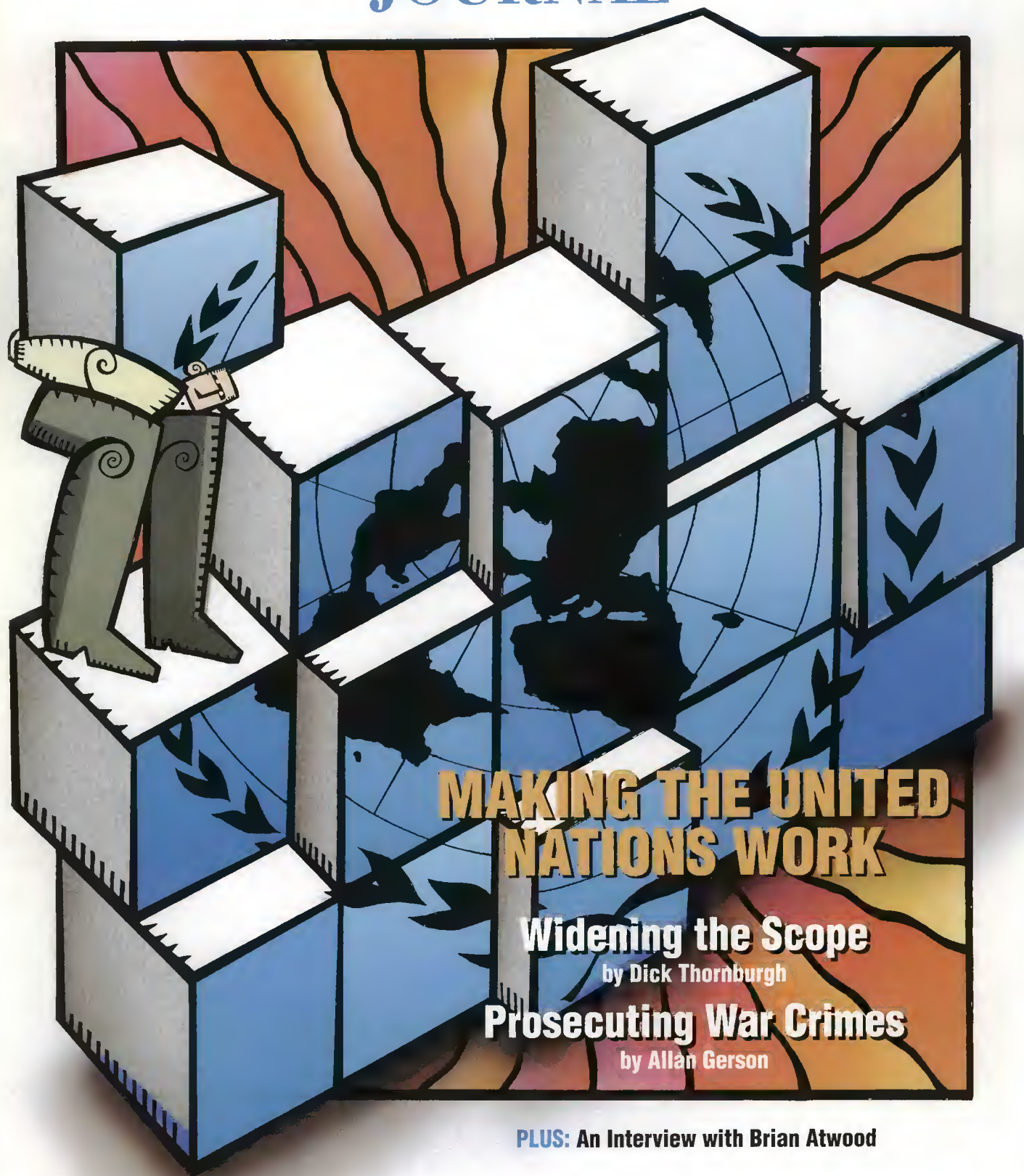


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AFSA VIEWS

POST-CAREER INVOLVEMENT

AFSA appreciates the strong support of those among our colleagues who have left active service for retirement, new careers, or other endeavors. Many remain closely engaged in the foreign policy process, whether recalled to service, like Ambassador Robert Oakley in Somalia, or contributing ideas on current issues in the pages of this journal and other media, or participating in the many regional Foreign Service retiree associations throughout the nation. Our growing retired constituency also has an influential voice—as in the current budget debate—in representing the interests of the Foreign Service.

The budget debate helps bring home the integral nature of our professional community. Many deficit-reduction proposals would affect us individually, whether as current or future retirees. Cost-of-living allowances, survivor annuities, and the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program are all under active discussion as areas in which the government will look for savings. Higher tax rates and new taxes on benefits would have an impact on most of us, as would overall health-care reform. AFSA's efforts on Capitol Hill are aimed at preserving the benefits of the entire Foreign Service; significantly, we are active in assuring an independent retirement for our members.

Budget cuts and reorganization plans have broad effects on our foreign affairs agencies. These institutional changes matter not only to those on active duty but also to all who identify with the Foreign Service as the career which they may have put behind them but from which they are never really very far away. This is a time when public understanding of and support for our Foreign Service is particularly vital. And although we still hear the cliché that our country has no domestic foreign policy constituency, our retired colleagues do, in fact, form the nucleus of just such a constituency.

We have called on these colleagues to increase interaction between the foreign affairs establishment and the public. The response has been significant. Through the AFSA Speakers Bureau, dozens of retirees have addressed audiences around the country; retirees act as mentors to minority students, helping promote a more representative Foreign Service; more than 500 retired colleagues are joining the Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps, an AFSA initiative to get foreign affairs agencies to make better use of alumni expertise.

The extent of this post-career involvement and interest in foreign affairs comes as no surprise to those of us in a business that many of us leave while our energy is still high. AFSA will be looking for even more opportunities for the Foreign Service community as a whole to benefit from that interest and energy. ■

—WILLIAM A. KIRBY



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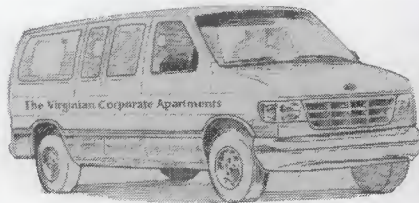
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JOHN J. HARTER

CANDIDATE FOR AFSA PRESIDENT



John Harter, a 30-year Foreign Service veteran, was first elected to the AFSA Board in 1960 and has closely followed AFSA activities since that time. He was again elected to the Board in 1989, and he has served full-time as Conference Affairs Officer since leaving the Board in 1991. He believes the end of the Cold War creates historic opportunities for professional diplomacy, and he sees AFSA as uniquely competent to identify and champion the institutional reforms needed in the U.S. foreign affairs community to meet the international challenges of the 1990s.

Mr. Harter's Foreign Service career involved economic, administrative, consular, and multilateral duties and assignments in Europe, Southeast Asia, Latin America, and South Africa. He produced daily articles on international economic issues for the USIA Wireless File for several years in the 1970s, and he worked closely with AID and the Department of Commerce over the years. He pledges, if elected, to press a series of AFSA initiatives (described in his campaign statement in this issue of the *FSJ*) designed to bring about major improvements in the U.S. foreign policy process and a larger role in that process for the Foreign Service.

Mr. Harter urges AFSA members to vote for individual candidates on the basis of their personal experience and qualifications and not merely because of their affiliation with pre-designated blocs. The best AFSA Board for the period beginning in July 1993 would obviously comprise the strongest members of both slates and several independent candidates.

Mr. Harter explicitly endorses the following candidates, whose attitudes, he believes, are particularly compatible with his:

Ambassador Don Norland
 Dr. C. Stuart Callison
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Articles written by John Harter for the Foreign Service Journal, Sep. 1992, and Jan. 1993.

SHRINKING ZONE OF PRIVACY

TO THE EDITOR:

Sherman Funk is an inspector general I have admired, so it was distressing that he reacted to my thoughts on the shrinking zone of privacy in Foreign Service life ("Beware the Investigators," January *Journal*) with a personal attack. . . . I did not accuse his agents of "gleefully emulating the Gestapo." I said only that their honest zeal, combined with new tools and increased prosecutorial willingness to bring criminal charges for minor violations of law, has changed Foreign Service life.

Mr. Funk admits that "there is a vastly greater emphasis on ethical conduct than before." What this means in practice, of course, is full investigation of allegations—that may be false—that in the past did not warrant such intrusive attention. There is no question that State OIG has sent investigators into the field to investigate such "major" wrongdoing as whether an employee took a vacation using frequent flyer miles or spent part of her home leave out of the United States.

Mr. Funk's reply ignores real concerns I did raise. He fails to express even a hint of compassion for employees who have been cleared after being subject to an intrusive investigation. He takes pride that the allegations investigated are usually made by other employees, but shows no recognition that there is a potential for problems in encouraging an informer culture in a supremely competitive environment.

Mr. Funk accuses me of "seeking billable hours," but my advice that employees consult AFSA lawyers first to see if they really need to pay private counsel was edited out. Many department employees have been severely prejudiced when they confronted agents alone in administrative and security investigations. One should be skeptical when the wolf assures the lamb she does not need any protection.

Ralph Drury Martin
Washington, D.C.
Legal Defense Fund



CIA LEGAL DEFENSE

TO THE EDITOR:

Readers of the *Journal* will recall that on December 22, 1992, President Bush issued pardons for Casper Weinberger and a number of former CIA employees, including Clair George and Dewey Claridge, who faced prosecution in the Iran/Contra affair. There are other CIA employees not indicted but still "subjects" of the Independent Counsel's continuing investigation.

These CIA employees incurred—and some are still incurring—enormous legal expenses, reportedly now totaling some \$4 million and representing a crushing burden on them and their families.

I think most of us would feel that there is something wrong with a situation where public servants of government, acting to carry out what they understood to be government policy, find themselves facing the choice of either a guilty plea or personal bankruptcy—without help from the government they had served for many years. The picture gains a special incongruity when those top officials who originally authorized the policies involved bear none of these financial burdens.

That concern has caused one group of friends and former colleagues to form a Legal Defense Fund to provide at least some outside help. As of now, that fund has gained about \$1 million in help, in donations and in volunteer assistance to the defense attorneys. But an enormous cost obviously remains.

Should any of the *Journal's* readers want to pitch in with a bit of help for these colleagues of ours, they can do so by contacting the Legal Defense Fund,

P.O. Box 309, Merrifield, VA 22116, or by telephoning Mitchell Rogovin at 202-467-8330.

Bruce Laingen
American Academy of Diplomacy

MINEFIELD NICARAGUA

TO THE EDITOR:

In the February *Journal* Mr. Gedda reports "there was a bitter dispute about the legality of the [NERP] program." He goes on to link USAID's belief that "it was improper and possibly illegal for USAID to become involved in ferrying Contras back to their homeland."

USAID's decision was made in light of very specific legislation, and we carefully discussed (with congressional committees) the use of funds for the Nicaraguan election process. Our interpretations of what might be improper by this specific legislation should not be invoked to bolster the position that the subsequent actions were illegal under different legislation.

Ted D. Morse
Former Director, USAID Task Force on
U.S. humanitarian aid to the Contras
and Nicaraguan election process

CALLING ALL PHIL HABIB FRIENDS

TO THE EDITOR:

I am in the early stages of researching and writing a biography of Philip Habib. The project has the endorsement of his widow, Marjorie Habib, and of George Shultz.

My first task is to gather as much raw material as possible about every phase and aspect of Mr. Habib's life and career. Specifically, I hope to get long letters from those who knew him, recounting their recollections. I would appreciate phone numbers for interviews. I also hope to get accounts of discussions, copies of correspondence, speeches, transcripts, unclassified papers, notes and so on, and leads on where I can get more information. The more specific and detailed the

CONGRATULATIONS

to the staff of the consulate general in Jerusalem and Mark Sippelle of San Francisco, California—both tied for first place with 89 correct identifications in our "Who's Who in the News" poster quiz (February *Journal*). The full-size poster will be sent to Jerusalem and California.

information is, the better, Quotes and stories are especially useful.

I can be reached at 2848 San Juan, Belmont, CA 94002, phone 415-802-9998 (evenings) or 415-637-7577 (days).

John Boykin
Foreign Service Officer (retired)

TABLE OF BABEL

AFSA is sponsoring a language table in the Foreign Service Club for those who want to meet and eat in another language. Once a week a table will be set aside in the main dining room for those who want to keep up their language skills and meet others who have served in their language area. The following schedule has been tentatively planned for Fridays:

First Friday of month: Spanish (first meeting is May 7).

Second Friday of month: Chinese (first meeting is May 14).

Third Friday of month: Open

Fourth Friday of month: Open

Please call Anne Stevenson on 338-4045 for more information and to indicate your interest. We will keep a list of names of all those interested in a certain language and notify you the week before the language group meets.

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CORRECTION

Due to an editing error, "The visa line" (March Journal) indicated that Robert Ballantyne responded to an announcement for immigrant visa interviewers, rather than non-immigrant visa interviewers—the announcement and work were both for non-immigrant visas.

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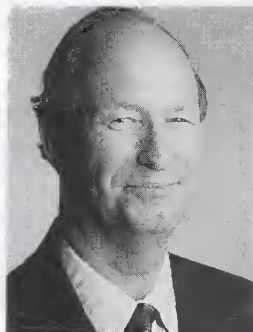
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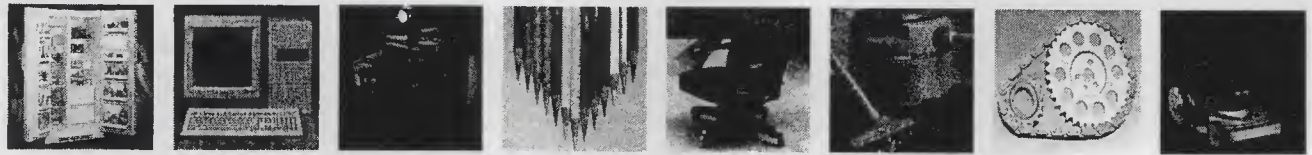
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CHRISTOPHER UNDER FIRE?

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT,
MARCH 15, 1993

Despite initial hopes that Secretary of State Warren Christopher would promote a better balance in the State Department between political appointees and career Foreign Service officers, diplomats once again are grumbling about an invasion of politics. Much of their ire is directed at Christopher's deputy, Clifton Wharton, whose reorganization will shrink the number of top-level jobs by 40 percent and whose loyalties are said to lie with the White House. As a result, many top-ranking diplomats are contemplating either retiring or accepting lowly posts. Morale, says one diplomat, is now even lower than it was during what many professionals consider State's darkest days—when Secretary James Baker was running the Bush re-election campaign.

SLOW TRACK

THE WASHINGTON POST, MARCH 26, 1993
BY JOHN M. GOSKHO

Two months and six days after



President Clinton took office, he still has not asked the Senate to confirm a single person to serve as U.S. ambassador to a foreign government.

When it comes to matching names to U.S. embassies in the four corners of the globe, the members of the Senate, who must "advise and consent" to the president's nominations, still have not been told anything official by the White House or the State Department about who to expect.

They have heard that Thomas R. Pickering is slated to go to Moscow, that Pamela Harriman will get Paris and that Raymond G.H. Seitz, currently in London, has been asked to stay on. They also have heard that Clinton plans to reactivate the nominations of five career Foreign Service officers, whose appointments to assorted small countries were

left in limbo at the end of the Bush administration.

"We know about these things because we read it in the newspapers or heard it on television," said a member of the Foreign Relations Committee staff. The Clinton Administration, the official said, gave priority to winning confirmation of those State Department officials—undersecretaries and assistant secretaries—that are charged with making policy rather than executing it. He added that of the 32 positions in that category, 25 have been filled with people who have completed or are near the end of the confirmation process.

"We are now turning our attention to the ambassador posts and hope to start announcing names soon," the official said. In most cases, he added, the administration already knows whom it wants for those jobs and is awaiting security, financial and medical checks before going ahead with the nominations.

These checks are what George S. Vest, a former director general of the Foreign Service, called "the elaborate bureaucratic paraphernalia that is supposed to determine whether a nomi-

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In addition, the checks aim at sparing presidents the embarrassment of what is called "the Maxwell Gluck syndrome" named after the Republican Party financial contributor, nominated as ambassador to Ceylon during the Eisenhower Administration, and who gained world-wide attention when he could not pronounce the prime minister's name.

When it comes to checking the references and movements of a career diplomat who has lived in several countries or the financial disclosure statements of a business person with multiple investments, a long time can go by. In fact, the State Department estimates that it is not unusual for six months to elapse from the time someone is selected for an ambassadorship until the nominee clears the last hurdle of the confirmation process.

BACK TO THE DRAWING BOARD

THE WASHINGTON POST, APRIL 1, 1993
EDITORIAL

USAID has been studied to death, but we suppose that a new look—this one by Deputy Secretary Clifton Wharton—can find new evidence of squandered U.S. aid, employee improprieties, a cumbersome bureaucracy, and shortcomings in management accountability.

But the greater imperative is to figure out the fundamental role of foreign aid in a post-Cold War era. . . . The whole idea behind foreign aid has shifted dramatically from the Marshall Plan concept of huge resource transfers. Today the path to growth and development is said to be free markets and policy reforms. . . . Are those priorities correct for this new era?

The Clinton Administration . . .

must devise a program that works in a radically different world. Our guess is that much, maybe most, of the old setup will have to be junked and a wholly new start made. The old program is probably beyond reforming and in need of replacing.

DIPLOMATS IN THE SWIM

THE INDEPENDENT, LONDON,
MARCH 19, 1993

And now, news of the swimming pools that do such sterling service for British interests abroad. Anthony Steen, the Tory MP for South Hams, has been asking Alastair Goodlad, the Foreign Office minister, whether there are enough of these. Goodlad revealed that our embassies and missions can muster 135 pools. In 26 posts there are two pools, one for ordinary staff and the other for "representational use" by the head of the post. There are, by the way, 81 tennis courts. ■



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SPEAKING OUT

BY HANS N. TUCH

Time to End Government Broadcasting? Of Course Not

The debate about the future of U.S. government international broadcasting that started about two years ago has reached a pitch heard way beyond the Washington beltway. The results so far have been a proposed reorganization as part of the Clinton Administration's budget and economic plan, three different bills before Congress, several official and unofficial studies and expert reports, much misinformation, acrimony, and polemical invective in the press and other public fora.

