsideration of the apparent direction of American policy in Southeast Asia." The letter was immediately leaked to the *New York Times*.

On May 11, the FSOs who had signed the letter received a stern written order to report to the department's Map Room to hear Undersecretary for Political Affairs U. Alexis Johnson. The order said ominously: "This is mandatory." Johnson, accompanied by William B. Macomber, deputy undersecretary for management, expressed disappointment and told us that, as public servants, we did not have the right to express public dissent against presidential policy. Several officers viewed the letter as a "cry of conscience." When Johnson questioned our loyalty, he was reminded that most of us were in training to go to Vietnam and risk our lives to defend U.S. policy there. I believe it came as a shock to those department officers to discover that a bunch of junior officers who were the department's newest recruits in the Vietnam effort were in revolt over Cambodia. No resignations were demanded, but it was made clear that there was no place in the career service for those who could not support the president.

Backing the department's criticism, an article in the September 1969 *Foreign Service Journal* stated that officers had the right and the duty to dissent on policy up to the point of decision-making. However, the article continued, "It is not the role of the Foreign Service . . . to undercut the political decisions which have been made." The Cambodia invasion policy was made totally in secret with no opportunity to express dissent in advance. The invasion itself was an outrage, an extraordinary event that required, in our minds,



**Diplomat among warriors: Strasser (in mufi), in 1970, as Deputy District Senior Adviser of Thanh Hai District, South Vietnam, with fellow District Advisory Team members. Some of the junior officers who served in the CORDS civil/military pacification program in Vietnam expressed opposition to the war.**

an extraordinary response. The subsequent death of some 2 million Cambodians, a consequence of U.S. policy in Cambodia, strengthened my sense that we were fundamentally right to express our protest at the time in the way we did.

The situation was complicated by the publicly circulating information that Secretary Rogers had opposed the invasion, as had Secretaries of Defense Melvin Laird and Interior Walter Hickel, who made his feelings public and was forced to resign. All had been blindsided by a secret Nixon/Kissinger policy; Rogers had told a House subcommittee one week before the invasion that no ground troops would be sent into Cambodia. In a sense, though, if we had failed to be loyal to the president, we had been loyal to and backed up the secretary of state.

### Department backbone

One amazing aspect of the letter is that, though its text was made public, the names of its signatories never were. The White House reportedly was furious and asked the department to turn over the names. In a remarkable demonstration of backbone in defense of the Foreign Service, the department and AFSA protected these employees. According to an account by U. Alexis Johnson in the September 1984 *Foreign Service Journal*, President Nixon took the petition very personally and called up the under secretary at 1:30 a.m.: "I want you to make sure that all those sons of bitches are fired first thing in the morning," the president demanded. When this proved not feasible, Johnson continues, "he wanted all the names by that evening. I had no enthusiasm for that idea either, because I was sure the officers' careers would be ruined. . . . [Secretary] Rogers agreed to take my list and lock it in his own safe. . . . I promised the president that I would keep an eye on all of them to make sure none was promoted or posted to Southeast Asia. Then I had a meeting with those



Vietnamese provincial troops prepare for an operation.

[officers]. . . I stressed the loyalty that we all owe the president, unless we choose to resign." Johnson adds, "I never had to intervene to halt their promotions and after Nixon left office their careers resumed at a normal pace. But Nixon never forgot. For a year afterward he regularly asked me for written and oral reports on what was happening to them." In June, AFSA sought and received assurances from Macomber that no formal or informal disciplinary action would be taken against the signers, including notations in files.

### Service satisfaction

During my two years of service in Vietnam I was satisfied with my role there and later felt a melancholy satisfaction that I had gone to that country and remained in the Foreign Service. Based on nearly fluent Vietnamese, I quickly graduated from being a district-level pacification adviser, a job in which I visited three or four hamlets a day and helped complete village water systems, to becoming the POLAD (Political Advisor) to II Corps, the U.S. Command in one of South Vietnam's four military regions. For about six months, I worked for John Paul Vann trying to report fairly and honestly on political events, which mostly revealed the corruption and undemocratic attitudes among our South Vietnamese allies. One of my most significant contributions was a report, based on my travels through the II Corps provinces, of how President Thieu had manipulated his power in the hinterland to engineer the one-man 1971 election—the beginning of the end of his legitimacy based on a claim that Vietnam was a democracy.

In July 1971, after nine months in Vietnam, I learned of Secretary Kissinger's visit to Vietnam. I hopped on a plane from Nha Trang to Saigon and handed a letter to one of Kissinger's aides just as the secretary's party was leaving the embassy to depart Saigon.

In this letter, I called the Vietnamization policy a failure and said that U.S. policy had served more to undermine Vietnamese will and ability to resist communism than to shore it up. I wrote, "we have spawned attitudes of both hopelessness and dependence and done almost irreparable

harm to the moral fabric of this country. We have transformed Vietnam into a society without will or spirit, a nation of scroungers from top to bottom." I continued, "Vietnamization will fail," and I proposed a peace settlement plan. I fully expected the letter to have serious personal repercussions for me. Strangely, I never heard the slightest response and can only assume the letter was never even given to Kissinger.

During this period, I won a small battle that gave me a great deal of satisfaction. Before leaving Washington for Vietnam in 1970, I had filed what today would be called a grievance. It happened that those of us in Vietnamese training for the previous year who had volunteered to go to Vietnam had received *per diem* during the entire year of training. Those of us, myself included, who had been "drafted" once we got to Washington, did not

receive this subsidy. Technically one group was entitled to the extra pay, which I compared to a mercenary payment.