The debate has dealt with a number of issues, among them whether the U.S. government should continue to be involved in international broadcasting; whether the Voice of America (VOA) should remain part of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), become independent, or join with the Corporation for Public Broadcasting; whether the U.S. government surrogate radio stations Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) should continue to broadcast to Eastern Europe and the states of the former Soviet Union; whether there should be a new surrogate Radio Free Asia; and whether TV Marti should continue to broadcast to Cuba.

After considerable deliberation and evaluation of different points of view, the Clinton Administration has pro-

posed closing down RFE/RL within two years, consolidating all U.S. government broadcasting within USIA, adding \$30 million to start a Radio Free Asia within USIA, and eliminating the Board for International Broadcasting (BIB), which had heretofore operated RFE/RL. With the exception of the Radio Free Asia proposal, which

millions, take years to construct, and require more years for building an audience, was originally the result of a strange fellowship among Senate liberals intent on undermining the Bush China policy and right wingers who wanted to do battle against the last vestiges of communism.

The main invective on all these issues has come from members and supporters of the BIB who have orchestrated and conducted an international campaign to save RFE/RL, to promote an independent surrogate Radio Free Asia, and, at the same time, to denigrate the effectiveness of VOA. In late March and early April, a "spontaneous" spate of stories appeared in the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Washington Times* praising RFE/RL, touting their indispensability, and promoting the myth that VOA is merely an instrument of U.S. official propaganda. Spokesmen in this campaign have been, among others, Malcolm

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Forbes Jr. (chairman of the BIB), Ben Wattenberg, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Michael Novak, and Walter Laqueur. Only one example of the pejorative level to which this campaign had descended by mid-March is a press release issued by Malcolm Forbes, a presidential appointee, accusing members of the U.S. Advisory Commission

is discussed below, this plan makes sense to me. Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr., in opposition, has reintroduced a bill with bipartisan support that would establish a surrogate Radio Free Asia under the BIB, i.e., *not* within USIA. This ill-conceived and wasteful proposal, which would cost scores of

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SPEAKING OUT

on Public Diplomacy—all also presidential appointees—of being allied with “militarist, extreme nationalist, anti-Semitic, and other authoritarian forces” in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, all because the commission had recommended a phase-out of RFE/RL.

In its annual report to the president and Congress, the commission maintains that the U.S. government established RFE/RL in the early 1950s to help the populations of the captive nations of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union maintain contact with the West, overcome censorship, and break the internal controls and repression that prevented them from learning what is going on in their own countries. The situation in 1993 has changed dramatically, the commission states: people in Eastern Europe and the former USSR have access to

information from abroad, censorship and controls on information have been abolished, and the media of those nations are in the process of adapting

The Voice of America... is an indispensable element of the U.S. Information Agency, the agency that over the past 40 years has been mandated to conduct the U.S. government's public diplomacy—the international communications effort.

to democratic practices. “Plans to phase out Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty should be implemented,” the commission concludes.

Joining the debate and hoping to

help resolve it, the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy of Georgetown University recently issued a report entitled *USIA: New Directions for a New Era*. I chaired the Working Group on International Broadcasting, which made several findings and recommendations. The most significant were the following:

- As a consequence of the global communications revolution and the radical changes in international relations, the U.S. government must continue to be involved in international radio and television broadcasting.
- The Voice of America—the U.S. government's international broad-

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casting service—is an indispensable element of the U.S. Information Agency, the agency that over the past 40 years has been mandated to conduct the U.S. government's public diplomacy—the international communications effort. VOA is as vital to USIA's mandate as are the agency's Fulbright exchange program, its overseas libraries, its publications, and its corps of professionals engaged in international cultural and political communication. VOA should continue to operate in that context in order to be effective.

- Since television is fast becoming the primary source of information and entertainment throughout the world, USIA and VOA should exploit to a much greater extent the potential of television as an important medium of communication.

- Since all audience surveys in China establish VOA's primacy over other foreign broadcasters in providing Chinese listeners with news and information, we do not need a costly Radio Free Asia. It is not only a waste of money, personnel, and technical resources but would be counterproductive to U.S. national interests, according to top professional China experts within and outside the U.S. government. A modest increase in VOA's resources—mainly to improve program content—would enhance VOA's ability to supply its millions of Chinese friends with the information and background they require in their quest for freedom and democracy.
- U.S. interests are no longer served by devoting roughly 50 percent of the half billion dollar U.S. interna-

tional broadcasting budget to RFE/RL. Eastern Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union are now open or opening societies, with evolving domestic regulations and privatization of radio and TV, presenting unprecedented opportunities for a consolidated U.S. approach to communicating with them via broadcasting. RFE/RL's budget, with personnel, frequencies, transmitters, and physical facilities, most of them located in Europe, can be better used through gradual integration with VOA.

- TV Marti, the USIA-operated television program directed to Cuba, should be eliminated. Its costly and ineffective operation does not serve U.S. interests, and its slight audience during its pre-dawn hours of broadcast does not justify the resources it currently uses.

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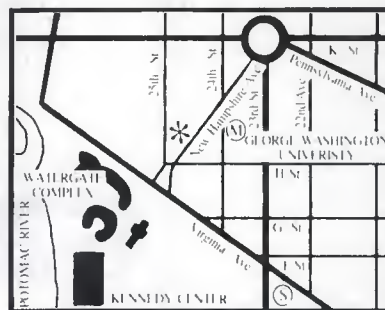
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- USIA should explore news program cooperation between VOA and National Public Radio (NPR). VOA, through its highly regarded foreign correspondent corps, could contribute to NPR's foreign news reporting. Such cooperation could not only enhance NPR's international news service, it could save NPR scarce resources since NPR would no longer have to depend on contracting outside news services. VOA in turn would contribute to increasing the flow of international news for the American public through VOA's comprehensive and authoritative news output. (Since VOA's news operation is, by law, designed to be free of political and policy spin control, the question of government involvement in NPR's programming should be moot.) NPR/VOA ties would be similar to those now existing between NPR and BBC, the British Broadcasting System.

The Georgetown study's broadcasting chapter ends with a quote from James Reston who, reporting for the *New York Times* from Damascus in 1977, wrote the following: "For detailed accounts of the world's news . . . there is nothing on the commercial networks of the United States that equals [VOA's] performance. . . . It says, 'Here is the news, and Walter Cronkite wouldn't be ashamed to read it.' . . . [VOA] is a costly service, reporting our national failures as well as our virtues, which also troubles those who want it to produce nothing but propaganda. But heard over here, a long way from home, it seems worth the money and even makes you proud."

This judgment, the Georgetown study concludes, is still valid 16 years later and will remain so. ■

Hans N. Tsch, a member of the Journal editorial board, is a retired Foreign Service officer who, during his 35-year Foreign Service career spent five years at VOA.

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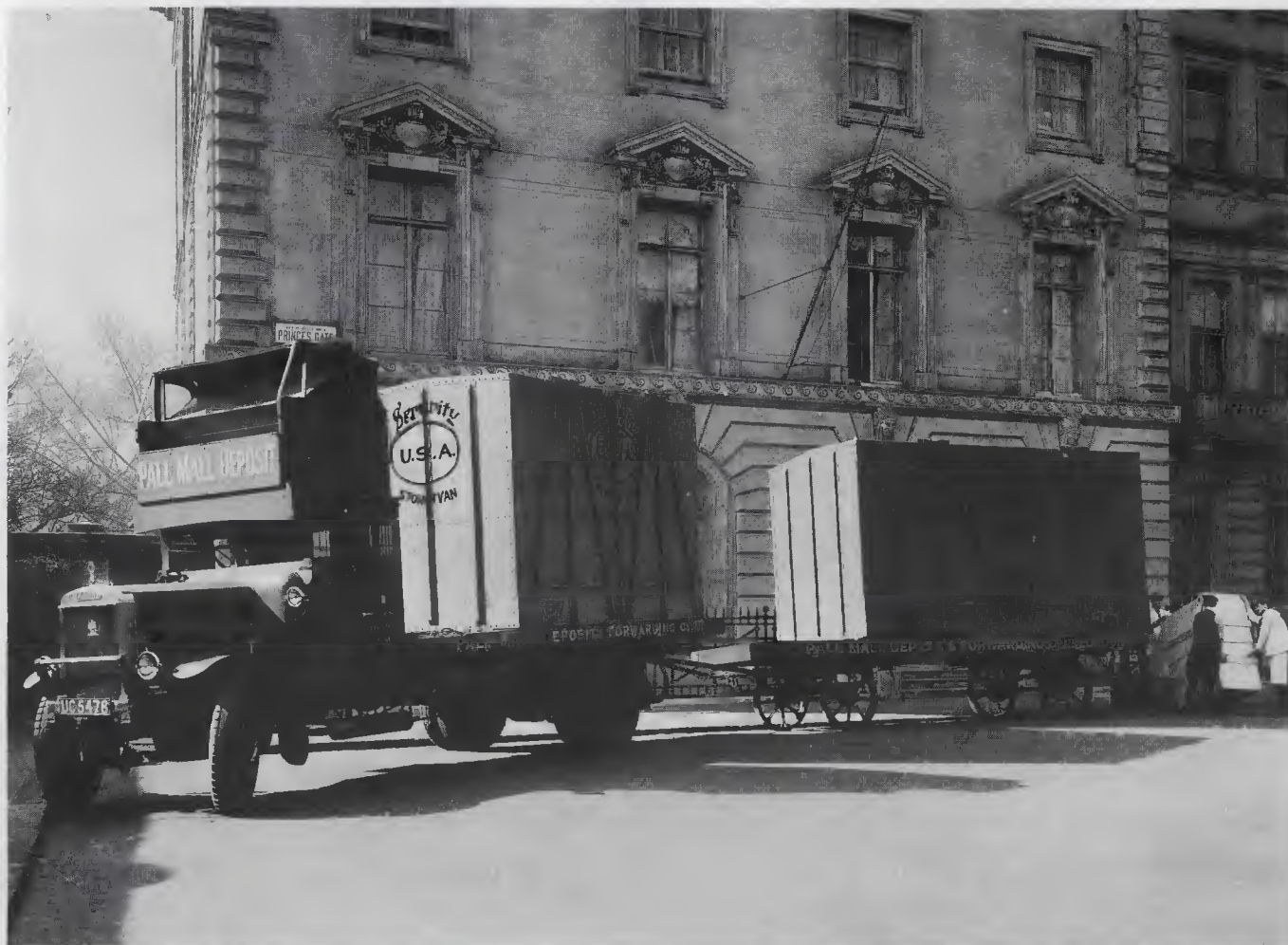
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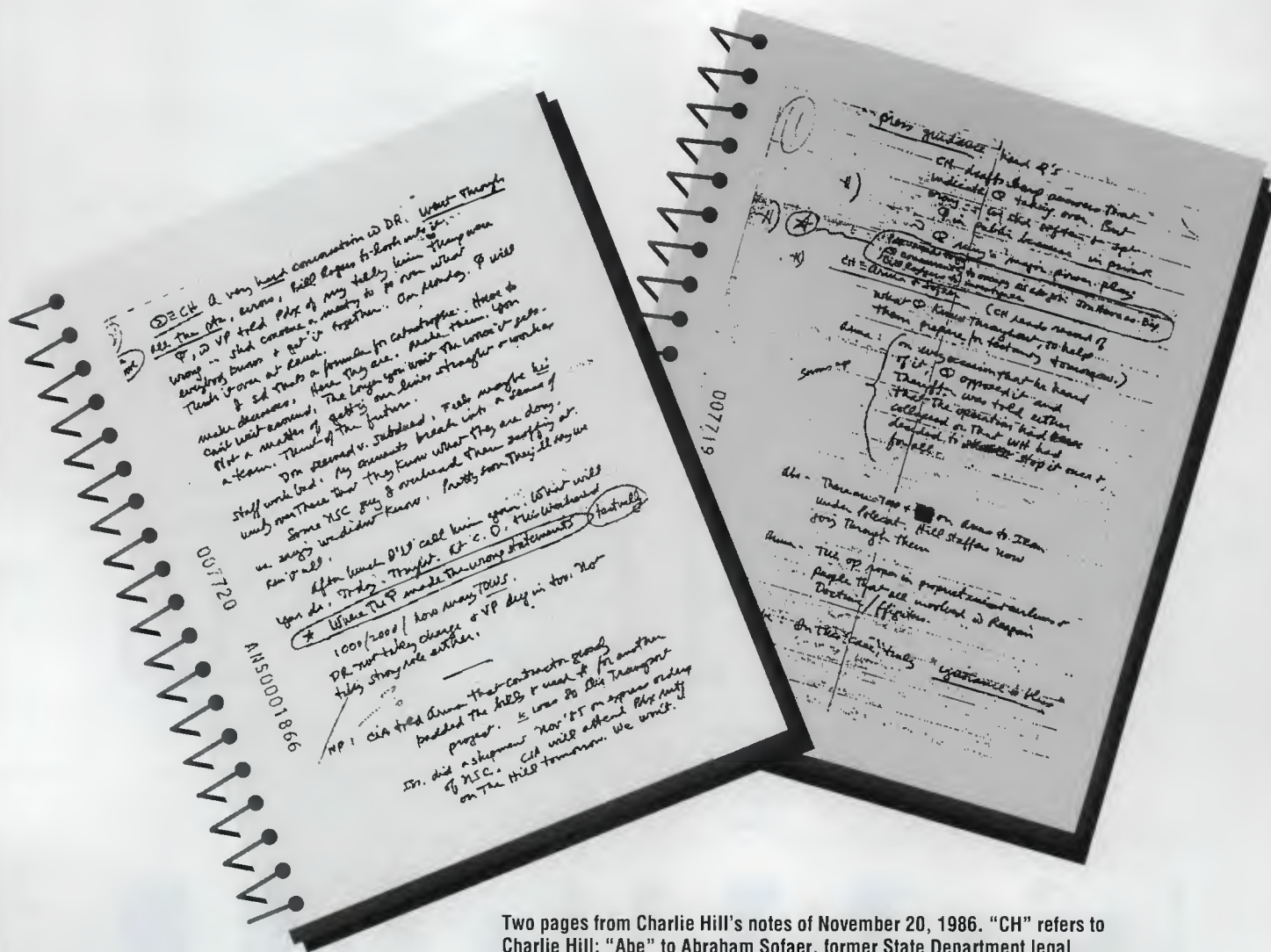
Charlie Hill's notes detail
the seven-day denouement
of the Iran-Contra affair—and
George Shultz's efforts
to stop it

BY JIM ANDERSON

SCHOOL for

SCANDAL

On February 7, the Office of the Independent Counsel for Iran/Contra Matters released a thick stack of documents, which would have been used as evidence in the trial of former Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger on charges of perjury and obstruction of a congressional investigation. The trial never took place, because Weinberger (along with former Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America Elliott Abrams and others) was pardoned by President George Bush on Christmas Eve.



Two pages from Charlie Hill's notes of November 20, 1986. "CH" refers to Charlie Hill; "Abe" to Abraham Sofaer, former State Department legal adviser; "Pdx" is Poindexter; "Arma," Michael Armacost, and "S," circled, is Shultz.

Among the hundreds of documents released by Walsh are 58 pages of handwritten notes by Charles Hill, executive assistant to Secretary of State George Shultz. They shed some new light on the intrigues of the Iran-Contra affair. More importantly, they provide an inside glimpse into how the business of diplomacy was conducted by the State Department leadership at a time of intense political intrigue and combat.

The notetaker, "Charlie" Hill, was a career Foreign Service officer with long experience in the Middle East and Asia. He would be the model of the perfect State Department man except for his slightly unkempt, rumpled look and the fact that he arrived in the State Department ga-

rage every morning on his motorcycle, occasionally with his daughter, who was a State Department summer intern, riding on the seat behind him. In 1989 Hill left Washington to move to Stanford University in Palo Alto, California with Shultz, where he helped the former secretary of state with his memoirs, *Turmoil and Triumph*.

Hill's penchant for discretion at the State Department was legendary. The notes show an extraordinarily open and trusting relationship between him and Shultz, based on a covenant of secrecy demanded by Shultz for anybody who worked close to him.

The only spectacular leak from the inside of Shultz's administration came from his wife, O'bie, who confirmed

to reporters on a trip to China that he does indeed have a tattoo of a tiger on his tail. Hill's publicly released notes probably include a historic first and last: answering a call from a reporter, in which he denied a rumor that Shultz had resigned. Hill's job was to listen, not talk. Occasionally Shultz would deputize him to do tasks such as take the call of the Greek owner of the San Diego Chargers asking that Greek Prime Minister Papandreu be invited to the United States. But mainly he was just there: taking notes, sitting in on meetings, listening as Shultz spoke on the telephone, flitting in and out of the secretary of state's office, the career Foreign Service officer as the compleat fly on the wall. The recorded results were meant to be

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seen only by Shultz and Hill.

The snapshot of Hill's meticulous notes shows he was more than an amanuensis. He was also a trained observer and analyst, and some of those observations and analyses became part of the process he was reporting on. Hill's thoughts as written in the notes occasionally reappear a few pages later, attributed to Shultz.

ISOLATING THE "CABAL"

The 58 steno-book pages released by Walsh cover a period of seven days in November 1986 when the Iran-Contra affair began to unfold in all its odoriferous detail. Initially, the scandal was about an attempt by officials in the Reagan Administration to trade arms to Iran in return for the release of American hostages in Lebanon. It grew to include the illegal transfer of funds from those transactions to the "Contras" fighting to overturn the Marxist government in Nicaragua, as well as the covert raising of funds from other governments for that purpose.

But the operation, dubbed "Polecat" in Hill's notes, extended far beyond a complex and ill-advised inter-

national arms deal. He and Shultz perceived it to be a kind of a palace coup by the CIA and National Security Council staff to take over the government's foreign policy by bypassing the State and Defense departments, the traditional and constitutional custodians of national security. The plot depended on influencing a confused and susceptible president who wavered between passivity and obstinacy but who had an incomparable ability to communicate to the American people through television.

The "cabal," to use Hill's word, was led by Director of Central Intelligence William Casey. The operational manager at the time of the seven-day episode captured in Hill's notebook was National Security Adviser William Poindexter. The attempt nearly succeeded and came within a few hours of removing Shultz from office, a crucial step on the road.

Shultz, who described his chief

opponent, Casey, as a "street-fighter," had some pretty good experience in bureaucratic brawling himself, and he used his chief weapons—the threat to resign, and his own internal intelligence resources—shrewdly.

Written in a tiny but legible hand, the Hill notes open on November 19, 1986 just before a White House news conference in which Reagan was planning to deny that he had knowingly traded arms for hostages when he sold weapons to the Islamic Republic of Iran. As Hill jotted down, Shultz called Don Regan on a secure line,

raising his threat to resign unless the president faced the facts. Shultz compared the president to someone who pays protection money to gangsters and says it's worthwhile because "I didn't get beat up this month."

Earlier, Shultz told Hill he had confronted Reagan directly about the arms sales to Iran. The president, according to Shultz, responded, "You're telling

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me things I don't know." Shultz answered, "If I'm telling things you don't know, then you don't know very much, so something is wrong here." (Hill writes: "One more step to isolate the cabal. Useful.")

NO SALE

Shultz pleaded with Reagan not to claim in the coming news conference that Iran had become more moderate and was moving away from supporting terrorism. But, Shultz sadly told Hill, "I didn't make a sale." He was right.

Reagan played his role in the news conference as rehearsed, mainly on the information given him by Poindexter. It was a disaster for a president who had relied so heavily on his image as a straight-shooter. Here he was on primetime national television confused, making a series of patently untrue statements including grossly understating the number of weapons sent to Iran, misunderstanding what the missiles were, and claiming that the United States had not condoned such shipments by other countries. In fact, it had already been made public by Don Regan that the

United States had condoned one shipment of arms from Israel to Iran.

Reagan was hammered by the White House reporters and floundered pathetically. (Hill's notes say that one of the White House reporters was "a plant" with the agreement that if Reagan called on her, she would change the subject. She did, but it came too late to save the president.)

Later, Reagan was defensive and angry, refusing to see Shultz, who wanted to go through all the misstatements that Reagan had made on national television. In the painful postmortem, Hill prepared for Shultz a series of talking points that would govern the State Department strategy in dealing with Reagan and the "cabal": "The truth was not being told, the NSC is the target, and changes must be made. Shultz has the credibility and the ability, and if things don't change, Congress is going to tear this place apart."

The tactic, as outlined in the Hill notes by Shultz, would be to get rid of Poindexter and Oliver North, the point man in the scandal. Shultz would then temporarily take over

the National Security adviser's job, while retaining the State Department post. Later, Shultz would appoint someone he trusted to take over the job.

COUNTERATTACK

Meanwhile, the White House staff was beginning to fight back. On Monday, November 24, Hill entitled the page: "Shultz becomes the target." Just after the news conference five days earlier, Shultz reported overhearing "some NSC guy . . . scoffing at us saying we didn't know. Pretty soon they'll be saying we ran it all." Shultz, who apparently had no direct access to Nancy Reagan, also tried to enlist her by having Under Secretary for Political Affairs Michael Armacost call Charles Wick, USIA director and a friend of the Reagans. The attempt failed, with Nancy replying frostily through Wick, a Reagan family friend, that the State Department "had not been helpful."

Weinberger, at first an ally of Shultz, was reported by Hill to be distancing himself from the secretary of state (from other notes released by Walsh's office it is possible to conclude that



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Weinberger may have had an eye on the State Department job). Don Regan also headed for cover, acting as if this were "the first time he ever heard of this," according to Shultz.

Nevertheless, Shultz begged chief of staff Regan on the day after the disastrous news conference (November 20) to go with him to see the president, preferably in the privacy of the White House family quarters, because, as Shultz explained, "If I'm by myself, the president transforms the message." The meeting—described by Shultz as "hot and heavy"—did not succeed. Reagan refused to understand that he had a problem. If he did have a problem, he seemed to think a "media blitz" could make things right again.

Shultz's intention to resign on Monday, November 24 was genuine. He rehearsed the language with Hill: "Ten years in the cabinet, but time for a fresh face. The most interesting job and the team (at State) sensational."

Compounding Shultz's difficulties were other signs that Reagan was increasingly coming under the influence of White House conservatives, short-circuiting the State Department. Shultz told Hill about Reagan's desire to invite Augusto Pinochet, the Chilean dictator, to Washington. Shultz was appalled. "Don't even think of it. The man has blood on his hands."

Shultz told Hill that presidential assistant Patrick Buchanan turned the southern African policy of accommodation into one of confrontation and "down we went." (That was another battle won later by Shultz and Assistant Secretary for Africa Chester Crocker and their policy of "constructive engagement"). For other, unrelated reasons Nancy Reagan also wanted the abrasive Buchanan out of his White House position. She came up with what she and the president thought was a neat solution, sending Buchanan to Brussels as U.S. ambassador to NATO. When Shultz was informed, he reported to Hill, "I am speechless" and "It is an insult to our intelligence."

PALACE DREAMS

During the course of the week,

Shultz frequently thought of what would happen if he were to be given his wish to have control of the NSC. He told Hill: "The White House is a court, a political place." The national security adviser had to be someone like himself backed up by a solid deputy such as Richard Armitage, Michael Armacost, or Jonathan Howe. He was determined to correct a basic flaw, he reiterated to Hill, the mixing of intelligence with operations which inevitably produced biased, untrustworthy intelligence.

There was a kind of gallows humor reflected in Hill notes in the tense hours as the fight approached its climax. Shultz recounted to his staff the story of Clark Kerr, chancellor of the University of California and a foe of Reagan who was fired by Reagan in the 1960s as soon as Reagan became governor. Kerr told his staff, "I am leaving this job as I entered it—fired with enthusiasm."

After a weekend of cooling off after the news conference and the confrontation between Reagan and Shultz, the secretary of state was summoned to a White House session of a National Security Policy Group (NSPG) on Monday. As he told Hill, it was "the damndest meeting."

Presided over by a president feeling beleaguered, the meeting began with Poindexter's and Casey's defending of the arms sales and the sales results. Attorney General Ed Meese, who was supposed to be gathering facts for the president and who Shultz had hoped would speak up sat silent. Shultz's fervent arguments against the arms sales made no impact on President Reagan, who pounded the table and raged at "anonymous sources." According to Weinberger's notes, released by Walsh in the same batch as Hill's, Reagan thundered, "That's bullshit" to suggestions that he apologize for the past and move on.

Shultz, in keeping with Reagan's orders, did not brief any of his staff, but he concluded to Hill, "The president is totally in Poindexter's pocket." Standing isolated, Shultz plaintively asked Hill, "Maybe *we* (his emphasis) are crazy?"

Shultz had learned, possibly at the

NSPG meeting, that the United States was helping both sides in the Iran-Iraq war, selling Hawk anti-aircraft missiles to Iran on one hand while giving Iraq U.S. satellite intelligence about Iranian targets and deployments on the other. It was the ultimate double-cross: the Casey-Poindexter team was giving Iran sophisticated air defenses and then, at the same time, steering the Iraqi pilots to fly toward range of the missiles. The result, according to Shultz, was "our friends feel deceived and scared to death." The identity of "our friends" was not made clear, but he was presumably referring to Iraq. In addition, according to Hill's notes, "Mort" (Morton Abramowitz, assistant secretary for Intelligence and Research) thought there was gross financial corruption in the program of selling arms to Iran. The hunch, according to later evidence, was right on the money.

DIFFERENT WAVELENGTHS

An undercurrent in the Hill notebook is the unspoken question: How did such a skilled and respected figure as Shultz—and the department that he led—lose so much influence over foreign policy and the president? Hill had a theory:

"It all started with the fall of [President Ferdinand] Marcos [of the Philippines, nine months earlier] which the president could not reconcile himself to . . . and never has. Shultz and president's wavelengths started to diverge at that point.

"The Reagan doctrine really had 2 sides: ff [support for the freedom-fighters] and support for the democratic opposition in authoritarian countries. The president had a hard time with the latter.

"The diverging wavelengths were discerned by the White House/National Security Council staff, who

started referring to Shultz and dept. [of State] in increasingly contemptuous manner." Over the previous five to six months, the Washington press had perceived Poindexter as ineffectual and not up to the job.

"At the same time," Hill continued, "for no particular reason other than Shultz's concerns to move by consensus, [we] increased the number of issues we asked the NSC to clear on, or to approve. The NSC staff seemed

An undercurrent in the Hill notebook is the unspoken question: How did such a skilled and respected figure as Shultz—and the department that he led—lose so much influence over foreign policy and the president?

previous summer, mainly because of the "guerrilla warfare" conducted by the White House staff. That included the refusal by a low-ranking White House aide, Jonathan Miller, to grant Shultz presidential authority to use U.S. Air Force planes to fly to Ottawa and to El Salvador after the earthquake.

Reagan and Casey also refused to join the State Department's effort to isolate the Pinochet regime in Chile and force it to hand power over to a democratic, civilian government. Hill wrote, "Like with Marcos, [they] don't want to undermine anyone standing against communism. Shultz not on that wavelength." Shultz agreed with that analysis, telling Hill that the president "has been uncomfortable [with me] ever since" the Marcos downfall and the U.S. role in it.

Hill also had a theory for the Washington rumor mill saying that Senator Paul Laxalt (R-NV) would succeed Shultz at the State Department. The reason: "The president would rather hand over the [1988 presidential] cam-

to see this as an opportunity to demonstrate how important they were and how they could overrule State, so they often fought or rejected us apparently gratuitously, not on the merits. Personal discussions became increasingly acrimonious."

Hill noted that Shultz had offered his resignation the

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paign to him than to Bush. Laxalt would need a visible role in the 2 years until then." The secretary of state's job would supply it. (Ironically, it had been Laxalt, convinced by Shultz, who played a crucial role in persuading Reagan and Marcos that it was time for Marcos to step down.)

MEESE AND MEN

George Bush's personal diary, released by Walsh's office in December, makes it clear that Shultz's sense of isolation was not unfounded. Shultz had made a trip to the vice president's residence during the week to try to convince Bush to join him, but Bush argued that he had been "technically" right in supporting the strategic initiatives. Shultz lectured him, "You can't be technically right; you have to be right." That was another Shultz sale not made.

The Bush diary, apparently written to serve as the basis of his memoirs and not to be published in its raw form, is almost a self-parody, a collection of "Bushisms" that focus obsessively on his main aim, to take over the presidency from Reagan in the White House. After the central facts about Iran-Contra were spilling out in the White House Bush wrote:

"My stature will tell. You've got to come out of this with integrity and honor, telling the truth, supporting the president."

That was the crucial difference between Shultz and the Reagan White House "cabal." Shultz was able to distinguish that "telling the truth" and "supporting the president" were not always the same thing.

Although he says in his published memoirs that Reagan had an actor's facility for convincing himself of the truth of a script he was given to memorize, Shultz was less forgiving of Reagan in private. According to Hill's notes, Shultz told Hill on November 19, "The president himself is up to his ears" in the affair.

Shultz was determined to resign on November 24, but he hesitated when he learned that Attorney General Ed Meese had volunteered to investigate the whole affair for the president.

Meese arrived at Shultz's State De-

partment office at 8:05 a.m. with Hill sitting in and taking notes. Shultz went through his knowledge, or lack of it, of the whole affair and how he had strongly opposed the sale of arms to Iran at every opportunity and thought that the "sleazy, bankrupt" deal had been killed in January. He had discovered that Reagan had signed a new secret "finding" in January permitting a new sale to go forward. Shultz told Meese, "It's not Watergate." But, he added, "This is a mistake, a terrible one."

Then without explaining how he had learned of it, Shultz told Meese: "Another angle worries me. It could get mixed up with help for the freedom-fighters in Nicaragua. There may be a connection."

There was such a connection, which Meese made public the next day at a dramatic White House news conference. It is impossible to say if Meese would have made his disclosure if Shultz had not raised, before Hill and others in his office, the question of the illegal diversion of funds to the Contras. Meese's response to Shultz is deleted in the Hill notes that were released publicly.

But Shultz's statement, reflected in Hill's faithful notes, made it certain that the truth would out, especially if Shultz carried through on his threat to resign over the affair. He certainly did know about, and encourage, the secret raising of funds from foreign governments such as Brunei and Saudi Arabia to help support the Contras. But he did not conceal information about them to Congress as Abrams did.

Poindexter and North were fired by Reagan on November 25, 1986 and the whole Iran-Contra scheme finally collapsed. Casey's brain tumor became evident three weeks later and he disappeared from the picture. He died in May. Shultz stayed on.

True to Hill's prediction, Congress began to tear the place apart. ■

Jim Anderson is a correspondent for DPA, the German Press Agency, who has covered the State Department for more than 20 years. He was formerly the UPI diplomatic correspondent.

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UNDER SECRETARY FOR MANAGEMENT
BRIAN ATWOOD, SOON TO HEAD
USAID, TALKS ABOUT TAPPING THE
FOREIGN SERVICE'S CREATIVITY

Rewarding Teamwork



Editor's Note: Named for the top management job at the State Department and confirmed in the post on April 1, Brian Atwood was subsequently tapped by the president to head the Agency for International Development. The main portion of this interview was conducted on February 23, before Atwood was named for USAID. His comments about the agency were added subsequent to the announcement. The interview and accompanying biographic narrative have been edited.

Atwood, 50, began his career with the National Security Agency in 1964 and joined the Foreign Service in 1966. He served in Abidjan and Madrid, leaving in 1972 to become legislative assistant to Senator Thomas Eagleton (D-MO). In 1977 he became deputy assistant secretary for congressional relations, and in 1979 he was appointed assistant secretary. In 1981 Atwood became dean of professional and academic affairs at the Foreign Service Institute and the next year was named vice president in charge of information and analysis at International Reporting and Information Systems. In 1985 Atwood founded the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), which seeks to foster democratization internationally. He traveled to about 40 countries with NDI.

The interview was conducted by Journal Editor Anne Stevenson-Yang and Communications Assistant Jonathan Ullman.

JOURNAL: Mr. Atwood, you've just been confirmed as under secretary for management, even though the president has named you to head USAID. Why straddle both jobs?

ATWOOD: The president and the secretary thought I would be more useful as a confirmed person than as someone just hiding out in his office. I will be looking at plans for AID.

JOURNAL: How do you plan to involve the career Foreign Service in that process?

ATWOOD: I certainly intend to utilize the talent that is within the AID Foreign Service. My belief is that the people involved in field operations are best placed to determine what will work.

JOURNAL: Does your appointment mean that USAID will be focusing more sharply on democratization?

ATWOOD: I care deeply about democratization. The problem in AID is that there has been a debate as to whether work in the governance field is really about development. I think my appointment should end the debate.

JOURNAL: Do you believe that USAID should be folded into the State Department?

ATWOOD: I do not subscribe to the view that AID should be folded into State. But I do think it should have a much closer working relationship with State. No one questions my relationship with the secretary, and that will be

maintained. I will be sitting in on the early morning meetings with the secretary. We just must find a way to bridge the gap between USAID and State. That will help a lot.

JOURNAL: Can you explain your decision to streamline the department by cutting deputy assistant secretary positions?

ATWOOD: One of the things motivating the reorganization is to see the State Department push responsibility down and give more of it to younger people, both Civil Service and Foreign Service. I think that's essential if we're going to have the energy and creativity necessary to have a successful operation.

We also re-instituted a procedure—to ask desk officers to come up and take notes at the secretary's meetings. We will be doing many more things of that type to get younger people involved in the process. But the other part of eliminating the DASes was simply that little was getting done in this building. We simply had too many DASes. We had gone from 46 in 1960 to 121. That really was unacceptable, and there was a very broad consensus in the building and on the Hill that we needed to deal with that issue. There had been an effort made a few years ago to try to deal with it, and nothing really got done. We have decided to hit it head-on in the early days of this administration and try to get the job done before a number of these new assistant secretaries come in and fight for turf.

I think we're going to succeed in eliminating many more DASes than anyone ever thought we could. And that will mean that the office directors and the country directors will be very senior people again.

JOURNAL: There are some who would argue that, although streamlining is necessary in the State Department, part of the reason for stagnation is lack of a clear foreign policy. Do you think that's an accurate perception?

ATWOOD: It has been from time to time in the past. I think that we start an administration with some advantages. Even though the Cold War is over, some priorities are clear. We of course are in an era when we have to go back to the

drawing boards and redefine our goals. But the thrusts of the Clinton foreign policy are very clear, and this is reflected in the reorganization. That is why we are now creating a Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration. That is why we have a Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. These are important initiatives.

We also understand that correcting the problems relating to our domestic economy is essential if we are going to have the influence we need to protect American interests. For years we have attended the G-7 meetings and, instead of being able to influence our allies to fix economic problems in their countries, we have instead been lectured about the economic problems our coun-

...the Foreign Service has been its own worst enemy. It has allowed itself to be politicized, it has lost an understanding of the word "professionalism," it has repudiated training to improve itself...

try faces. You can't influence world events in your favor if you're in that posture. So fixing the domestic economy is the No.1 foreign policy priority. State will ultimately carry a much larger load in the international economic area.

JOURNAL: State is being asked yet again to meet all these priorities with fewer resources. Are the demands realistic, and are the cuts fair?

ATWOOD: We will have to move resources around. I believe that through streamlining and reconfiguration of the State Department that we're going to be able to find savings and have the resources to do the job. I was being briefed on the implications of the new budget the other day, and people were a bit down, and I said, "Look, we're going to be forced to be creative." Bureaucracies, under the theories of Max Weber, tend to move along very slowly, build up inertia, and create new offices that never disappear. That's the nature of bureaucracy. Often you can

be even more creative and effective if you're forced to reduce, streamline, and lighten, and that's what we're going to have to do.

JOURNAL: What do you see as the Foreign Service's role in the new foreign policy environment? What are the strengths of the service and what are its weaknesses?