What I did not realize was that my "grievance" had provoked an internal dispute in the department of epic proportions. In November, I received a status report on my grievance from Frederick Z. Brown of Personnel: "On your special problem I am optimistic. . . . The matter will be settled one way or another in three weeks. . . . Please don't spend your *per diem* before you see it reflected in your bank account. I can only promise, at this point, that we are trying like hell." But it was May of the following year before I received a notice to come to Saigon for a meeting with Brown, "a pleasant one for you and much in your interest to attend." When I got to the meeting, Brown had checks for six of us who were present, but he gave me mine first and said, "Strasser is the only one here who really deserves the money." Again, as in the case of the Cambodian letter, I came out of that experience with a renewed sense of confidence in the department and its ability, when provoked, to defend and do justice for its people.

### Fighting from within

Certainly, one could question whether the anti-Cambodia invasion protest letter was as appropriate or as noble as a resignation. In fact, four of Kissinger's closest NSC aides resigned over the invasion. I believe that having been directly involved in White House policy-making over the war, and having been cut out of the secret decision which they opposed, it was untenable for them to continue. Those of us who signed the protest letter were prepared to continue, but we were willing to risk dismissal for our near insubordination. The fact that we were not dismissed speaks quite a bit to the tenor of those times.

I personally believe that if you can express your opposition from within and stay on to fight another battle down the road, you can be more useful inside than outside the system. A Foreign Service employee has many opportunities to be a voice of conscience. There are almost daily battles over questions of honesty and proper judgement. As wrong policies often are an accumulation of incorrect decisions, it

## THE ULTIMATE DISSENT

BY STEPHEN G. HALL

When George Kenney resigned from the Foreign Service in August, he gained publicity and made a powerful statement of opposition to U.S. policy on Yugoslavia. Dissent during the Vietnam era was quite different. Because American lives were at stake, the war prompted opposition throughout the country. The resignation of a Foreign Service officer would have had little impact on U.S. policy amid the sea of protest already sweeping the country. Therefore, despite the large number of FSO's who opposed the administration's policies during the Vietnam era, very few chose to resign, feeling, as Daniel Strasser did, that they could best address their opposition by remaining in the system to work for change. For the ones who did leave, their departure was more a result of their personal convictions than an effort to make a statement of protest.

Anthony Lake, an aide to Kissinger on the National Security Council who was deeply involved with U.S. policy toward Vietnam, was one who resigned at this time. According to press accounts, after being kept in the dark about Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia, Lake, along with other Kissinger aides, resigned to protest the administration's decision.

Donald McHenry, who later became ambassador to the UN under Carter, also left the Foreign Service in disagreement with Nixon's policies toward Vietnam. After he went on leave in 1971, McHenry's hopes for change in policy rested with Senator Eugene McCarthy. He eventually resigned in 1973 after Nixon's landslide victory.

Charles Williams Maynes, until recently the editor of *Foreign Policy*, also resigned from the Foreign

Service during that period. Maynes believed Vietnam was overshadowing critical domestic issues. He recalls watching smoke from the riots outside the window of the Foreign Service Institute where he was studying Russian. It was there that he asked himself, "Why is the nation so preoccupied with matters abroad when there are so many problems being neglected back home?" Shortly after the invasion of Cambodia, Maynes asked to take leave from the Foreign Service for a year to work for Senator Fred Harris, where he felt he could make a difference in civil rights legislation. The State Department refused his request, which Maynes attributes mainly to pressure from Kissinger to clamp down on possible dissent within the Foreign Service. Acknowledging his opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam and his desire to contribute to the domestic needs of the country, Maynes resigned from the Foreign Service.

The Foreign Service is a prestigious and secure career that most officers do not wish to risk losing. To a limited extent, the dissent channel has provided an outlet for officers wishing to voice opposition to policy while remaining loyal to the State Department. Although many FSOs question the seriousness with which the service has been regarded by policy-makers in recent years, the Foreign Service—and American public servants generally—does not have a tradition of resignation in protest. In this era of broad national consensus on—and widespread indifference to—foreign policy, the rush of principled resignations over Vietnam seems all the more a historical anomaly. ■

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*Steven G. Hall is an intern at the Foreign Service Journal.*

is important that those motivated by idealism, principle, and morality not quit. It is equally important that members of the service speak up to express their concerns and be willing to accept the consequences of being unpopular with department management. Before resigning, the dissent channel/Open Forum mechanism should be used to the fullest.

State had a harder and harder time forcing young men and women to go to Vietnam against their will. A year after I was assigned, the department ceased forced assignments there. Those of us who went to Vietnam were later treated very well by a grateful bureaucracy. I was awarded my first-choice assignment to Rio de Janeiro. However, I was called back to Vietnam as a "ceasefire observer" after the January 1973 peace treaty. By that time, for all practical purposes, the war was over. When Saigon fell in April 1975, the American

people had mentally disengaged. Walking in Georgetown the evening Saigon fell, despite the TV images of helicopters taking people off of embassy rooftops and my own shock, I had the strange feeling that the American people did not realize that the United States, for the first time, had just lost a war.