ATWOOD: Well, you've got me on my favorite topic now. I believe the Foreign Service is the indispensable balance wheel in the foreign policy process of our country. It is easy to overlook the contribution the Foreign Service can make. One of the reasons it is often overlooked is because the Foreign Service has been its own worst enemy. It has allowed itself to be politicized, it has lost an understanding of the word "professionalism," it has repudiated training to improve itself, for example, in doing good solid objective analysis. It has adopted a careerist mentality, which causes people to think about themselves rather than thinking of the collective good of the country or of the service. It has lost a great deal of its influence, because it has forgotten the concept of teamwork.

DISCOURAGING CAREERISM

I feel very strongly that we must stop the cycle of political recrimination against the Foreign Service because some people were in the wrong place at the wrong time, because they were identified personally with policies that were really the choices of the political leaders, not the career people. I am going to personally undertake to look into a number of prominent cases and see what we can do to explain to people in the political realm what it's like to try to be a professional when political recrimination is the order of the day. I'm more than prepared to use whatever political capital I have to try to make that case so that people come to understand the pressures we place on the career Foreign Service. More importantly, I would like the Foreign Service to find the respect for itself that it must have if it is to resist political manipulation.

The Foreign Service has to help itself. It has to reject this notion that the only way to get promoted is over the dead

body of a colleague. I am going to look very seriously at the promotion and assignments processes to see whether we can provide incentives for teamwork and disincentives for the kind of careerist attitude that prevails now. That means looking at radical approaches to the promotion system.

The thresholds that exist within the Foreign Service Act ought to be made to work more effectively. Once a person has gone beyond the junior-officer threshold, there really shouldn't be that sense of pressure and negative competition. The people we have in the Foreign Service are great people, and when they're working toward fulfilling the national interest, they do it exceedingly well, better than anyone in the U.S. government. They don't need the extra incentive of a highly competitive promotion system to get them energized. We should do our best to evaluate people for tenuring and entry into the Senior Service, but those who are tenured should feel less pressure to get the perfect assignment or the next promotion.

REWARDING MANAGEMENT

I would like people to be rewarded for good management. You know, you can have a superstar as an ambassador in an embassy who does it all him or herself. If that superstar ignores the rest of the staff, you're not taking advantage of the people who are there. We have too many of these people who are individual superstars. Maybe they should just go off and work alone somewhere. When you're running a post or running a bureau, you ought to be spending at least half of your time trying to develop the people around you and to encourage them to give their all for the cause. If you create an environment that inspires creativity and energy, then you're maximizing your efforts. If you create the other kind of environment, you may be successful on your own, but your office or embassy is not fulfilling its potential and you're certainly not a successful manager. We have too many great [employee evaluation reports]. Our system of evaluating performance simply reveals one thing to an outsider, which is that everybody here is a water-walker. That isn't true, and we need to

find a better way to evaluate people, and we will.

I think that if the thresholds are working then selection out is really very silly. I mean, if a person spends five years and is evaluated properly, then it seems to me that selecting out a few people each year is taking subjective judgment to the extreme. If they weren't good enough, they shouldn't have gotten beyond the threshold, they shouldn't have passed the exams. All it does is bring lawsuits down on the department. We spend too much time in court defending the indefensible. I think it's just a very silly system. That doesn't mean that you're not going to have a small percentage of people who aren't as effective as other people. But in every place I've ever been, you've had great people, you've had mediocre people, and you've had some relatively poor people, but who have some talent. If you're a good manager, you can make the most of everybody. So I've never liked the system of selection out.

I don't like the cone system either. I do feel it's important for us to develop the professions that make up the Foreign Service. I believe it will always be necessary for us to have strong administrative officers, good people in consular work, good economic people, and good political people. But it seems to me that we still have a contradiction built in, and that is that we're hiring generalists in the Foreign Service, and there isn't any reason, if we had a more sophisticated assignments process, and if we worked that five-year junior officer period, to identify the interests and the talents of our people. We could have a primary profession and a secondary and even a tertiary. We can make sure people have the opportunity to work in the different professions of the Foreign Service. I want to cut out the divisions. The divisions simply create a caste system, they create a class consciousness that is not helpful to the concept of teamwork. It seems to me that we've got to cut that out so that we have only one class of people.

The same is true of the Civil Service and the Foreign Service. The differences among all of these classes of people are what hold this institution back. The Civil Service has become the real mainstay of

the department here in Washington, the group that has the specialized knowledge and the interagency and congressional contacts. We really have to find ways to blur over the differences while respecting the different professionals who exist within this institution.

JOURNAL: Does that extend also to the separation among USAID and USIA and the State Department now?

ATWOOD: Very much so. We have a great opportunity with the opening of the National Foreign Affairs Training Center to try to get those sister agencies to participate with us. I believe that when people come into USIA and AID as FSOs that they should go through the same core training program. They can go off then and do their specialized training.

We are now fortunate in serving under a president who believes strongly in teamwork. Artificial differences that separate people are not going to be tolerated by the White House in this administration. He has sought in every way possible to send that message. So it seems to me that all of us who are on his team need to pitch in and make a difference in the way we do business.

We've got a good team here at State. The secretary and deputy secretary have created a very positive environment. The under secretaries have been meeting every day, and the meetings are characterized by collegiality and good humor. Nobody fears sharing information and nobody's out trying to set up their own power base or work at cross purposes.

JOURNAL: Do you think relations with the Hill will be better than during the last administration?

ATWOOD: We have that opportunity. You know, relations with the Hill are a function of trust. Trust has to be earned not only today but every day. You cannot afford to take the Hill for granted. You have to be open with them and you have to consult. For those who forget, the meaning of the word consult is "seek the advice and counsel of." Some people think consult means to notify when it's too late to do anything to stop us. If you have that attitude, you're not going to earn the trust of

Congress. I've tried over the years to earn that trust, and I think it will pay off not only for the department but for our foreign policy.

JOURNAL: Your remarks about teamwork and compromise make a lot of sense, but I can also imagine people reading your comments and thinking, well, "State's the one, and particularly the Foreign Service is the one, that compromises." Aren't we going to continue losing out in what unfortunately remains a turf war among State, Defense, the CIA, the NSC, Commerce, Treasury, etc. for foreign policy?

ATWOOD: I prefer not to look at the world that way. Looking back, a number of compromises have been made in the past. We're interested in rationalizing and putting together the best team possible. We need to look again at the whole question of foreign assistance and try to rationalize it. We ought to be taking a much more strategic approach to foreign affairs, especially the programmatic side. If we're going to have a development program in, for example, southern Africa, we should look at that region and look at what all the different agencies can do to provide assistance, look at what other countries can do, and then put together a plan.

It seems to me that the disputes among bureaucracies in the national security area have had a very negative effect on relationships among the various agencies. If we can forget about jurisdictional lines and look at it in terms of a strategy, as the military did so successfully over the years in waging the Cold War, but a strategy for promoting democracy, encouraging environmental improvement, encouraging development—then all of the agencies would be forced to make their case within the context of a national security process that would have us eliminating duplication and becoming a lot more effective in the way we do business. Such a process inevitably would be led by the State Department, because we have the broadest view of U.S. interests in the world. It seems to me that the State Department would come out very well in that process.

JOURNAL: Thank you very much. ■

Atwood on Atwood

The following edited comments were excerpted from a February 23 interview with Under Secretary for Management Brian Atwood

I entered the Foreign Service after a brief internship at the National Security Agency some 27 years ago. I spent six years in the Foreign Service. But I go back even further to find the source of my interest in foreign affairs. When I was 16 years old I went to Luxembourg in the American Field Service. I came from a little town, Wareham, Massachusetts, and really hadn't thought much about the world. That experience changed my life. It led me into the Foreign Service and international work.

I came from a middle-class family. My father was a dispatcher in a fire station and my mother was a dental assistant. She worked—that was rare in those days. They helped pay my way through college. They hadn't gotten college degrees and they wanted me to do better. My aunt was the only one in the family who had a college degree. I remember looking up to her.

My first Foreign Service post was Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire; then I was assigned to Madrid, Spain. I spent four months in French-language training at the Foreign Service Institute then another five months in Spanish language training before I went to Madrid, so I have some feel for FSI, both as a student and a trainee. After the Carter Administration, I was appointed dean of professional studies. FSI is a very important institution, though it has often been neglected by the Foreign Service.

I left the Foreign Service at the age of 29—when most people now enter. One of the reasons I left was because I really didn't want to look forward to 10 or so more years before being able to make any important decisions relating to my professional life.

I went to the Hill, and there, as well as later, I had an opportunity to work with some outstanding people: Senator Tom Eagleton; then Vice President Mondale; former Senator Lloyd Bentsen, who is now treasury secretary; Ed Muskie, Cy Vance, and Warren Christopher. These are all people who could have been good presidents.

I started at the National Democratic Institute about 7 1/2 years ago with about five people, and a budget of a half million dollars a year. We now have 70 people and a

\$12 million a year budget. It's the Democratic Party's institute, chaired by Walter Mondale. The institute's basic purpose is to encourage democratic forces and to help people in transitions to democracy.

The National Democratic Institute was the best job I ever had. We really felt we were making a difference. We went into Chile when the opposition was divided and we got them to work together to win the plebiscite and turn over Pinochet's rule. We gave support to the opposition in the Philippines, we worked in Nicaragua, South Africa, Russia, and many more transitional societies. When you go into these places, you gain an appreciation for the influence the United States can have. We were a small institute but we had great influence, and we were able to make a difference.

We always underestimate our ability to influence events in foreign nations. You need to work with the right people, analyze the situation properly, and you can make a difference. I suppose that's a native American point of view: you shouldn't just sit there, you should do something.

I always felt that if I weren't in international relations, I'd want to be in Congress. I'm not saying that I would ever be elected to Congress, but I never had any doubt that I would like to go into some form of public service. I used to dream when I was much younger and more impressionable that I would follow my hero, John F. Kennedy, and run for office one day. That's perhaps why it's been a little easier for me than for many Foreign Service officers to understand the point where politics and international relations cross in our system. Many people never find that. Many people in our diplomatic corps are terribly frustrated by politicians, because they don't understand the orientation. I expect it will help me in my job here to understand what motivates both ends of this town.

I'd like to get more young people interested in public service, and I think the way to do that is by creating a Foreign Service and a Civil Service that reflect the country at large, making sure that it's as diverse as our country is. ■

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afsa news

Two slates and independents run in AFSA elections

This month ballots are being mailed to AFSA members for them to vote for a new AFSA Governing Board. There are two slates of candidates, the Professionalism and Participation slate (**) and the Members' Interests-United Foreign Service slate (*), and several independents. The Professionalism and Participation slate chose to have an integrated slate statement and a group picture, and therefore subsequent entries for members of that slate are biographic. The Members' Interests-United Foreign Service slate and independent candidates have statements, pictures, and biographic information together under each candidate's name. Candidates are listed by position, with the order of the names under each position determined by lot.

President: F.A. (Tex) Harris**, Joseph H. Melrose, Jr.*, John J. Harter; **State Vice President:** Tibor P. Nagy, Jr.*; **USAID Vice President:** C. Stuart Callison**, R. Carey Coulter*; **USIA Vice President:** Razvigor Bazala*; **Retiree Vice President:** Charles A. Schmitz**, Donald R. Norland*; **Secretary:** Catherine Barry*, Carolyn J. Dollar**; **Treasurer:** Marshall Carter-Tripp**, Anne Woods Patterson*; **State Representatives:** David H. Shinn**, Frederic Baron, William Veale, Hugh M. Neighbour*, Thomas J. Miller**, Richard L. Jackson**, Robert Brand*, Sue Saarnio*, Dennis Kux*, Christine Fulena*, Harry K. Thomas, Jr.**; **USAID Representatives:** James R. Washington*, Lee Ann Ross*; **USIA Representative:** Bruce Wharton*; **Retiree Representatives:** Kathryn Clark-Bourne*, Stephen A. Koczak, Edward L. Peck**, Aurelius Fernandez**, Kempton B. Jenkins*, Irvin D. Coker*, M. Bruce Hirshorn, Joseph Kemper**, Sally T. Smith*, Samuel F. Hart**

AFSA Newsbriefs

USIA News: AFSA has presented USIA management with a proposed collective bargaining agreement and will begin negotiations shortly. When completed, the agreement will govern labor-management relations between AFSA and USIA. While bargaining on this agreement proceeds, AFSA continues to actively negotiate on other issues important to the USIA Foreign Service bargaining unit.

State EER Form: Management agreed with AFSA's recent request to postpone the effective date for the new State EER form until April 16, 1993. The department acknowledged that they had encountered more difficulties in preparation and distribution than they had anticipated and they agreed with our reasoning that a delay would "allow all regular reports for this year . . . to be submitted without further delay." Thus all reports covering periods ending after April 15 must now be on the revised EER (form DS-1826).

Parking Open Season Re-scheduled: As a result of AFSA negotiations on the parking regulations, the parking open season has been re-scheduled to take place between August 18 and September 15. This will give personnel returning from overseas a better chance of having their parking needs met. Passes will be distributed in late October.

PER/OIG Information Flow: After meeting with the State vice president and legal staff, the Office of the Inspector General (OIG) has begun working with Personnel (PER) to ensure that OIG expeditiously notifies appropriate officials in PER of investigative results and that PER notifies OIG when personnel actions are delayed while awaiting OIG findings. AFSA received several complaints from employees experiencing delays in receiving promotions because Personnel was unaware of the results of investigations resolved in favor of the employee.

You can make a difference: The annual drive for AFSA's two tax-exempt funds, the Scholarship Fund and the AFSA Fund, is now under way. Please support our young people and the expansion of our professional activities.

Contact your Representative: Many members have noted that the proposed 10 percent cut in Foreign Service retirement survivor benefits will hurt their spouses and children more than it will reduce the deficit. AFSA has addressed this issue both with the administration and on the Hill. If you wish to register your opposition to this proposal, you can do so most effectively by contacting your representatives directly.

Vote for Renewal: Professionalism and Participation Slate

The Foreign Service faces major challenges in this period of unprecedented change—in the world, in our government, in our agencies, in our profession, and in our careers. Now, more than ever, the Foreign Service needs AFSA to be an open, assertive, effective advocate to ensure that our views are persuasively articulated and clearly heard as critical decisions shaping our futures are being made.

We, the **Professionalism and Participation Slate** of experienced activists, seek **both** your vote **and** your participation in the AFSA election ahead to restore a sense of pride and purposefulness to the Foreign Service profession.

Twenty years ago, when AFSA won bargaining rights in State, USAID, and USIA, it was given the clear mandate zealously to protect its members' rights and interests while continuing to safeguard the professional integrity of the Foreign Service. The creativity and dynamism with which that generation of leadership imbued the organization produced nearly a decade of unparalleled achievements in both realms (union representation, impartial grievance system, Face-to-Face Program, Dissent Channel, Open Forum Panel, etc.). We need to restore that level of vigor to AFSA today.

AFSA's leadership has settled into a comfortable rut and handed power down from one hand-picked team to another. Not since 1979 has AFSA's leadership been seriously challenged and changed. The incumbent Governing Board, and its offspring continuity slate, seem to have forgotten their dual mandate, despite their claims. The **Professionalism and Participation Slate** has come together to reinvigorate AFSA at this critical time.

Of late, AFSA has become little more than an "ombudsman" for the Foreign Service, its attention devoted overwhelmingly to bargaining with management over mostly routine administrative issues. To this end, the AFSA leadership has developed "smooth working relationships" with State and USAID managements, which have become, in practice, a euphemism for "going along to get along." Protecting our

perquisites and our working conditions is obviously a critical part of AFSA's mandate, and the **Professionalism and Participation slate** will pursue it aggressively. But it is not enough and it must not be at the expense of defending our profession and confronting the challenges with which it is beset, from within and without.

While the "continuity" crowd was spending five staff days inspecting the HHE storage facility in Hagerstown, the Foreign Service was being reorganized all around us. Where were they when the Ferris Commission was proposing the dismantling of USAID? When the Gillespie Commission ripped USAID's administration? When the Thomas, Veliotis, and State/2000 Commissions produced reams of recommendations critically affecting our professional lives? And where were they when the new administration virtually reorganized the entire

State Department? In all these cases, AFSA, on our behalf, should have been demanding an active role in these bodies' deliberations. At least, they should have offered a detailed critique. At a bare minimum, they should have reacted meaningfully after the fact—for or against. Regrettably, they did almost nothing.

The "AFSA News" section of the March *Foreign Service Journal*, after devoting nearly four pages to HHE storage, vouchers, packing-out leave, etc., concludes with a bland account of an open meeting to preview the State 2000 Report. It ends with the observation that "(o)n February 5, the State Department announced adoption of many of the Task Force's recommendations, although there are several important differences in detail." So much for an official response from our "exclusive bargaining agent" on the most important management reorganization document of the decade! Something is wrong. The Foreign Service deserves a more vigorous advocate. We need the **Professionalism and Participation** of all our members in the decisions that affect their careers and livelihoods.

The Foreign Service needs active, responsible, effective representation on the major professional issues **now** being decided. We need leaders who will speak out



Professionalism & Participation Slate: (from left) Harry Thomas (State Rep), Carolyn Dollar (Sec'y), Joe Kemper (Alumni Rep), Chuck Schmitz (Alumni VP), Tex Harris (Pres.), Marshall Carter-Tripp (Treas.), John Blerke (USAID Write-in), Aury Fernandez (Alumni Rep), Dick Jackson (State Rep), Stu Callison (USAID VP). Not present: David Shinn (State Rep), Tom Miller (State Rep), Tim Lawson (State Rep-Write-in), Sam Hart (Alumni Rep), Ed Peck (Alumni Rep).

against the pernicious trend toward increasing politicization of ambassadorial appointments, at the expense of the career Foreign Service; against the failure of the State Department's political leadership to support its own nominees against egregious congressional scapegoating and manipulation. Attention must be called to the relentless shrinkage of our resources, even as numbers of embassies and our attendant responsibilities proliferate. At the same time, our representatives must stand up against the steady encroachment on the foreign affairs agencies' authority by DoD, CIA, and others. This the **Professionalism and Participation Slate** pledges to do.

All the while we will continue aggressively to represent our members' interests in hard bargaining with the agencies in a time of shrinking resources. We must also broaden and deepen our key **outreach programs** to build constituencies for the Foreign Service in the business, academic, and minority communities, as well as in the media, and, critically, on Capitol Hill. Our slate's president pledges to invigorate and lead personally AFSA's faltering congressional efforts on key matters such as the COLA. This issue cannot be delegated to staffers.