I do not want to exaggerate our role in opposing U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. Frankly, though there certainly was more internal resistance than what I have recounted here, there was not nearly enough. The fact that the war dragged on for seven years after the American people had given a mandate to end it was a travesty on our system of democracy. ■

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*Daniel Strasser is an FSO in the Bureau of International Narcotics Matters.*

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| 7 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub> | 7.26 | 8 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub> | 7.96 | 9 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub> | 8.69 |

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# Diplomat in Central Asia

By James Critchlow

**M**ore than 100 years ago, Eugene Schuyler, secretary of the American Legation in St. Petersburg, made a pioneering visit to Central Asia, traversing the region now occupied by the newly independent republics of the former Soviet Union. In March 1873, the 33-year-old Schuyler set out on the journey that was to keep him for nearly eight months in this Muslim territory where the conquest by Russian arms was not yet complete.

Even today, Schuyler's observations—set down in a handwritten dispatch to the State Department, which he later expanded into a two-volume book, *Turkistan: Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*,—are a valuable source of enlightenment about the life of the region. He penetrated behind the facade of the Russian administration to talk to people of all walks of life. He roamed the streets with a sharp eye for detail, striking up conversations with any and all.

Here, from a book of selected essays, is Schuyler's description of a visit to a Muslim learned man, director of a religious seminary, in the native quarter of Tashkent:

There were a lot of people there, relatives and students. We sat on our legs on carpets spread on a portico, drank green tea, smoked a Bukharan pipe, and ate various sweet things and pistachio nuts. Curiously enough everyone seems to have heard of America, and one



SOURCE: TURKISTAN. NOTES OF A JOURNEY

**M**any of Schuyler's observations of Central Asia ring true even now. His description of the way men dressed might have come from a visit only this year to the bazaars of Samarkand or Bukhara. . .

man had even seen a picture of Lincoln—whom he thought a very handsome man.

During his years of service in the Russian Empire, Schuyler repeatedly exhibited concern for human rights, sending dispatches to Washington about the problems of Jews, Mennonites, and Ukrainian Catholics. While in Central Asia, in one of the more curious incidents of his diplomatic journey, he purchased a Persian

slave, a young boy of seven or eight named Hussein, at the bazaar in Bukhara and, with the complicity of friendly Russian officials, took him back to St. Petersburg—living evidence that trade in human beings was still going on despite protestations to the contrary.

Schuyler was a man of considerable learning. At age 19 he had been the youngest graduate in the Yale Class of 1859, stayed on two years more for a PhD, and then received a law degree from Columbia. He began Russian lessons with an Orthodox priest in New York after meeting Russian naval officers during the historic 1863 visit of the tsarist fleet to that city. He honed the language as American consul in Moscow from 1867-69, his first overseas post, and then after 1869 as legation secretary in St. Petersburg. He also knew French and Finnish. For his travels in Central Asia, however, he prudently used interpreters who knew the local languages.

Many of Schuyler's observations of Central Asia ring true even now. His description of the way men dressed might have come from a visit only this year to the bazaars of Samarkand or Bukhara: "long, gay-colored dressing-gowns of cotton or silk . . . white or blue turbans . . . little embroidered caps." On the other hand, women in Schuyler's day kept for the most part behind the walls of their houses: "You see them occasionally in the street in blue dresses and a black horse-hair veil which effectually hides their faces."

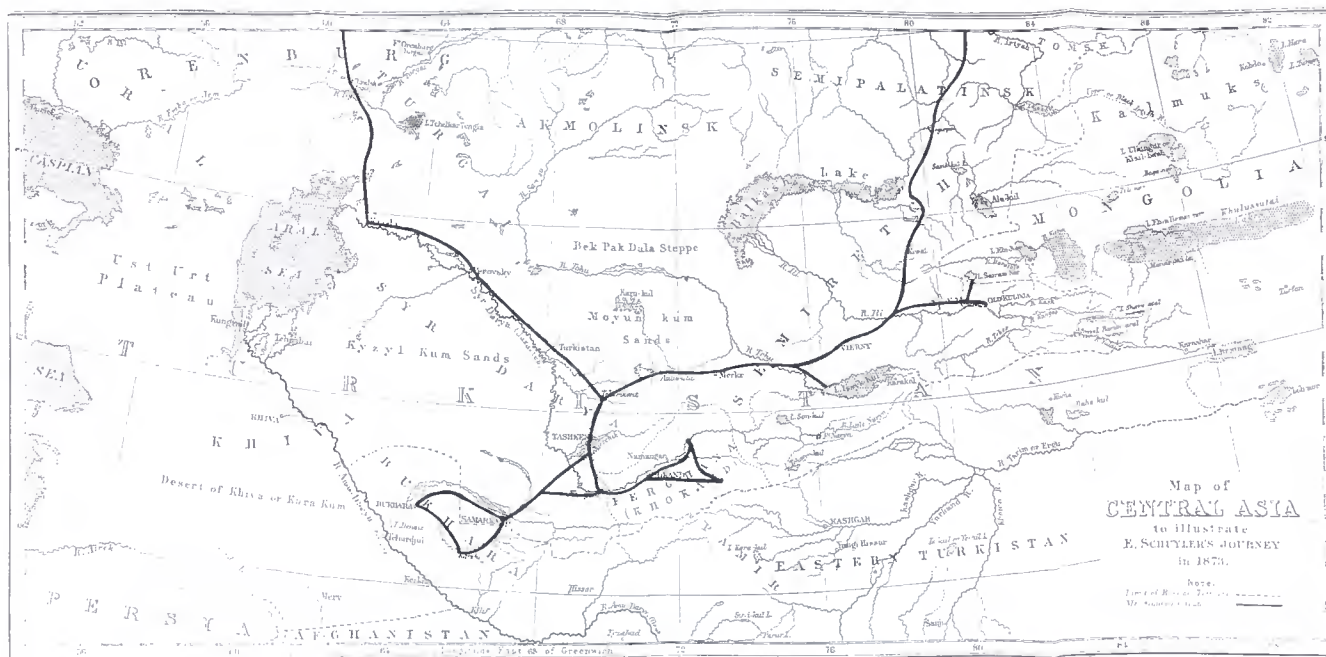
His vignette of a Sufi folk festival held just outside Tashkent evokes an atmosphere familiar to visitors to Uzbekistan today:

*Samovars* were smoking everywhere, and all along the brook were pots where *pilaf* was preparing.

my conduct in going before your permission has arrived," he said apologetically in the same dispatch to Secretary Fish, adding—over optimistically—that he hoped to return in three months.

His long absence from his post in St.

Petersburg on March 23, Schuyler wrote, "I cannot say exactly when I shall come back, if I ever do, for as there is a war in that region things are rather unsettled." Schuyler and a temporary traveling companion, a *New York Herald* correspondent named



Eugene Schuyler's 1873 journey.

In almost every booth there was someone playing on the guitar and singing, and in very many could be heard the rapid beating of a tambourine and the measured clapping of hands, showing that there was dancing going on.

Schuyler started out for Central Asia in a state of great excitement, despite fears that his trip might jeopardize both his career and his life. "I trust that my journey may be fraught with profit to the country and to myself," he wrote to Hamilton Fish, secretary of state in the administration of President Ulysses S. Grant, in a dispatch dated the day before his departure. He had obtained permission to go only from his immediate chief, Minister James L. Orr, and left without waiting for Washington's response to a cable requesting confirmation. "I trust you will kindly excuse the irregularity in

Petersburg tried the patience of his superiors. Six weeks after Schuyler's departure from St. Petersburg, the problems of his absence were compounded dramatically by the death of the minister, leaving the consul general to handle legation business alone. In a plaintive and rather testy dispatch sent after his arrival on September 25, the new minister, a political appointee named Marshall Jewell, informed the department that "I find no record of any transaction at this Legation since April 4th last," and, ominously for Schuyler, who had by now been away for six months, "I do not find the Secretary of Legation or any communication from him though I learn from the Counsel (sic) that the Secretary may be expected in two or three weeks."

There were also physical dangers in making the trip. Before leaving St.

Januarius Aloysius MacGahan, arrived March 26 at Saratov on the Volga by rail. The two Americans then set out by horse-drawn sled, crossing the ice of the Volga and passing through German settlements on the left bank until they came to Bashkir villages to the east, their "first glimpse of Oriental life." This route was not a regular post road, and they had a constant struggle to obtain replacement sleds and horses. The weather was also the coldest Schuyler, although raised in upstate New York and a veteran of Moscow winters, had ever experienced, and by the time they reached the Siberian town of Orenburg their faces were red and peeling. In addition, they were suffering from snow-blindness.

Despite difficulties, Schuyler managed along the way to begin his journal, in which he was to include meticulous descriptions of people and

# HISTORY

their dress, food, customs, ceremonies, and superstitions, of buildings and monuments, of all manner of sights and smells.

At Fort Perovsky (now Kzyl-Orda in Kazakhstan), MacGahan split off on his own to cover the Russian military

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offensive against the Khanate of Khiva, then in its final stages, and Schuyler proceeded on to Tashkent, traveling now by *tarantass*, a four-wheeled horse-cart. After a protracted stay in Tashkent, seat of the Russian governor-general of the newly created Turkestan Territory, he visited the ancient cities of Samarkand, citadel of Tamerlane (or Timur), and the khanates of Bukhara and Kokand, nominally still independent but under Russian protectorate. By now the heat of the Central Asian summer was intense. On the way to Kokand, the roads became so bad that he was forced to proceed partly on horseback, an activity to which he had become so unaccustomed that at the end of the day he needed a whiskey rubdown. Returning via Samarkand to Tashkent, he then made his way northeastward to Pishpek and Verny (old names for

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Bishkek and Alma-Ata, today capitals of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan), and then to Kulja in China, where he saw the ruins left by recent disastrous fighting between Chinese government and Muslim forces, and among Muslim groups. He returned via Siberia to St. Petersburg, arriving in mid-November.

As an accredited diplomat, Schuyler traveled under the auspices of the Russian government, which was still in the process of subjugating the Central Asians. Many of the local people were not even aware that there was a difference between a Russian and an American. At times, this caused him to be greeted with evasiveness and downright hostility, even physical danger. He had ample opportunity to display a courage that surmounted his native timidity. In Kokand, he was "reviled by the inhabitants" and on another occasion, in Karshi, was subjected to angry demonstrations during which one man picked up a stone and muttered, "Just let me hit him and he will drop dead at once, and there will be one *Kaffir* the less."