To accomplish these goals and gain the renewed trust and vigorous participation of AFSA's members, AFSA must return to the days when being a member meant more than just paying your dues and receiving the *Journal*. It meant at-

tending large, open meetings to discuss important controversial issues, participating in task groups to study and propound Foreign Service positions on these issues, and vigorously advocating them with management, on the Hill and in the press.

Our slate will open up the confined deliberations of AFSA's recent past and empower the membership to participate actively and directly in facing the challenges which confront our profession and careers. We are committed to openness in publicizing the decisions and trade-offs which will impact our profession and to aggressively pursuing and protecting the interests of our members. AFSA can no longer be merely an arbiter of administrative regulations and a conduit for grievances. It must generate the ideas that will return to the Foreign Service the foreign policy leadership we have been losing steadily over the last decade.

Our platform rests on four core principles:

**PRIDE
PROFESSIONALISM
PROTECTION
PARTICIPATION**

Before the appointment of the new AFSA Board, we will be meeting with Foreign Service focus groups in all three Agencies to gather ideas on issues and, most importantly, on priorities for AFSA's new agenda. Our slate commits itself to engaging AFSA membership in setting out clear priorities in an Annual Action Plan for the association's dealings with the foreign affairs agencies' managements and the Congress.

We need your ideas and priorities now. Please send them to **Professionalism and Participation Slate** c/o Tex Harris, AF/RA, Room 5232 N.S., use E-mail, or FAX them to 202-647-0810 or 703-442-9064.

We, the advocates of re-

newal and empowerment, need your vote for the **entire Professionalism and Participation Slate**, especially the **write-ins**. We need your vote, your ideas, and your continued participation.

Professional & Participation Slate

- President: **F. A. (Tex) Harris**
- VP State: **Sandy Vogelgesang** (*write-in*)
- USAID: **Stuart Callison**
- VP Alumni: **Charles A. Schmitz**
- VP USIA: **Raz Bazala** (*endorsement*)
- Secretary: **Carolyn A. Dollar**
- Treasurer: **Marshall Carter-Tripp**
- State Rep: **Charles P. Huseman** (*write-in*)
- State Rep: **Richard L. Jackson**
- State Rep: **Thomas J. Miller**
- State Rep: **David H Shinn**
- State Rep: **Harry K. Thomas, Jr.**
- USAID Rep: **John Bierke** (*write-in*)
- USAID Rep: **Bruce Wharton** (*endorsement*)
- Alumni Rep: **Aurelius Fernandez**
- Alumni Rep: **Samuel F. Hart**
- Alumni Rep: **Joseph Kemper**
- Alumni Rep: **Edward L. Peck**

Key Slate Write-Ins

Sandy Vogelgesang for State Vice President: As a key drafter of the **State 2000** report, Sandy is committed to expand and balance AFSA's role as a professional and union organization. An outstanding leader and manager—DAS in EPA and IO, Policy Planning staff for Kissinger and Vance, Director EUR/RPE, etc. PhD from Fletcher. Two published books on foreign policy. Awards: 3 Presidential, 5 Sr. Foreign Service Performance, a Distinguished and 2 Superior Honor awards. Mom of 3- and 4-year olds.

John Bierke for USAID Representative: As the leader of the USAID/2001 Task Force, John has demonstrated great skill in organizing inputs from USAID's professionals to the new administrator—a task he is committed to continue. A 26-year USAID veteran in Africa, Viet Nam, Pakistan; directs R&D Program Office.

Charles Huseman for State Representative: As a career information manager, Chuck is dedicated to improving the professional status of **all** specialists in a rapidly changing FS. He is committed to lead AFSA's efforts to use modern technologies to improve communications with its members through computer bulletin boards, faxes, etc.

Reinvigorate AFSA : Vote Members' Interests – United Foreign Service

Joseph Melrose Jr President

AFSA now enjoys an unprecedented opportunity to help shape the post-Cold War Foreign Service. To be effective in doing so, AFSA must stress both the professionalism and integrity of the career service in State, USAID and USIA and also work aggressively in support of members' interests and rights. We believe the **Members' Interests-United Foreign Service** Slate is best equipped to expand AFSA's capability to tackle the questions most directly affecting the professional and personal lives of members. We seek your vote in order to do so.

The Foreign Service, like the country we represent, is composed of diverse groups whose common concerns create the community of interests that unites us. The AFSA Governing Board should reflect that diversity and promote that community of interests. Our slate of candidates does just that. They have the skill and the experience to move the Foreign Service into the future.

Our slate will vigorously defend the professional integrity of career employees—whether junior, midcareer or senior. We will work hard to see that those who do their professional duty in an honest and legal manner not become victims. We will continue to speak out loud and clear in opposition to unqualified ambassadorial and other appointments. Individuals who owe their appointments solely to the size their campaign contribu-

tions should not represent our country abroad.

Our slate is pledged to provide better member services. Thanks to efforts by those on the slate, AFSA's labor management has recently been strengthened. With two full-time attorneys a more experienced staff and more modern equipment, we can offer quicker response to members on "bread and butter" issues. Recent achievements with management and the Hill, due directly to the efforts of our serving slate members, include more days for pack-out time, no annual leave for local holidays when not on home leave or R&R, and likely legislative action to allow additional voluntary contributions to the Foreign Service Retirement System. The last is the first AFSA-initiated legislation in recent years.

Our slate believes strongly in a united approach in different foreign affairs agencies, not only for purposes of representation, but, even more important, to foster a team spirit and to ensure the most efficient use of available resources in this time of shrinking budgets. Just recently, we successfully completed negotiation of a framework agreement governing AFSA representation of USAID—a first for USAID. Among other things, AFSA succeeded in getting a full-time active-duty USAID employee assigned as vice president to parallel the active duty State vice president. Having won from AFGE the right to represent USIA foreign service personnel, negotiations are

now under way for a similar framework agreement.

Looking ahead to the next two years, the **Members' Interests-United Foreign Service** Slate sees as a key professional issue ensuring that budget reductions and institutional reorganization be carried out in a fair manner that minimizes hardship to individuals and yet strengthens the ability of the Foreign Service to fulfill its professional mission.

On the administrative side, we want management—at long last—to adopt uniform and understandable travel regulations to reduce the current confusion and inefficiency. Travel regulations should be revised and clarified to ensure consistency and to reduce the number of time-consuming and expensive disputes, investigations and litigation.

Retired members have a vital role to play. We are pleased with the recent establishment of the Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps by the State Department. This will enable much more rational use of retirees interested in short-term service. The problems encountered in staffing the dozen new embassies in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe last year amply demonstrate the usefulness of the reserve corps. Slate candidate for USAID Vice President Carey Coulter is already actively urging USAID management to include USAID employees. Our USIA VP candidate Raz Bazala is about to follow suit.

Within AFSA, our slate plans to continue to draw on the vast pool of experi-

ence among retirees for programs. The Speakers Bureau and Business Conference programs have paid large dividends in improving the image and broadening the constituency of the Foreign Service. This slate plans to continue the full range of these important outreach activities which have won new contacts on the Hill, with the business community and the academic world. Funding for these programs will continue to be generated from outside donations from foundations, corporations and individuals rather than from dues of members.

The *Foreign Service Journal* has increased its circulation thanks to a livelier style, increased membership and larger sale from newsstands. Our slate plans to continue the effort to expand readership while maintaining the commitment to journalistic excellence and integrity.

The **Members' Interests-United Foreign Service** Slate asks for your vote to continue our successful efforts to reinvigorate AFSA. We will vigorously defend the rights of the membership and vigorously support professionalism and integrity in the Foreign Service. We stand ready to cooperate with management if possible, but will not shrink from confrontation if necessary to help the Foreign Service meet the tough challenges to be faced during the coming two years. I urge you to take a few moments to read our slate members' individual statements.

Independent candidate for president

John J. Harter

AFSA should launch a concerted search for viable new approaches in U.S. foreign policy and the Foreign Service role in its formulation and implementation.

It's time to recapture the proud traditions of professional diplomacy. We can do this if we mobilize and organize the AFSA membership, including our retiree contingent. We should redefine our mission and persuade Congress, the media, and the public that career diplomats represent uniquely valuable assets for the United States. If elected president, I will urge the Governing Board to adopt the following initiatives.

Reinventing the gov't

AFSA members are collectively well qualified to design an effective foreign policy structure for the United States in the 1990s that will preserve and enhance the contribution of professional diplomacy. If we don't, no one else will.

Foreign policy

AFSA can provide a valuable platform for generating novel perspectives on foreign policy. We did that through the 1990-91 New World Order Luncheon Speaker Program that I initiated and oversaw as an AFSA board member. We should reinstitute that program. The Speakers Bureau can also increase understanding of the changing quality of foreign affairs.

Foreign policy process

AFSA should also create a flexible framework that would enable our members to exchange views for re-

forming the U.S. foreign policy process. The *Global 2,000* exercise, despite superb and timely rhetoric, failed to perceive the foreign policy institutions that might supersede those created in 1947. In addition, we should look for better ways of managing human resources in the foreign affairs area. AFSA utilized a series of task forces in the late 1960s to review specific aspects of personnel policy. So did the Department of State in 1973. In both cases the results were published and broadly disseminated. Such working groups suggest possible means of assigning small teams to look at manageable pieces of larger issues.

Conference on the Post Cold-War Order

If elected, I will urge the Governing Board to authorize a major conference in 1994 on emerging foreign policy priorities and institutions, based on the initiatives outlined above. The conference could not realistically reach formal conclusions, but it could feature enlightened debate on tangible proposals that might otherwise receive inadequate public attention.

Renovating AFSA

AFSA has grown like Topsy. Its traditional habits and procedures are obsolete. As president I would revitalize the AFSA machinery as follows:

Program coordination

AFSA could sharply improve the coordination of resources available to it by strengthening interactions among the Board, the AFSA staff, and the membership. I believe AFSA should estab-

lish a Program Committee, chaired by the president, to consider all means of improving AFSA's effectiveness in Outreach and other activities, with particular attention to our media, congressional, corporate, and retiree relations.

AFSA organization

As president, I would expect *each* Board member to accept primary responsibility for particular AFSA functions. The State VP, for example, working with the State Standing Committee (under the aegis of the Board), would bear the principal responsibility for AFSA labor-management functions.

Opinion survey

As president, I would favor a reliable membership questionnaire to pinpoint real Foreign Service interests and desires. The Governing Board could better tailor AFSA programs and activities to the concerns of its members if it had a sound basis for gauging them.

Corporate relations

AFSA has, under Presidents Wilkinson, Horan, and Kirby, begun to establish a provocative dialogue with major U.S. corporations on key international economic issues, especially through the Conference Program that I have administered. We should now expand our corporate relations into a more comprehensive program. The Board has agreed in principle that an AFSA Foundation could effectively advance this objective and enhance AFSA's ability to raise funds to support its various activities. If elected, I will urge the new Board to

authorize a feasibility study to assess the potential utility of the Foundation and the best means of moving toward its establishment.

Retirees

Foreign Service alumni comprise a rising percentage—now about one-third—of our membership. They deserve an amplified voice in AFSA affairs. My own interactions with retirees have convinced me that our retired colleagues would welcome more opportunities to interact with AFSA headquarters and participate in programs that will improve public and congressional support for the Foreign Service. Imaginative oral history programs could also develop valuable new information on important but relatively unknown aspects of diplomatic history and the contribution of individual Foreign Service officers to that history. As a practicing oral historian, I would press for the development of such programs, including an oral history of AFSA.

AFSA membership drive

The ambitious program here delineated would appeal to Foreign Service officers not now associated with AFSA. Many of them would respond favorably to a vigorous membership drive. We should also make an effort to increase our associate membership.

Conclusion

I believe the AFSA president should be a retiree who would be immune from any temptation to exploit his AFSA position in pursuit of personal goals. Instead he should use his energies to renew AFSA.

Presidential Candidates

F. A. (Tex) Harris
Professionalism & Participation

Tex Harris was one of the principal architects of AFSA's dual role as a professional association and union. Tex was a member of the Bray "Young Turks," the Harrop Union Elections, and the Boyatt Consolidation Boards; VP for the last two; on LWOP in 72-73 to organize AFSA's successful union elections in State, USAID, and USIA. He continued his work to establish a Foreign Service Grievance System.

Harris directs Africa's Regional Affairs Office. He received the Rivkin Award for his honest reporting on the "disappears" in Argentina; and was the first fired at EPA by the Gorsuch regime for his int'l advocacy of controlling fluorocarbons. Recent assignments include Senior Seminar and Consul General in Durban. Happily married with three teens. Computer hacker and avid reader.

Joseph Melrose
Members' Interests-United FS



Currently an FEMC, Joe Melrose became AFSA State VP in summer, 1992. His assignments have included: Viet Nam, Damascus, CDD/Stockholm, and CG Karachi, as well as PER, NEA, FMP, and A bureaus, in addition to Exec Dir of PM and NEA bureaus. In 1992 he was the recipient of a Meritorious Presidential Performance Award.

Active in community affairs, he has served on the board of a DC day-care center, founded Special Olympics of Pakistan, and was recognized by the Boy Scouts for service to youth.

Melrose has a teenage son and a somewhat eccentric Boxer dog.

State Vice President

Tibor P. Nagy Jr.
Members' Interests-United FS



The department has been in need of a dose of the same type of transparency and democratization that we have recently been promoting throughout the world. I believe "bread and butter" issues continue to be a dominant concern of our members in the field. Despite budget cuts, the department must do all it can for its people by providing professional, moral, and logistic support to the fullest.

Unfortunately, as anyone who has served overseas can attest, the department can do much better in some areas. For example, residential security funding is being squeezed just as crime is exploding at many posts, supply and equipment budgets are down to about nil.

While cost cutting will no doubt continue to be a fact of life, there may be better ways of doing it. For example, important training programs, such as language proficiency, will likely be targeted for further reductions. Instead of simply cutting such training, we should explore more cost-effective alternatives—like language training in low-cost local areas.

I am encouraged that the department is finally exploring some innovative solutions to our funding

problem—such as self-financing consulates—but more creativity is needed. Therefore, I admire the proactive approach Joe Melrose has taken since becoming State VP last year, and am delighted to be part of the **Members' Interests-United Foreign Service** team.

During this period of rapid change and uncertainty, the breadth and depth of experience offered by this team is exactly what AFSA needs. If elected, I will continue Joe's activism in working energetically and creatively for the benefit of all Foreign Service colleagues.

Tibor P. Nagy Jr. is a counselor in the Senior Foreign Service. Currently DCM in Cameroon, Nagy's 20-year USG career includes tours in Togo (DCM), Ethiopia, Seychelles, and Zambia, as well as AF/EX and PER. Nagy speaks Hungarian and French and enjoys Scouting and YMCA work. The Nagy's have 12-year-old triplets.

John J. Harter
Independent



Foreign Service career

Assignments to South Africa, Chile, Thailand, Geneva, and extensive experience in multilateral diplomacy—UN, GATT, OAS. USIA writer/editor,

Wireless File (8 years). Worked with USAID officers in Chile, Thailand, Geneva.

Pre-Foreign Service

History lecturer, USC; librarian, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C.

Post Foreign Service

Writer/editor, oral historian at National Gallery of Art, conference affairs officer, AFSA.

Education

Harvard (M.P.A., economics) and USC (BA history; M.L.S., library science).

USAID Vice President Candidates

Stuart Callison
Professionalism & Participation

STU CALLISON has been an **activist** on USAID professional issues during his 18-year career. While AFSA was silent, Callison **personally** stood up and testified at a public hearing **against** the Ferris Commission Report conclusions on the purposes of foreign assistance and merging USAID into State. Stu serves on the *Foreign Service Journal* Editorial Board, writing three articles on USAID and assistance (1/90, 1/92, 11/92). He served on USAID Managers' Network Governing Board 90-92. Stu is now D/Exec/Dir of Univ. Ctr. & BIFADDEC. He has 11 years overseas service in Africa & Philippines. Stu has PhD in Dev Econ.

R. Carey Coulter
Members' Interests—United FS



Our slate's name reflects our commitment to work as a team, emphasizing issues that directly touch your lives: promotion/assignment precepts, housing, travel, grievances, etc. We have a solid record of achievement, which we ask the opportunity to build on.

For USAID, however, there are two overarching issues. First: the restructuring of foreign assistance and USAID. I have actively pur-

sued these issues in meetings with over 20 key congressional staffers; the transition team, and our administrator-designate, emphasizing the importance of applying the expertise of the career service in the process and AFSA's valuable role to that end. Second: the conduct of the office of the IG. I have devoted much time to this, working with colleagues in USAID, the GAO (now conducting an investigation of the IG initially called for by AFSA), and staff of the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs. Your vote will allow me to follow this to completion.

In labor-management relations, I believe in a collegial approach—looking to create win-win situations. This has produced good results, such as negotiation of much improved promotion precepts. But I have taken a hard line as needed—for example, successfully opposing management efforts to implement new guidance on audit rep letters, which would have stripped protection from members of our USAID bargaining unit.

A vote for our full slate will assure a strong, well-balanced AFSA team.

Prior to becoming AFSA's first full-time vice president, Coulter was director of Egyptian and North African Affairs. An IVS volunteer before joining USAID in 1966, he has served the bulk of his career overseas, in Vietnam, Central America, Africa and the Caribbean. He is a graduate of Stanford and the Nat'l War College, and has done FSI econ and grad work at MSU.

USIA Vice President

Razvigor Bazala
Members' Interests—United FS



AFSA gained the right to represent USIA's Foreign Service personnel in relations with management for the first time in a hard-fought election last fall. My objective, first and foremost, is to follow through with management on the issues that led AFSA to victory at USIA: overseas housing and transportation.

I have entered into negotiations with USIA management on the framework agreement AFSA submitted to them in March that will govern the relationship between us. I will also work with the AFSA Standing Committee to articulate positions on other bread and butter issues our constituents want AFSA to raise with management. I intend to stay tuned in to members' concerns through AFSA Standing Committee meetings, which will be publicized in advance and open to all interested members.

At the same time, I believe AFSA should remain actively and productively involved in larger issues facing USIA. We have the ability to communicate with a broader constituency, including Congress, on shaping an enhanced role for public diplomacy in U.S. foreign policy. For example, we can promote the as-

sets USIA will be able to contribute to implementing strategies to foster democratization globally. I would encourage the Standing Committee to develop ideas to discuss with management on how to best use the Agency's unique capabilities to fulfill its mission.

An FSO with USIA, Raz Bazala has served overseas in Warsaw, Danang and Saigon, New Delhi, Belgrade, and most recently as PAO in Kingston, Jamaica. His domestic assignments included tours in USIA's Bureau of Policy and Programs as senior policy officer, at State as Yugoslav desk officer, and a three-month TDY in the White House. Currently assigned to USIA's Office of European Affairs, he was named the Agency's interim AFSA vice president last January. Raz is married to a State FSO and has two children.

Vote in the AFSA election

Ballots, mailed in mid-May, must be received by June 30.

The new board takes office July 15.

Your vote is important.

Retiree Vice Presidential Candidates

Chuck Schmitz
Professionalism & Participation

Chuck Schmitz is a breakaway member of the current AFSA Board. As Alumni VP, Chuck's active leadership and concrete actions have been the major source of AFSA's recent professional accomplishments. Chuck spearheaded AFSA's drive for the **Foreign Service Reserve** and started AFSA's Outreach Program (conferences for business leaders, Speakers Bureau for world affairs organizations, etc.) His AFSA activism extends over many years, including leading the fight in 1989 as former State vice president against **unqualified** ambassadorial nominations.

Don Norland
Members' Interests—United FS



We are engaged in an intense public bureaucratic competition. Even now, every Cold War office and agency seeks to perpetuate itself by staking a claim to one or another function more appropriately performed by the Foreign Service.

This is a competition we must—and should—win. The key is unstinting dedication, unquestioned integrity and reliability as public servants in carrying out our mission. This means conveying to the Congress and American

people the fact that we all man an "American Desk." Newly-activated programs of public outreach, including the Speaker's Bureau, minority recruitment and mentoring, enlarging our business constituency through the conference program, are fundamental steps in that competition.

This explains the importance of the **Members' Interests—United Foreign Service** slate on outreach. It also underlies the emphasis on expertise in relieving those administrative burdens that detract from the ability of the Foreign Service to focus on the fundamental issues of keeping the planet at peace.

Don Norland spent 29 years in the Foreign Service, nearly 20 of them abroad. His overseas assignments include Morocco, Ivory Coast, the U.S. Mission to NATO, the Netherlands, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, and Chad. The last two assignments were as ambassador. His department duties include Personnel and "M."

His activities since retiring have included several stints in academia, lecturing on U.S. foreign policy in the U.S. and abroad, and nearly three years directing African Studies at FSI. He has promoted U.S. private investment as a director at CIPE and for companies seeking to stimulate U.S. exports.

He is married with two sons in the Foreign Service and a writer-daughter.

AFSA Secretarial Candidates

Catherine Barry
Members' Interests—United FS



Presently the deputy director of the Office of Mexican Affairs, I have spent most of my career in consular positions. I have worked abroad in Mexico City, Quebec City, Seoul, and Jerusalem. Within Washington, I have worked in ARA and CA. Throughout my career, I have had to deal with the unexpected, such as the lifting of travel restrictions in Korea or the Gulf crisis, both of which caused a significant increase in demand for consular services.

During the two years that I have spent on the AFSA Board, I have been impressed by the demands on AFSA's limited resources to meet members' desires for individual services and professional prestige for the Foreign Service. I believe that we found a good balance. The members services office has good leadership and hard-working case officers. Professional activities have expanded to include minority mentoring, for example. I have been directing the membership committee to renew our recruitment efforts to bring all FS employees into AFSA. To continue these initiatives, please vote for the **Members' Interests—United FS Slate**.

Carolyn J. Dollar
Professionalism & Participation

Carolyn Dollar chairs the AFSA Secretary's Committee, which has strongly advocated equality and professionalism for all Foreign Service specialists. Carolyn opposed the AFSA Board's failure to transmit to management positions adopted by the secretaries on equity issues, including a proposal to provide DC special salary rates for junior FS secretaries. With USG 13 years; 9 years FS secretary with service in Europe, Africa, and Mid-East.

Treasurer

Marshall Carter-Tripp

Professionalism & Participation

Marshall Carter-Tripp successfully headed AFSA's NATO chapter in Brussels. Presently OES/SCT division chief for Europe, Africa, and Latin America. Her 14-year FS career has included department, AF, EUR, and ARA assignments. Previously she was associate professor of Political Science at Ohio University; wrote two books on U.S. and comparative politics that have been produced in several editions and languages.

Treasurer**Anne Woods
Patterson**
*Members' Interests-
United FS*

AFSA needs to continue improvements in its financial and personnel management already undertaken by Joe Melrose and the Executive Committee. The financial health of the organization is now strong. This year, we were able to reduce our debt by more than half. AFSA's investments in both the Foreign Service Fund, which is earmarked for financing outreach activities, and the Scholarship Fund (which exceeds \$1.7 million), are well invested and have appreciated more rapidly than the market. The Development Committee has been actively engaged in fundraising for the Speakers Bureau, Minority Intern Program, and other outreach efforts. Within AFSA, greater discipline has been imposed in personnel decisions.

Currently director of Andean Affairs in ARA, Anne Patterson has been a Foreign Service officer since 1973. She has served in Quito, Riyadh, and Geneva, as well as the EB, INR, and ARA bureaus. She is married to David Patterson, a retired Foreign Service officer. They have two sons.

Candidates for State Representative**David Shinn**
*Professionalism &
Participation*

David Shinn joins the slate with a mandate to continue advocating the proposals (published and unpublished) of the State 2000 Task Force on which many of the State restructuring proposals were based. David was the principal drafter on State Department organization and streamlining. He was also the State 2000 expert on the history of reform proposals for the Foreign Service over the past 20 years.

David's 30-year career has been focused in African affairs, most recently as ambassador to Burkina Faso. He served as D/Dir Somalia Task Force and is now State's Somalia Coordinator. He has a PhD in Pol/Sci from GWU.

Frederic Baron
Independent

Frederic Baron joined AFSA on entering the Foreign Service in 1988. His present assignment as an economist in the IO Bureau and his previous tours in Zurich and in EB's Intellectual Property Office have given him strong negotiating experience. He holds a B.A. in economics and an M.A. in the social sciences from the University of Chicago.

As our union, AFSA must be a strong advocate for members' interests through constructive dialogue with State management. AFSA can best serve those interests through the development of a reliable but flexible personnel system and assignments process which reward meritorious performance with promotion and increased responsibility. AFSA should continue vigilant review of proposed regulatory changes and should be there to help individuals who face personnel problems such as selection out. AFSA must also work with department management to address spousal employment and other issues affecting families.

As our professional association, AFSA must build a constituency among the American people to support the mission of the Foreign Service at home and abroad. AFSA should provide a forum for frank discussion of foreign policy issues and work within the department to enhance the policy role of FSOs.

William C. Veale
Independent

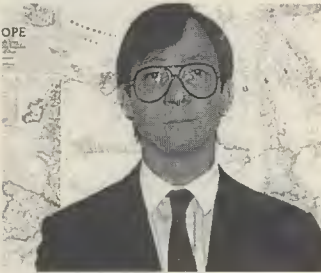
As America embarks on a new era in world affairs, the Foreign Service faces new demands for the skillful application of diplomacy. I intend to work for greater professionalism in the Service to help meet those demands. We must start by reinstating and expanding professional development programs as an investment in the department's future. We need to make the direc-

tor general's position stronger and attract our best officers to recruitment and promotion duties. We need a "sea change" in our bureaucratic culture to develop a new breed of senior officers, who, through leadership and character, bring out our best rather than stifle our creativity. And we must not overlook the pursuit of concrete benefits for employees.

In the late 1970s, I led the AFSA pay reform effort, which in 1981 successfully resulted in FS pay increases of some 20-25 percent. Thereafter, I withdrew from AFSA affairs until now, returning because of my deep concern about the health of our Foreign Service. As an FS-01 political officer, currently I am in the Office of Advanced Technology in OES. I have worked in Soviet, African, and Politico-Military Affairs, and in Management Operations. Overseas assignments include Strasbourg, Berlin (West), and Rangoon. I have also had details to ACDA and to the Air Force Academy.

State Reps

Hugh Neighbour
Members' Interests—United FS



Earlier this year, Secretary Christopher addressed department employees and solicited questions. Neighbour asked about the 100+ parking spaces at Main State taken from car pools and given to management, lack of on-site childcare, and smoke in the cafeteria. His question was interrupted by spontaneous applause several times.

Neighbour believes that AFSA should work with the new administration to solve problems that impact employees' daily lives, families, and careers. Early priorities should include adequate overseas housing, reasonable travel regulations, and a Metro subsidy for lower-paid department employees.

The Foreign Service Act requires the department to bargain with AFSA regarding personnel policies, practices, and matters affecting working conditions. Neighbour believes AFSA should assert its prerogatives in all areas in an activist but collegial manner.

Neighbour has served overseas at posts in EUR, EAP, and ARA. He currently is a country desk officer in EUR/NE and is also an EEO counselor. He is married with two children. Neighbour is an FS-2.

Thomas J. Miller
Professionalism & Participation

Thomas J. Miller has been a longstanding and effective advocate for the Foreign Service since the late 70s. Tom was the campaign manager for the AFSA Board takeover in 1979; served as State Rep for two terms, was principal negotiator on State issues, including redesign of EERs and establishing the State housekeeping agreement.

Tom's reach extends to being the most senior EEO advisor at State, launching a model UN program in Cardozo High, and teaching a pol/sci course at George Mason U. He directs the Arab-Israeli Affairs Office. Tom speaks 5 languages and has at least that many Honor Awards. His focus has been on balancing AFSA's professional and union roles.

Richard Jackson
Professionalism & Participation

Richard L. Jackson, as secretary of the Senior F S Association, has been active on key issues involving politicization of the Foreign Service, and equitable assignment policies.

As Dean of FSI Area Studies, Dick has been interested in using the Foreign Service Academy and FSI's training programs to instill a sense of pride and continuity in the Service. In 28 years, Dick has served in NEA, AF, EUR, & the UN; authored a book on the UN and numerous articles. Dick's service on overseas school boards has led to a keen interest in the education of our FS children.

Robert Brand
Members' Interests—United FS



The Foreign Service community will undergo extraordinary change and along with it the role of the Foreign Service specialist. Employees will be required to accept more responsibility and must be better prepared to meet expanding and new requirements of the Foreign Service. Adequate training, promotions, and more career enhancement opportunities must be addressed by the department. AFSA requires a voice from the Foreign Service specialist community as particular issues such as cost of living increases, job positions, and health compensation will be addressed in order to meet the needs of the changing Foreign Service.

Robert Brand is an FP-1 currently serving in the Bureau of Diplomatic Security as a division chief. Joining the Foreign Service and AFSA in 1976, he has served in Guatemala, and Berlin. With the Foreign Service community undergoing extraordinary change, specialists must be represented in AFSA. In addition to the goals of the Members' Interests slate, I encourage my colleagues and other specialists to take an interest in AFSA.

Sue Saarnio
Members' Interests—United FS



Sue Saarnio is an FS-3 economic officer currently serving as the Tunisia desk officer in NEA. She entered the State Department in 1985 and served a consular tour in Mexico City and an ec/con tour in Panama, serving as the AFSA representative. She was the Latin America economic analyst in INR from 1989-91. During her INR tour she also served on a special task force monitoring sanctions against Iraq for which she received a Superior Honor Award. She has taken FSI's economic training course. Before entering the Foreign Service, she worked as a newspaper reporter in Minnesota and Montana. Ms. Saarnio is a graduate of Macalester College and attended the American University in Cairo. In seeking election to the AFSA board, she would like to see the concerns of mid-level and junior officers balanced with the interests of more senior officers.

State Reps

Dennis Kux
*Members' Interests-
United FS*



Since Joe Melrose became State VP last summer, AFSA has once again been tackling professional and personnel issues with vigor. Based on our work together on a number of important issues, including political ambassadors, overseas housing, and senior performance pay. I am pleased to form a part of his ticket. It offers an excellent mix of experience, administrative and personnel know-how, which I believe will best further the interests not only of seniors, but of all elements of the Foreign Service.

Dennis Kux, who entered the Foreign Service in 1955, is currently executive director of the Association for Diplomatic Studies. He was previously director of FSI's Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs. Kux is also the chairman of the Senior Foreign Service Association.

Kux's career has taken him to India, Pakistan, Germany, Turkey and the Ivory Coast, where he served as ambassador from 1986 to 1989. South Asia has been Kux's main area of specialization and he has worked in or on the subcontinent for more than a dozen years.

Christine O'Connor Fulena
*Members' Interests-
United FS*

My role on the AFSA



Governing Board is to represent AFSA members worldwide to ensure that their needs are not overlooked as State reorganizes. We must be alert to any repercussions of proposed changes on members and develop solutions to problems which may result.

I've experienced Foreign Service life as a single person, as a married person, and as a parent. I've served in hardship posts, small posts, large posts, and in Washington. As an FS secretary and as the secretarial instructor at FSI, I am quite familiar with today's secretarial issues. I believe my background gives me a thorough understanding of the professional and personal concerns of my Foreign Service colleagues.

An FS secretary for 16 years, Christine has served in Geneva, Bogota, Port Louis, Brussels, Mogadishu, and in the NEA bureau. Presently, Christine is at FSI. She is married to a Washington, D.C. attorney and has a 7-year-old daughter. Christine graduated from The American University and worked as a congressional staffer and as a paralegal in D.C. before joining the Foreign Service.

Harry Thomas Jr.
*Professionalism &
Participation*

Harry Thomas is special assistant to the under secretary for Political Affairs. He entered the Foreign Service in 1984; postings include Lima, Kaduna, African Affairs staff assistant, and Harare.

He received a BA from the College of Holy Cross and a MA from Columbia University. He holds two Meritorious Honor Awards and two Performance Pay Awards. Harry is married and has a daughter.

USAID Rep

J. R. Washington
*Members' Interests-
United FS*



Working with AFSA during its transition from a pure professional association to one which includes a labor-management role has afforded me a deep appreciation for AFSA's full capacity to represent its members' interests. If elected, I will draw upon my broad HRD experience and my advocacy for EEO to promote a more diversified FS work force. In a period of declining budgets and increasing challenges, USAID managers must become more skillful in using the combined assets of our entire workforce. A vote for the full Members' Interests-United FS slate will help ensure a talented, dedicated

team with whom I can work towards these ends.

James Ryan Washington, a senior FSO, currently assigned as acting director of the Office of International Training (OIT). He joined USAID in 1970 as a human resources development officer in Personnel and later served on USAID's labor relations staff, where he had the dubious distinction of representing USAID management in negotiating the first labor contracts with AFGE and AFSA. He served in Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, and Cameroon.

Mr. Washington has contributed immeasurably to promoting career advancement of minorities and women by advocating EEO in the workplace and by designing/managing upward mobility programs.

TIME FOR A CHANGE

Your write-in vote needed for Professionalism & Participation Slate

***** SANDY VOGELGESANG**
State Vice Pres.

**** CHARLES HUSEMAN**
State Rep

*** JOHN BIERKE**
USAID Rep

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USAID Rep

Lee Ann Ross
*Members' Interests-
United FS*



Unlike Senator Leahy, I do not think that "our international assistance program is exhausted intellectually, conceptually, and politically." I do not feel that USAID "has become a tired, weak, and dispirited agency." Rather, I feel that we are among the best in our business. Our unique combination of highly qualified technical officers and our field presence allows us to be immensely influential even in times of declining assistance budgets.

In the Foreign Service, our management is ourselves. We Foreign Service officers graduate to become our own managers. USAID and AFSA certainly can work collaboratively as a team to meet the needs of the agency and the Foreign Service. I want to be part of that team.

Lee Ann Ross joined USAID in 1976. She served overseas for 16 years as the economist in the Yemen Arab Republic, REDSO/Nairobi, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia. In Jakarta, she was the director of the Economic Policy Support Office. In 1992, she returned to Washington and joined the Africa Bureau. She has served as the AFSA Rep in each of her posts since 1977.

USIA Rep

Bruce Wharton
*Members' Interests-
United FS*



Bruce Wharton, an FO-1, joined USIA in 1985 and has been a member of AFSA since entering the Foreign Service. He has served in Argentina, Chile, and Bolivia and is currently USIA's country affairs officer for the Andean Region. Mr. Wharton believes that, while it should remain active in the policy area, AFSA's primary focus should be on the fundamental issues affecting the Foreign Service's working and living conditions. Two areas of immediate concern are housing and travel regulations. Mr. Wharton believes that AFSA has a special challenge at USIA where it must prove its effectiveness as the bargaining unit for the agency's Foreign Service personnel. He will work to ensure that USIA's Foreign Service and its concerns are fully advocated and the **Members' Interests-United FS Slate** is the best team to do that.

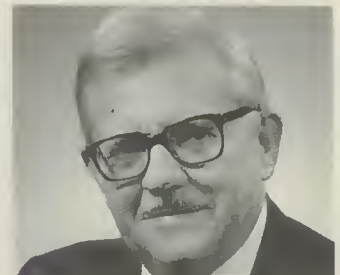
**Kathryn Clark-
Bourne**
*Members' Interests-
United FS*



If elected as a retiree representative, I will stand firmly behind the goals of the **Members' Interests** slate with special focus on the topical issues we retirees are interested in. Of present concern is the threat to our annual COLAs and the possibility of reduced survivors' benefits of retirees. I will take every opportunity to be involved in fighting for our interests.

My experience in the Foreign Service has included: consular and political assignments in Iran, the Netherlands, India, and Nigeria; DCM in Conakry, Guinea; and consul general in Douala, Cameroon. In the department I served as deputy director of the Office of Fisheries Affairs, OES, and deputy director of the Office of West African Affairs, AF. Private sector experience has included: editor, communications consultant, and supervisor for communications and research. I have a BA from the University of Washington and an MA from the University of Minnesota. At present, I am working part-time in the Office of Inspections, OIG, serve as president of my condominium, and volunteer at the Smithsonian.