Still, Schuyler's official status meant that he was often received with great deference and ceremony. This is how he described his arrival in one medium-sized town:

At the Bek's express desire, I was taken immediately to the palace. At the gate of the citadel a guard of honor hailed me with a blast of trumpets, and passing them and within the gates through several crooked streets I came to a large open place, where three or four hundred soldiers were drawn up in a hollow square to receive me. There was another grand flourish of drums and trumpets and I was astonished by a salute of cannon. Here I was presented to two *Yuzbashis*... wearing gowns made of Cashmere shawls, with highly wrought silver belts. Dismounting from my horse I walked on with

them past the ruins of the *Ak-Sarai*, the splendid palace constructed by Timur.

Having survived the rigors and perils of the trip, Schuyler needed all his diplomatic skills to appease his new superior when he finally returned eight months later, in mid-November, but he succeeded, for Minister Jewell cabled Washington that the former's explanations were "satisfactory." Subsequently,

**A**s an accredited diplomat, Schuyler traveled under the auspices of the Russian government, which was still in the process of subjugating the Central Asians. Many of the local people were not even aware that there was a difference between a Russian and an American. At times, this caused him to be greeted with evasiveness and downright hostility, even physical danger.

the two men established cordial relations: the following March, when Jewell forwarded Schuyler's trip report to Secretary Fish, he noted enthusiastically that "I have no doubt it will be of great interest to you, as it is very clear and comprehensive, and does credit to his observance and industry."

Schuyler's report, in his own neat penmanship, is preserved today on microfilm in the National Archives. To his astonishment, and that of Minister Jewell, the State Department published it in the 1874 volume of *Foreign Relations of the United States*, causing Schuyler to worry that his Russian hosts would be offended by the candor with which he criticized their administration of the Turkestan Territory. Fortunately, the department had the wisdom to delete some of his comments about the governor-general, Konstantin P. Kaufman, including this passage:

General Kaufman is unfortunately a very weak, as well as a very vain man. . . . He came to Central Asia with no knowledge of the country, and by holding himself in a very lofty position, has acquired very

little knowledge of it during his stay. He has considered it necessary to keep up an appearance of state, and to have little communication with the natives. . . . He never rides through the streets without a bodyguard of a hundred Cossacks, and maintains himself at a distance from the Russians also.

Perhaps the supreme tribute to Schuyler's perspicacity is that Russian scholars who studied the area after him elevated this outsider to a pedestal of authority for his insights into the Central Asian scene. However, it must be remembered that Schuyler, a product of his own time and culture, believed, even while criticizing the Russian administration that the conquest of Central Asia was part of the civilizing mission of the Western world. Indeed, the native regimes of Schuyler's day were cruel and corrupt, a sad relic of the region's bygone glories, but in the light of subsequent Tsarist and Soviet abuses Central Asians have resented Schuyler's support of their colonial masters. This detracts little, however, from his painstaking reporting.

Schuyler served later in the Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, and Rome. He earned further prominence through an investigation of Turkish treatment of the Bulgarians, which helped to mobilize world support for Bulgaria's independence and caused British Prime Minister William Gladstone to write him a personal note of congratulation. Before dying from a sudden heart attack at age 50, he finished a biography of Peter the Great that still commands scholarly respect, and a book of essays on Italian culture. ■

**James Critchlow is a Fellow of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University. He has served with USIA and the Board for International Broadcasting and is the author of *Nationalism in Uzbekistan*, published in 1991 by Westview Press.**



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# BOOKS

## Devil's Contract

### THE IMPERIAL TEMPTATION: THE NEW WORLD ORDER AND AMERICA'S PURPOSE

By Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson, Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1992; 228 pages, \$14.95 softcover.

Reviewed by Daniel Newberry

George Bush and the American people entered into a contract with the Devil, you might say, by the manner in which we waged the Gulf War. That is the indictment brought by Professors Tucker and Hendrickson. According to their analysis, the Faustian bargain took its most effective toll when we embraced highly advanced means of making war against Saddam Hussein—methods that, while making the war more palatable to us, concomitantly increased the misery we inflicted on others.

The bulk of the book is devoted to a detailed analysis of how President Bush set out to organize what passed for a "national consensus," how he put together the coalition, and why the president contradicted his own stated war aims once the Iraqi troops were forced out of Kuwait.

We entered into the Faustian bargain (for that is what the authors themselves call it), "at grave risk to the nation's reputation for justice and humanity." That quotation gives an idea of the moralistic and admonitory overtones of *The Imperial Temptation*. Certainly there is room for morality in considerations of foreign policy. However, the book, released in June 1992, is in another sense already out of date. It does not, for example, take into account the substantial Pentagon budget cuts proposed last January by House Armed Services Committee chairman Les Aspin.

In other words, the warning ad-

ressed to the American nation by Tucker and Hendrickson, has been overtaken by events and by some sober morning-after reflections in the American body politic. The authors' warning is essentially this:

The euphoria that attended our battlefield victory over Saddam Hussein was pathological. We fastened upon a for-

**. . . none of us should lightly dismiss a product of the Council on Foreign Relations Press when it so sharply challenges what used to pass for conventional wisdom in the foreign policy and defense establishments.**

mula for going to war—in which American casualties are minimized and protracted engagements are avoided—a formula that requires the massive use of American firepower and a speedy withdrawal from the scenes of destruction. The formula, say Tucker and Hendrickson, "creates anarchy and calls it peace," allowing the U.S. to assume an imperial role without discharging the classic duties of imperial rule. Among the imperial "duties" Tucker and Hendrickson would have assigned to the United States in Iraq would have been the occupation of Baghdad and the care and feeding of democracy inside Iraq.