Stephen Koczak
Independent



Over the next four years, Foreign Service retirees face serious attacks on their annuities and health and survival benefits. Threats already exist to reduce spousal benefits from 55 percent to 50 percent and to terminate orphan annuities at age 18 instead of 22. Other reductions are to follow. Although retirees constitute more than one-third of AFSA membership, AFSA does not represent them adequately. I intend to correct this by reorganizing AFSA staff to meet looming crises. I shall institute regularly scheduled AFSA semi-annual meetings in locations where retirees reside.

Stephen Koczak was born in Trenton, NJ; graduated Harvard AB cum laude. Military Service: U.S. Army, 1942-46, European theatre. Foreign Service: Berlin, onset of Cold War conflict with USSR; Budapest, declared persona non grata by Communist regime; Bonn, monitored revival of German Foreign Office; Tel Aviv, predicted 1956 Sinai war and its interaction with concurrent Hungarian Revolution; Bureau of Intelligence Research, Washington, D.C., assigned to report on nuclear weapons and delivery systems; again Berlin, predicted Soviets would build Berlin Wall.

Retiree Reps

Edward L. Peck *Professionalism & Participation*

Ed Peck was an artful demander for change in the Foreign Service during his 32-year career. As a member of the Retiree Standing Committee, Ed is the moving force behind AFSA's efforts to make ceremonial aspects of retirement more meaningful. He also works to ensure that professional openness and dissent are maintained within the Service.

Ed served as first chair of AFSA's Members' Interests Committee, AFSA Rep in Cairo, on Macomber's Diplomacy for the 70's Task Force, and as the only FSO to serve on the first Labor-Management Disputes Impasse Panel. Ed's career included a consulate, two CGs, and three embassies. He earned Meritorious, Superior, Rivkin, and Carr Awards.

Aury Fernandez *Professionalism & Participation*

Aury Fernandez is an active member of the AFSA Retirees Standing Committee. He was instrumental in bringing the USIA Alumni Association into the workings of the Retirees Committee. Aury's focus has been on expanding communications among all the FS agencies.

Aury's career covered a range of public affairs assignments in USIS in ARA and EUR, including a number of summits. He is now exec. director of the International Media Fund.

Kempton Jenkins *Members' Interests—United FS*



Kempton Jenkins spent 30 years in the Foreign Service. His overseas assignments include Germany, Thailand, the Soviet Union, and Venezuela. In his final senior position before he retired in 1980, Jenkins was assistant director of USIA. Jenkins has held a range of assignments in the government, including deputy assistant secretary of state for congressional relations and deputy assistant secretary of commerce for East-West trade. These assignments illustrate the commitment of our slate to a united Foreign Service representing all agencies engaged in representing the United States abroad.

Upon retiring from the Foreign Service, he became vice president of the Armco Corporation. Since 1990, he has been a member of APCO Associates.

Jenkin's extensive experience in dealing with "The Hill" both on behalf of the State Department and Armco would bring a unique quality to AFSA.

Irvin D. Coker *Members' Interests—United FS*



Once again, government employees are being targeted by both the executive and legislative branches. The foreign affairs agencies need representatives who are not intimidated in defense of our interests. Although I do not seek them, I have never avoided a good fight.

I know the foreign affairs agencies well, having begun service in 1964 and followed foreign aid and USAID issues from the private sector since retirement. A key issue for me is the reorganization of USAID. It must involve the input of USAID's development professionals, and related labor/management issues must receive full consideration.

Elect the full Members' Interests slate and all will receive fair representation.

Irvin Coker is a retired career minister, whose USAID assignments included the UN, the Africa Bureau, and mission director in Ghana and Uganda. He is recipient of the Superior Honor Award, and the Administrator's Distinguished Career Service award. He is currently president of Coker-Smith International Associates, Inc. He has a BA from Howard, MBA from American, and MA from SAIS.

M. Bruce Hirshorn *Independent*



M. Bruce Hirshorn has practiced law in Virginia since he retired from the Foreign Service in 1986. Before that he served in Izmir, Brussels, Hong Kong, and Kuala Lumpur. In the department, Mr. Hirshorn served in positions dealing with Turkish affairs, European integration, international trade, and legal affairs. He has degrees from Yale, U. of Penn. Law School, London School of Economics, and Georgetown U. Law Center.

The *AFSA Retiree Newsletter* in March urges retirees to write their congressional representatives to protest those provisions in the budget deficit reduction package that would, if enacted, impose a disproportionate reduction in Federal retiree benefits. That's not enough! Retirees comprise a large and growing fraction of the AFSA membership, and they deserve more support from the Governing Board.

If elected, I will press the Board to increase the resources allocated to retiree programs. FS retirees reside in every state. AFSA headquarters should galvanize and coordinate this potentially influential network by informing retiree members of pending congressional actions and by suggesting the most useful lines of appeal to our representatives.

Retiree Reps

Joseph M. Kemper *Professionalism & Participation*

Joe Kemper is a leading member of AFSA's Standing Committee for Retirees. Joe organizes the annual USAID Alumni Lunch on Foreign Service Day. At his own initiative, Joe has developed a list of hundreds of USAID FS alumni which he is distributing to increase communications among USAID alumni around the world. His major goal has been to seek greater recognition and opportunities for service for FS alumni and the development of an annual Alumni Yearbook covering all FS agencies.

Joe served overseas with USAID in Africa and as Admin Counselor at Emb Abidjan. After graduation, Joe joined Ingersoll-Rand, then set up new USAID programs in the NIS states, and worked for Sen. McCain.

Sally T. Smith *Members' Interests—United FS*



AFSA is retirees' contact with the present and connection with the future. We need the labor/management staff to assist us with problems as the Reserve Corps grows.

We must lead the effort to have the FS recognized for the many functions it performs. Being located here makes this task easier

for us than for the active duty personnel. Such recognition must cover the whole Service not just FSO's.

We need to have an organization looking out for our interests and AFSA is the logical one to do that. Who better knows our needs and aspirations? The **Members' Interests** slate has the balance, experience, energy and skill to do just that—on both the professional issues and those that affect us in very tangible ways.

Sally Smith was born in Georgia. After teaching elementary school and an Air Force career as a medical administrator, she entered the Foreign Service in 1959. Her posts include Djakarta, Taipei, Tokyo, Singapore, Hong Kong, Damascus, and Yaounde. She concluded her State career in 1989 in NEA. She is currently a travel coordinator with the office of Alexander Haig.

Samuel F. Hart *Professionalism & Participation*

Sam Hart has been an activist since joining AFSA in 1958. He served as: AFSA negotiator on Senior officer issues in the 1980s; member of AFSA Board which restored democracy to AFSA in the mid-70s; and president of AFSA's most active overseas chapter in Santiago.

Before retiring in 1985, Sam developed a proposal to increase professional-level jobs for spouses overseas. Sam's 27-year career as an E/C officer included tours in ARA, EAP, NEA, including ambassador to Ecuador.

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•In order to fulfill these new responsibilities, the Foreign Service must remain a highly professional and motivated work force reflecting the diversity of the society it represents with modern infrastructure, competent management, up-to-date training.

•Given our unique, difficult and dangerous conditions of service, appropriate benefits and protections are also crucial to recruitment, retention and equity.

The **"Members Interest—United Foreign Service"** slate offers rich experience to represent you to precisely those target groups that are critical to our success i.e. the executive branch, Congressional leadership, and the American people.

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1973: KOCZAK IS THE FIRST TO WIN A CLASS ACTION SUIT AGAINST STATE PROMPTING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN SERVICE GRIEVANCE PROCEDURES.

In the 1960's, the Foreign Service had become demoralized because of arbitrary selection-out and erratic assignment policies. Up to that time, the Department won all challenges to these policies, claiming that FSOs, like ambassadors, served at the sole pleasure of the President and had no grievance procedure rights. The AFSA Board failed to respond to this crisis. Koczak took action. He initiated and supervised the first successful class action suit in which Federal Judge Gasell in 1973 declared the existing selection-out policies "constitutionally defective" and ordered grievance procedures installed for the Foreign Service.

STEPHEN A. KOCZAK

CANDIDATE FOR RETIREE REPRESENTATIVE

Today, the Foreign Service confronts equally grave threats. Budget cuts over the next four years will affect assignments, promotions and selections-out. While everyone is concerned about how budget cuts will affect active FSOs, AFSA needs representatives who will also look out for retirees. Budget cuts will affect retired FSOs and it is important that their concerns are not overlooked. Among them: Retirement and Family Survival Benefits; Health Problems resulting from serving the Foreign Service.

- An uncorrected inequity is the reduction in retirement annuities to provide "insurance" for spouse survivors. Reductions in retirement annuities to provide "insurance" for spouse survivors have contributed to a major loss of income over the years. Yet, these reductions leave survivors only 55% of the annuity. Now it is proposed to hit the retiree benefits again by lowering survival annuities to 50%.

- Orphans of foreign service personnel are also among those threatened. There are plans to terminate their survival benefits at age 18 (before they enter college) instead of age 22.

- In an era of increasing health awareness, AFSA has ignored the health problems of retirees suffering the consequences of past exposures abroad to chemicals, viruses and electromagnetic emissions. These retirees deserve and need urgent attention.

**"I INTEND TO CORRECT
THE UNDER-REPRESENTATION OF RETIREEES. . . ."**

The foregoing examples demonstrate that the current structure of AFSA, including its labor/management activities, does not adequately represent retirees, who now constitute more than one-third of AFSA membership. The AFSA board must take action. *Koczak* calls for a change in AFSA policy in order to fend off the consequences of budget cuts.

- AFSA must ally itself with other professional, management and labor groups and increase lobbying at the Department and Congress.

- All retirees should be recruited into the Foreign Service Reserve in an effort to assure a continuing official relationship with the Department

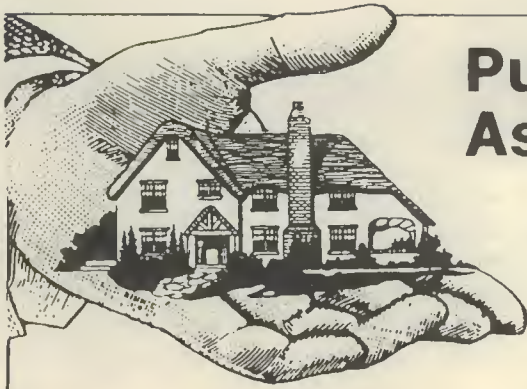
- In order to coordinate and to advance programs which reflect the needs and desires of all AFSA members, AFSA should have regularly scheduled semi-annual meetings in locations where retirees reside. **I intend to establish these meetings .**

No single member of the AFSA Board can achieve results alone. For this reason, I ask you to support most importantly JOHN J. HARTER, a retired FSO, for president. His very long service for AFSA, his knowledge of how past problems were solved, and his insight into current challenges have prepared him to serve all AFSA members exceptionally well.

Other candidates whom I endorse are:

Amb. Don Norland:
For Retiree Vice President

Bruce Hirsborn:
For Retiree Representative



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NEW DEMANDS



OLD UNITED NATIONS

BY DICK THORNBURGH

PUTTING THE UN ON A FITNESS COURSE

Today's United Nations faces totally unprecedented challenges and opportunities. With the end of the Cold War, the organization has shifted from passively refereeing ideological differences to actively addressing pressing challenges in peacekeeping, humanitarian endeavors, economic and social development, and human rights. In the 1990s, the UN has, in fact, been empowered to revert to the very mission intended by those who adopted its charter in 1945.

Thus, the UN finds itself today trying virtually to remake war-torn nations like

Angola and Cambodia and to provide humanitarian relief to beleaguered populations, as in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia, while also seeking to promote an environment for ending the hostilities.

Costly demands

The most visible and costly operations of the UN today are in peacekeeping. During the years from 1948 to 1987, a total of 13 peacekeeping operations were mounted. In the last five years, 13 more have been undertaken, with other potential "hotspots" cropping up with regularity. This quantitative change has been reflected in the

increased personnel requirements to staff peacekeeping operations. In 1987, military, police, and civilian personnel involved in peacekeeping operations totaled about 10,000. In 1992, by contrast, there were nearly 60,000 people directly involved in peacekeeping operations. Annual costs, meanwhile, have increased twelvefold since 1987, to a total of \$2.5 billion last year with further increases likely in 1993.

At the same time, this badly overextended institution is outlining broad new initiatives to help create democratic institutions and market economies in the developing world and in the former Soviet bloc. This creates quite a

different set of challenges for United Nations efforts.

For example, one of the most intriguing turnabouts in the economic field has been the transformation in the role of the United Nations Centre for Transnational Corporations. Originally established to check the inroads of giant multinational corporations into developing nations' economies and to provide a strict code of conduct for their activities, the Centre is now urged to facilitate the entry of these same corporations into developing countries and to promote their investment as a means of stimulating needed economic growth, increased employment, and a better quality of life.

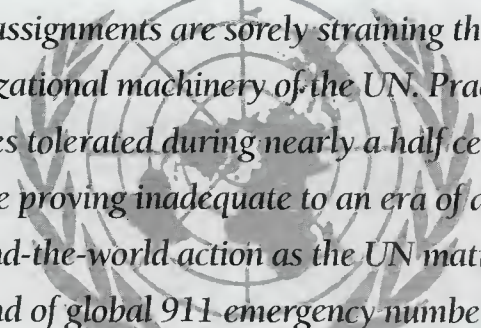
keeping functions. But much more needs to be done.

Based on my observations as the secretary-general's point man in this area over the past year, I suggested the following six areas for early action in furthering true reform in my final report to him.

Financial reform. The UN is perpetually short of cash due to the late and uneven payments of their assessments by member states. The term "financial crisis" has become so overworked as to be a permanent description of the organization's financial status. In the final analysis, only prompt and full payment of assessments will provide permanent relief and this will, in turn,

Ghali began his tenure with a sweeping reduction of top-level bureaucrats, these posts are once again beginning to proliferate in a kind of "two steps forward, one step back" exercise. Constant resistance will be necessary to deal with the political pressures that produced the UN's top-heavy bureaucracy in the first place. At the same time, even more effort needs to be exerted to eliminate "deadwood" duplicative and redundant positions throughout the organization. Since the UN's present personnel system effectively prohibits the firing of any staff member, however incompetent or corrupt, without substantial cash payments, reforms should be swiftly forthcoming to simplify the termination process. This would be both a productive investment in more efficiency and a shot in the arm for the morale of that vast majority of dedicated staff members remaining on the job. Finally, if the secretary-general is serious about his stated plans for pay increases, they should be accompanied by reductions in the present six-week annual vacation available to all UN employees.

Fraud, waste and abuse. The present organization is almost totally lacking in effective means to deal with the types of staff wrongdoing that have been recently highlighted in press accounts. What is needed is a comprehensive code of conduct with strict financial-disclosure requirements for key staff members plus a new Office of Inspector General to audit, investigate, and lay the basis for remedial action in cases of conflict of interest, misappropriation of funds, or other corrupt practices. More effective cost control can also be exerted by imposing a moratorium on further expensive worldwide conferences, reducing travel expenditures, eliminating "feather-bedding" practices and exerting more stringent controls over the unnecessarily wide array of UN publications. These steps should be taken immediately, not only to deter wrongdoing, but to raise the confidence of member states that their



These new assignments are sorely straining the financial and organizational machinery of the UN. Practices and procedures tolerated during nearly a half century of stalemate are proving inadequate to an era of around-the-clock, around-the-world action as the UN matures into a kind of global 911 emergency number.

Getting into fighting trim

These new assignments are sorely straining the financial and organizational machinery of the UN. Practices and procedures tolerated during nearly a half century of stalemate are proving inadequate to an era of around-the-clock, around-the-world action as the UN matures into a kind of global 911 emergency number.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali recognized these shortcomings from the very beginning of his term in office and committed himself to a broad program of reform and restructuring. A good beginning has been made in reducing the number of high-level posts, merging duplicative functions, eliminating or redeploying redundant positions, and better coordinating peace-

require a political will notably lacking to date. Nonetheless, recent recommendations of a group of experts headed by former Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker and Shijuro Ogata, former deputy director of the Japan Development Bank, offer opportunities for improving the situation and should be rapidly effected. In addition, while the UN commendably operates under its own "balanced budget amendment" which prohibits year-end deficits, it does need short-term borrowing authority to even out the peaks and valleys in commitments and contributions during a given year. These reforms can help "clear the decks" for effective action without the distraction of perpetual penury.

Reduction of the bureaucracy. While Secretary-General Boutros-

contributions are being wisely utilized in a cost-effective manner.

Management reform. Too few of those in UN management today have the skills necessary to carry out their responsibilities. Able diplomats and political experts abound at the upper levels, but middle management is largely a missing component in the organization. This is particularly troublesome at a time when field operations in the peacekeeping and humanitarian areas have proliferated fivefold around the world, now spending at a rate of up to tens of millions of dollars a day. A preliminary study undertaken at my request by management consultants at McKinsey & Co. Inc. estimated prospective annual savings in the range of \$100 million in peacekeeping operations alone. This kind of fresh look by outside experts, coupled with a significant increase in management training, could go a long way toward upgrading the capability of vital UN services.

Economic and social development. While the secretary-general has commendably focused increased attention upon the variety of UN agencies active in economic and social development, his first steps toward structural reform in this area have not been as encouraging. Three new departments headed by high-level appointees are now responsible for what was previously lodged in a single Department of Economic and Social Development. What is called for here is a complete overhaul beginning with the establishment of a Development Council through which member states and the UN would be obliged to "speak with one voice" on economic and social development policy. Such a council could harmonize the present cacophony emanating from countless existing councils, departments, commissions, boards, conferences and the like, most with their own funding sources and governing bodies and each going its own uncoordinated way. Further, the secre-



U.N. Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali

tary-general's call for a unified United Nations presence in each country to replace the present numerous outposts should be implemented immediately. More problems should be tackled and implemented on a regional basis, and comprehensive plans should be devised to promote the movement in both underdeveloped countries and economies in transition away from authoritarian political systems and state-run businesses to multiparty democratic institutions and market economies. Strong vested interests will oppose each of these reforms, but if they are not aggressively undertaken now, they may never occur.