To remark that this book is being overtaken by events is not to disparage its message or its scholarship. Students of diplomacy and national policy formulation would do well to go step-by-step with these two professors through their closely reasoned analysis of the logic and illogic applied during and after the Gulf War adventure.

Likewise, none of us should lightly

dismiss a product of the Council on Foreign Relations Press when it so sharply challenges what used to pass for conventional wisdom in the foreign policy and defense establishments.

Even so, one cannot put aside *The Imperial Temptation* without reflecting that few in the White House or the Pentagon in the summer of 1992 could have felt very "imperial" as they stewed over the limited modalities and possibilities for sending U.S. military aid to relieve the embattled victims of war in Sarajevo and for getting our troops out again.

*Daniel Newberry is a retired Foreign Service Officer.*

## Global Power

### SEIZE THE MOMENT: AMERICA'S CHALLENGE IN A ONE- SUPERPOWER WORLD

By Richard Nixon, Simon & Schuster, 1992, 322 pages \$23.00, hardcover.

Reviewed by David Adamson

*Seize the Moment* conveys many sound judgments about the world in which we live and America's role in it. Nixon believes that America needs to stay globally engaged: other nations may match us in particular dimensions of power, but among the great powers only the United States is perceived as lacking hegemonic ambitions and can effectively serve as an honest broker and geopolitical balancer in Europe and Asia. In this connection, Nixon points out that as "a nation, Americans have difficulty grasping the depth of historical antagonisms between other nations."

Nixon admits the need for a greater multilateral dimension in U.S. foreign policy, but he is skeptical about the potential of the UN: "advocates of a greater role for the United Nations ig-

nore the abysmal record of collective security." As another guidepost for American foreign policy, Nixon would distinguish among vital, critical, and peripheral U.S. interests. Our vital interests include the survival and independence of key allies, neighbors, and resource-rich areas. Critical interests are ones that, if undermined, would create a direct threat to vital interests—for example, the loss of Korea would create a direct challenge to Japan. Peripheral interests only distantly involve our main concerns; we would not want to use our limited power to defend such interests.

Nixon's continent-by-continent review bears witness to his years of experience and fascination with foreign policy. Completed just as the Soviet Union collapsed, his book is particularly prescient in anticipating the break-up of the Soviet empire. He welcomes this development as consistent with America's historic support for national self-determination. He also explodes misconceptions about Gorbachev and Yeltsin, seeing Gorbachev as an improviser and transitional figure who promoted reform out of need, not choice, and Yeltsin as a man of much greater substance. Unfortunately, Yeltsin, like Khrushchev before him, has been misinterpreted as an "opportunistic lightweight" who drinks excessively.

Nixon anticipates the break-up of Yugoslavia as well, and calls for the early dispatch of UN peacekeepers there. More questionably, Nixon implies that Eastern Europe is as important to the United States as Western Europe. Nixon favors European unity, but at the same time, he warns of growing European Community protectionism and "socialism" in the form of state subsidies to steel, aerospace, and other industries.

But Nixon believes America's most important economic interests lie across the Pacific ocean, not the Atlantic, noting that American trade with East Asia already far outstrips our trade with Western Europe. Given the economic importance of Asia and the abiding national rivalries there, Nixon would have the United States retain a significant military presence in Asia, as in Europe.

Nixon's prescriptions for economic development in the Third World are sound, if unexceptional: his emphasis is

on family planning and trade, not aid. His fundamental message—that American world leadership remains very much in our own interest—bears repeating in this period of U.S. retrenchment. *Seize the Moment* contributes significantly to the national debate on future priorities, and as a result, it will also assist Richard Nixon's ongoing political rehabilitation.

*David M. Adamson serves as political counselor at the embassy in Lisbon.*

## Secret Stories

**CASTRO'S FINAL HOUR: THE SECRET STORY BEHIND THE COMING DOWNFALL OF COMMUNIST CUBA**  
by *Andres Oppenheimer, Simon and Schuster, 1992, \$25.00, hardcover.*

Reviewed by Roy Sullivan

Pulitzer-prize winner Oppenheimer cautions that his book can only "begin to suggest the secret story of the demise of Castro's revolution." Unfortunately, he offers little substance to support its catchy short title; nevertheless, it is must reading for those interested in Cuba. Portions of the book read like a thriller rather than an investigative report based on more than 500 interviews with Cubans of all types, including Fidel. Cubanophile or not, you may have trouble putting it down.

The first third of the volume is devoted to the events leading to the 1989 trial and execution by firing squad of Cuba's most decorated (and popular) general, Arnaldo Ochoa. Ochoa is a principal figure of the book and his name reappears linked to major events throughout it. Also tried and executed along with Ochoa was Cuba's most famous spy—Colonel Antonio De la Guardia—head of the convertible currency department of the Interior Ministry. General Ochoa's offenses were his growing popularity and restlessness with the revolution's (read Castro's) rigidity. Officially both Ochoa and De la Guardia were found guilty of drug trafficking and treason. By linking the two, Fidel adroitly eliminated a future

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## BOOKS

personal contender and purged the Interior Ministry, which was competing for power with brother Raul's Ministry of Defense. On the international front, it was a strong anti-drug statement from the Castro government. Score three for Fidel.

Oppenheimer builds the case that Castro tacitly allowed drug trafficking to take place in exchange for hard currencies required by his faltering economy. Fidel once used his Medellin drug cartel connections to have weapons flown from Cuba to Colombia's M-19 terrorists.

Not long after the Ochoa/De la Guardia executions, Castro was faced with the loss of Panama, which Cuba had supported with massive amounts of weapons and military training. According to the author, Fidel neither liked nor trusted Noriega, but needed Panama as a valuable trade front through which Cuba could evade the U.S. embargo. An interesting aside is that the Cubans left Panama hours after the U.S. invasion because of a report that U.S. C-131 transports were landing at Howard Air Force Base, one every 10 minutes. Noriega read the same report but shrugged it off.

According to Oppenheimer, Noriega was searching for a source of SA-7 missiles prior to the U.S. invasion. Had he found the SA-7's, Noriega's forces might have been able to down U.S. aircraft, buying him time to ask the UN Security Council for a condemnation of the United States and a cease-fire. Luckily, Noriega approaches to the Cubans, Soviets, PLO, and Libyans were fruitless.

Fidel was also disappointed in the loss of Nicaragua, another beneficiary of Cuban largess, in the 1990 elections. An estimated 3,000 Cuban military advisors were in Nicaragua and General Ochoa, fresh from successes in Angola and Ethiopia, was assigned there to revamp the Sandinista armed forces. Cuba also sent another 6,000 civilian doctors, teachers, engineers, agrarian reformers, and construction workers to Nicaragua.

Fidel even had a grandiose plan to

assist the Sandinistas if the United States invaded Nicaragua: all the Cubans in Nicaragua were to be mobilized to attack Honduras while the Sandinistas and the Salvadoran rebels would take San Salvador by storm. The Sandinista air force was also to bomb the U.S. Embassy in Costa Rica. One of the authors of the plan was General Arnaldo Ochoa.

Less exciting but equally detailed is Oppenheimer's coverage of the USSR's retrenchment from its role as underwriter of Fidel's economy; and interviews with young Cubans, including Fidel's daughter and Che Guevara's grandson, all of whom are dissatisfied with the graybeard's regime.

*Roy Sullivan is a Foreign Service officer in the Office of Inter-American Affairs.*

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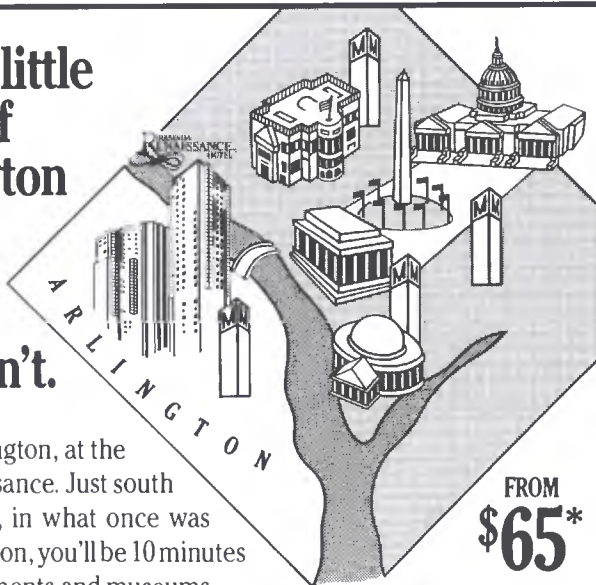
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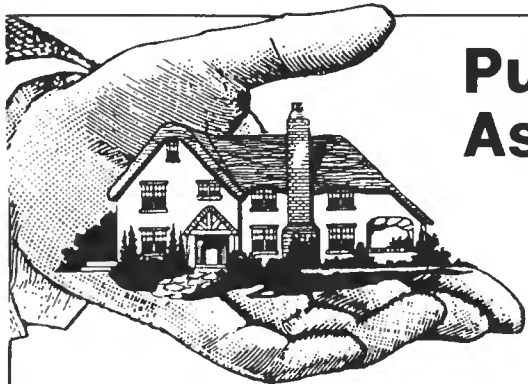
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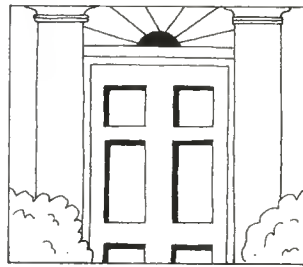
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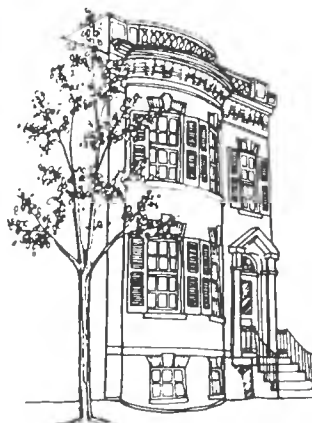
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## “His Name is Hull”

*Foreign Service Journal* December 1942, Press Comment From the New York World-Telegram

**T**he same man who outguessed most of the administration last fall, warning that Japan would attack us before Germany, is largely responsible for the initial success of our North African offensive. His name is Hull. And he has been without honor too long among the bright boys in Washington.

Because our secretary of State had the brains to keep contact with France and her North African colonies through diplomatic representation, he was smeared as an “appeaser,” a “Fascist,” who should resign or be fired by the president. Today—thanks to the Hull policy of maintaining friendship with the French people—most French people at home and in Africa welcome instead of oppose the American offensive of liberation.

Without that widespread French confidence in the United States, our African offensive could not have been under-

taken—it would have tied up Allied forces many times as large as those now fighting the pro-Nazi minority.

As Secretary Hull now publicly explains to his slanderers inside and outside the administration, he achieved five results by keeping American diplomatic and military representatives in France and in Africa:

1. Prepared the way for this offensive.
2. Watched Nazi activity.
3. Encouraged anti-Nazi French leadership.
4. Nourished democratic hope in the French people.
5. Prevented Vichy's delivery of French warships to Hitler and other Vichy aid to the Axis until the Allies were ready...

This newspaper, which always has shared the admiration of rank-and-file Americans for our great secretary of State, congratulates him on another hard job well done. ■

## FOREIGN SERVICE QUIZ

1. Democracy is expressed in many forms and under many names. In which countries are the national legislatures called the following? a. Althing, b. Cortes, c. Dail, d. Diet, e. Knesset, f. Lok Sabha, g. Riksdag, h. Sejm, i. Storting.
2. Fifteen countries share land borders with only one other country. Name them.
3. Want to get away from it all? Find a) the inhabited island situated the farthest from any continental land mass and b) the city situated the farthest from any seacoast.

### ANSWERS

1. a. Iceland, b. Spain, c. Ireland, d. Japan, e. Israel, f. India, g. Sweden, h. Poland, i. Norway
2. Brunei, Canada, Dominican Republic, Denmark, Gambia, Haiti, Ireland, Korea (South), Lesotho, Monaco, Papua New Guinea, Portugal, Qatar, San Marino, United Kingdom
3. a) Pitcairn Island b) Urumqi, China

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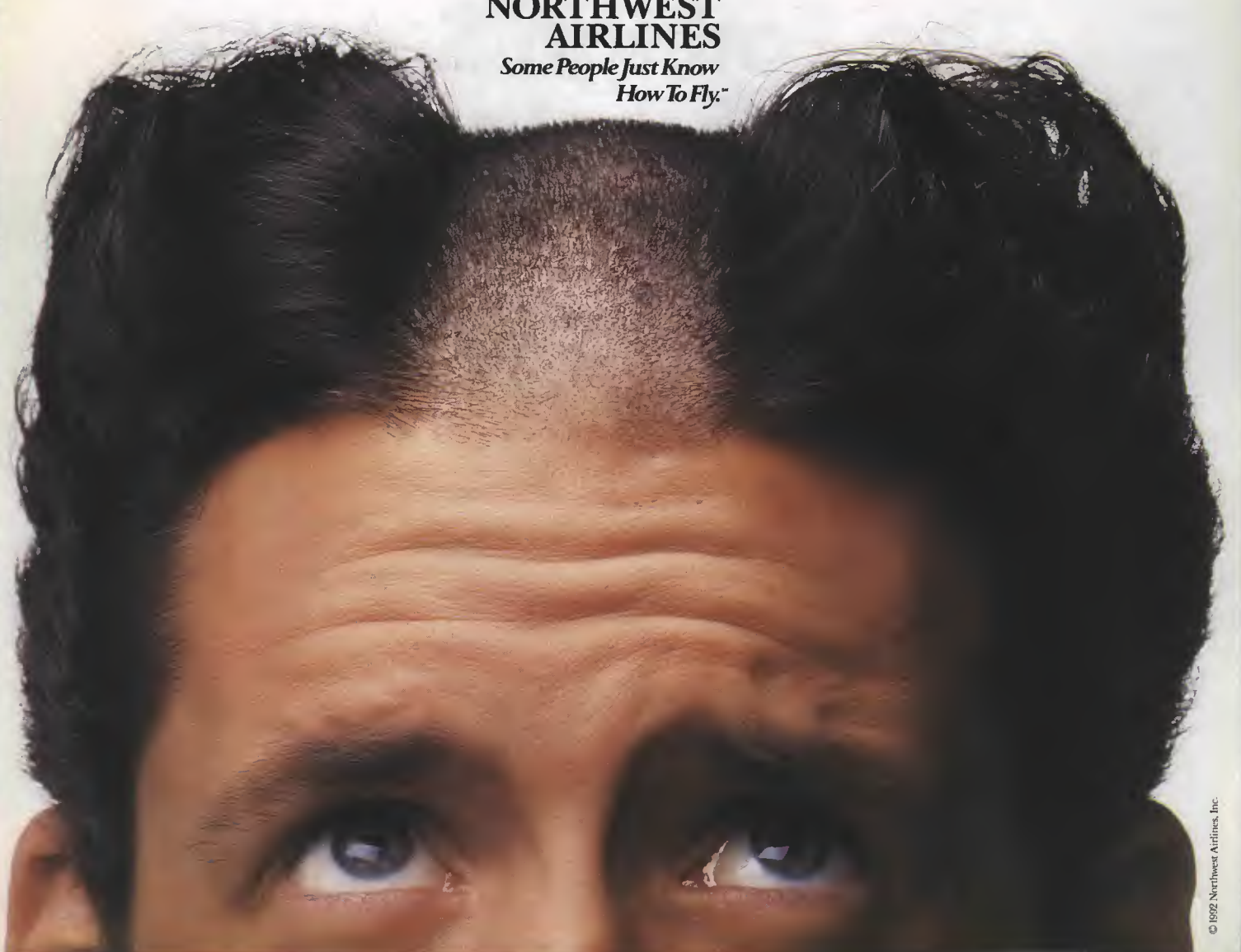
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