Peacekeeping. Despite the astonishing growth in the number of peacekeeping operations and the change in their character, much of today's UN activity is on a "business as usual" basis. The secretary-general has laid out an ambitious plan in his "Agenda for Peace"

calling for more preventive diplomacy, some form of ready reserve in the military sphere, greater flexibility in financing and procurement practices, and more reliance on regional organizations as a first line of defense. More care must clearly be exerted in framing Security Council resolutions establishing peacekeeping operations, lest the missions become ambiguous. It must also be recognized explicitly that the UN's exercise of major collective security responsibilities will often entail reliance on the "subcontracted" operations that characterized Desert Storm and Restore Hope. The lead role of the United States, the world's remaining military superpower, in such actions must be acknowledged and accommodated, so that the reach of the UN itself does not exceed its grasp in this vital area.

Rare opportunity

These suggestions are not offered as reform for reform's sake. They are designed to help equip the UN to act more effectively in enforcing increasingly fragile ceasefires and to provide more aid and comfort to destitute refugees and starving families in areas of strife. Given the present paucity of resources, this can be accomplished only by moving more expenditures away from the bureaucracy and into the field through leaner, more cost-effective practices.

The opportunities for the United Nations to contribute to world peace and improvement in the global quality of life have never been greater. The rhetorical commitment to progress has never been higher. But unless these "nuts and bolts" problems are addressed now, the best intentions may founder, as the creaking vehicle of the present UN continues on its halting journey. ■

Until March 1, former U.S. Attorney General Dick Thornburgh was United Nations under-secretary-general for administration and management.

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LORE



PROSECUTING WAR CRIMES

BY ALLAN GERSON



**RELEASED FROM COLD
WAR ALLIANCES, THE UN
IS TRYING TO BRING
INTERNATIONAL
CRIMINALS TO COURT**

On February 18, 1993, the UN Security Council circulated an extraordinary document: a letter from the Swedish foreign minister to president of the Security Council calling for the establishment of an international War Crimes Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. Its purpose: to try the perpetrators of atrocities against civilians in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Thus, Serb military and political leaders, as well as Croats, Muslims, and others who might also be accused of similar heinous crimes, were put on notice that they will be brought before the bar of justice and held accountable for any involvement they may have had in the massive systemic attacks on civilians that have characterized life in Bosnia, as well as Herzegovina and other parts of the former Yugoslavia. Never in its 48-year history had the United Nations urged similar action. In 1946 the UN General Assembly had passed a resolution affirming the principles of international law as recognized by the charter and judgment of the Nuremberg Tribunal. It also called upon the International Law Commission to codify those principles in a "Draft Code of Offenses Against the Peace and Security of Mankind." By 1950, formulation of "The Nuremberg Principles had been completed by the International Law Commission. Nevertheless, although numerous instances of genocide-like crimes were to follow, it was not until 1992 that the UN Security Council would call for establishment of an international War Crimes Tribunal—this time to deal with the tragedy of Bosnia.

The UN action followed the public naming on December 16 by Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger of seven Yugoslav "war criminals," who he said should be brought to justice before an international tribunal. This highly unusual move against an acting head of government—the president of Serbia—and other officials and military leaders was intended to do the next best thing to actually authorizing the use of American or allied force to stop the killings and atrocities. It was designed to warn the heads of state and their deputies that they would be held personally accountable for their actions. Surely Eagleburger hoped his action might serve as a deterrent to the recurrence of these crimes and thus save the United States and its allies from the agonizing choice of resorting to military force or watching with its hands folded behind its back the continued parade of horrific human rights abuses.

By late March of 1993, U.S. negotiators, in tandem with their counterparts from a host of other countries, still were busily at work putting the finishing

El Salvador, for example, where a United Nations fact-finding body has already made determinations as to who is most responsible for the work of the "death squads" in that country throughout the 1980s? What about Iraq's murderous actions against its Kurds, an event documented by files which fill nearly an entire room of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee? Will such a tribunal serve a useful purpose? Can its will be implemented?

To address these questions, it is useful to view the historical and philosophical context that gave rise to the concept of an international war crimes tribunal.

Post-Cold War paralysis

Throughout the pendency of the Cold War it was almost axiomatic that one warring party would be a client-state, or within the ideological camp, of one of the two superpowers, the United States or the Soviet Union. Thus, at the United Nations any draft resolution authorizing punitive action such as the establishment of a War Crimes Tribunal

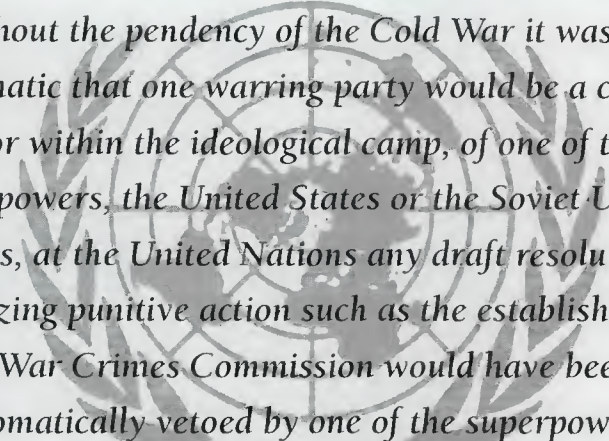
crisis of 1950 that the UN Security Council had condemned a state as an aggressor and the first time that it had established a compensation commission. The two superpowers stopped short of endorsing calls for the concurrent establishment of a War Crimes Commission, however, to try Saddam Hussein and others in his government for criminal acts against Kuwaitis and against its own Shiite and Kurdish populations.

The Bush Administration gave no definitive justification for its lack of support for the establishment of a War Crimes Tribunal to deal with Saddam Hussein and his lieutenants other than to indicate that political factors made the idea inopportune. Presumably, those reasons dealt with preventing the demoralization of Iraq's military, which was looked to for a coup against their leader.

Bosnia presented an entirely different situation. Iraq's crimes went undocumented by television crews. Moreover, many of the most serious Iraqi crimes had occurred after the Security Council and the international community had stopped focusing on Iraq's occupation of Kuwait. The atrocities in Bosnia, on the other hand, became nightly fare for television news-watchers around the globe. Fueled by repeated TV images of indiscriminate slaughter of Bosnian civilians by Serbian militia shelling from the hills, and by repeated reports of Serbian concentration camps operating as part and parcel of an "ethnic cleansing" campaign, the Bush Administration finally felt compelled to act. That expression of concern helped expedite the call for establishing an international War Crimes Tribunal.

Why Bosnia?

There are no shortages of other instances of genocide-like crimes in recent history. Still, their perpetrators have not been subject to international criminal penalties of the type facing, principally, the Serbian leaders and military. For example, during 1987, Iraq initiated an ethnic cleansing policy aimed at ridding Iraqi Kurdistan of its Kurdish population. That operation, code named Al-Anfal, encompassed the systematic destruction of all villages in Kurdistan,



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touches on a mandate for the new War Crimes Tribunal. A Commission to investigate charges of war crimes had already been established several months earlier and had been doing its work. All appears set to go for establishment of a tribunal. Still, nagging questions remain. Will this prove a case of selective justice? Why not have a war crimes tribunal established first to deal with the case of

would have been automatically vetoed by one of the superpowers. The Gulf War of 1990 changed all that. It marked the beginning of Soviet-American cooperation in calling for the punishment of a UN member state. Both superpowers voted for the establishment of a UN Compensation Commission to compensate victims of Iraqi aggression—this marking the first time since the Korean

mass deportations, and the massive use of chemical weapons against defenseless villagers. At least 180,000 people are reported to have been killed in the Al-Anfal campaign. In the words of Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "Had the Gulf War not intervened, it is likely that Iraq's Kurdish population would have been exterminated."

The genocidal crimes of the Pol Pot regime are so well documented that they do not require additional comment. We hear of genocide-like crimes in Timor, Tibet, Uganda, and Burundi. In early March of this year, the UN "Truth Commission" released its documented findings of support by some in El Salvador's former government of "death squads" responsible for the disappearance and torture of thousands. Iraq and Cambodia seem to be the worst offenders, but their leaders have not been punished. Why, then, single out the Serbs?

The answer lies in the fusion of the breakdown of Cold War alliances with intensive television coverage of the Balkan tragedy. Does this make the decision to go after Bosnia's leaders a case of selective justice? Of course not. Just as a drug pusher can hardly complain of selective application of the law when other drug offenders are not picked up, so too Serbian officials are hardly in a position to claim innocence by virtue of unequal application of the law. In point of fact, the law has always been clear. No government official or military leader in the post-Nuremberg world can claim not to have been on notice that the commission of the types of atrocities we have witnessed in the Balkans was subject, under international law, to condemnation, prosecution, and punishment. The only real question of justice is whether the perpetrators of these crimes will get a fair trial from victors in war. That is why the selection of an absolutely impartial, independent, and highly respected body of judges to staff this tribunal is essential.

Defining the crimes

The Charter of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, established to try and punish officials, military leaders, and others responsible for the Third

Reich's reign of terror, defined three types of crimes within its purview:

CRIMES AGAINST PEACE: These include planning, initiating, or waging a war of aggression or a war in violation of international agreements;

WAR CRIMES: Violations of the laws or customs of war. Such violations include ill-treatment or deportation to slave labor of civilian populations, ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, and devastation not justified by military necessity;

CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY: Murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, before or during the war, or persecutions on political, racial, or religious grounds in connection with any crime within the jurisdiction of the tribunal.

Clearly, the alleged crimes by Serb

officials and others associated with the regime fall within all three categories, although the new UN War Crimes Tribunal's mandate would appear to cover only the second—war crimes. Crimes against peace—namely, aggression—are not likely to be within the tribunal's mandate. Moreover, the proposal adopted by the UN "considered obsolete" the proscription against crimes against humanity, and it saw them linked to war crimes. What the proposal added that was new was enlarging the tribunal's jurisdiction over traditional war crimes to encompass discrimination on social, political, racial, religious, or cultural grounds.

No immunity

Although, under the traditional view of international law, the "act of state" doctrine enabled statesmen of a foreign country to claim immunity from prosecution by a foreign tribunal, the



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Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic



RADOVAN KARADZIC
 Leader of the
 self-designated
 Serbian
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Nuremberg Principles explicitly withheld that immunity in cases of war crimes or crimes against humanity. Likewise, the proposal as adopted by the UN specifically "rules out any form of immunity for the Act of State." The proposal also renounces the defense of "superior orders," which has long been discredited by international law (for example, see the *U.S. Field Manual*, 27-10), while at the same time reaffirming the hierarchical superior's liability for war crimes.

As for enforcement and punishment, it is of course true that the perpetrators may never be found, or it may not be physically possible to bring them before a tribunal. That, however, is no reason for not trying to do so. They can be tried in absentia. Whether the tribunal will permit such procedures is a matter still to be worked out, but precedent exists. The Charter of the International Military Tri-

bunal at Nuremberg provided for such a procedure; for example, Martin Bormann was tried and convicted in absentia on the presumption that he was still alive.

It has been pointed out—most recently with regard to a possible trial in absentia of Saddam Hussein—that such trials present problems of procedural due process; the accused has a fundamental right to be present at all stages of the proceedings. Still, most scholars would agree that anyone charged with a criminal offense who is offered the opportunity to defend himself in person but declines to do so is hardly in a position to argue that he has been deprived of a fair trial.

Legitimate response

The atrocities being perpetrated in the territories of the former Yugoslavia, although on a vastly smaller scale, bring to mind those committed by the

Nazis. Inertia or inaction by the United States, and the international community as a whole, seems unpardonable.

Under these circumstances, the creation of an international war crimes tribunal by the UN Security Council is a perfectly appropriate response to allegations of recurrent genocide-like crimes. Despite the provision in contemporary international law for international tribunals as a remedy for dealing with the problems of massive human rights abuses in the Balkans, no permanently constituted international criminal court now exists. Nor is the International Court of Justice in the Hague empowered to hold such proceedings; its authority extends to consenting states but not to individuals. It will therefore be the task of the new international War Crimes Tribunal to provide markers for individual and state accountability in the new international order as it is, in fact, emerging.

However, merely initiating the War Crimes Tribunal is not sufficient. The tribunal must be provided with the resources to document and prosecute the cases. A myriad of conceptual and practical obstacles remain—choice-of-law, obtaining custody of offenders, scope of prosecutions, chain of command, effect on political settlement of conflict, etc. Having set the processes in motion, it is incumbent upon governments to follow through and assure the tribunal sufficient financial and other support necessary to accomplish its task. Otherwise, instead of proving a deterrent, the tribunal may become proof to all who would perpetuate war crimes that the international community remains as powerless as ever. ■

Allan Gerson, author of The Kirkpatrick Mission: Diplomacy without Apology—America at the United Nations 1981-1985, was counsel to Ambassadors Jeane J. Kirkpatrick and Vernon Walters, 1981-1986. He is currently professor of International Law and Trans-actions, George Mason University and of counsel to the Washington office of the law firm of Hughes Hubbard & Reed.

A Mission to Moscow

The inconclusive search for American POW's and MIA's

BY MALCOLM TOON

The emergence of a non-Communist, reform-minded Russia has opened up new opportunities for cooperation with the United States on issues that were taboo during the Cold War. One such subject is the fate of American servicemen who have been missing since the end of World War II.

The emergence of a non-Communist, reform-minded Russia has opened up new opportunities for cooperation with the United States on issues that were taboo during the Cold War. One such subject is the fate of American servicemen who have been missing since the end of World War II.

In spring 1992, then-President Bush called me away from retirement in Pinehurst, North Carolina to serve as co-chairman of the U.S.-Russian Joint Commission on POWs/MIAs. The joint commission, which had been formed at the suggestion of President Yeltsin to President Bush in December 1991, includes Senators John Kerry and Robert Smith, Congressmen Pete Peterson and Sam Johnson, and high-level representatives of the departments of State and Defense and the

National Archives. A U.S. Army office known as Task Force Russia, with offices in the Pentagon and in Moscow, provides analytical support for

the commission. The commission held its first meeting in Moscow in March 1992.

The Russian side of the commission is headed by General Dmitri Volkogonov, a military historian and close adviser to President Yeltsin. Russian commissioners include members of Parliament, officials of the Russian domestic and foreign intelligence services, and the ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs.

We have made five trips to Russia for meetings that have fostered unprecedented cooperation on this issue. We have also visited Prague and Kiev in order to open new channels of cooperation on this issue with the former Czechoslovak and Ukrainian governments. In addition, we have made stops in the Russian cities of Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, and St. Petersburg. Everywhere we have met with top defense, foreign policy, and intelli-

gence officials, as well as with political leaders, such as Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk. I have appeared twice on Moscow television with General Volkogonov to appeal to Russian citizens to come forward with any information they may have concerning U.S. POWs/MIAs. In similar appeals on local radio and television networks in Prague, Kiev, Khabarovsk, and Vladivostok, I have assured viewers that, unlike in the past, they will be commended by their government for their cooperation.

The U.S. members of the commission have two primary objectives: first, to determine whether any American POWs/MIAs are living in Russia against their will and second, to determine the fate of any servicemen who may have been under Soviet control during World War II, the Cold War, the Korean War, or the Vietnam War. We are committed if possible to recovering their remains.

President Yeltsin and Commission Co-Chairman Volkogonov have told me that no U.S. citizens are being forcibly detained on the territory of the former Soviet Union, and we uncovered no information providing grounds to reject this claim. Only three serious "live sighting" cases have arisen; all were investigated fully, with U.S. officials' traveling to remote villages where the alleged sightings had occurred. However, no information was discovered allowing us either to confirm or refute these reports conclusively.

This does not mean that we have stopped searching for live American POWs and MIAs in the former Soviet Union. On the contrary, our search for live POWs remains our top priority. Any new information concerning the possibility of a live American will, of course, immediately be followed up as our top priority.

Regarding our second objective, the Russians have provided more than 1,800 pages of documents concerning U.S. POWs and MIAs from World War II, the Korean War, the Cold War, and the Vietnam War. Most of the information contained in these documents was either unknown or had never before been systematically studied.

I am satisfied that the Russians are turning over all relevant documents they uncover concerning World War

II. Although over 20,000 Americans passed through Soviet hands, primarily when German POW camps were liberated by the Red Army, few unanswered questions remain. With a few exceptions, the Soviet government seems to have repatriated interned Americans. Claims that tens of thousands of American GIs were not returned from World War II do not appear credible. We believe that only a few soldiers suspected of being Soviet citizens were not initially repatriated by the Soviets, and that most of these ultimately returned to the United States.

The news is not as bright regarding U.S. planes shot down over Soviet territory during the Cold War. It is difficult to understand why the Russians cannot tell us what happened to crews of U.S. planes shot down by the Soviet government over its own territory. We have concentrated on 10 specific incidents, which we believe provide the greatest hope that someone survived. In order to facilitate the Russians' research, we have provided them with extensive details on these cases. In an April trip to Russia and the Baltic States, we received detailed documents from Moscow describing aircraft shot down in the Korean and Cold Wars. We also received valuable documents about U.S. POWs in Vietnam during the Vietnam War. Despite the good-faith efforts by the Russian side, many questions remain.

Resolving the fate of Korean War POWs and MIAs has been controversial. I believe we have gathered sufficient evidence from interviews of former Soviet Army officers, gulag prisoners, and other sources to argue plausibly that U.S. POWs were transferred from Korea to the Soviet Union. General Volkogonov, on the other hand, maintains that no archival information has been found to substantiate this claim. We believe that, if such information does exist in Russian-controlled archives, it is being withheld by a few individuals.

We have seen no unambiguous evidence that U.S. Vietnam War POWs were taken to the Soviet Union. We are committed to follow up immediately on any new information. We continue to believe that these cases, if they occurred, offer the greatest pos-

sibility of finding someone still alive.

Despite the problems, the cooperation fostered by the joint commission is absolutely unprecedented. When I served as ambassador to the Soviet Union during the late 1970s, if one of my subordinates had told me I would one day be standing in a Siberian labor camp, at the invitation of a Russian Army general, accompanied by the director of the gulag system, in search of American POWs, I would have had that employee evacuated to Wiesbaden for a psychiatric examination. But this is only one of the many previously unthinkable activities I have undertaken in my capacity as co-chairman of the joint commission.

None of this would have been possible absent the historic changes that have shaken the former Soviet Union in recent years. The democratic and market-oriented reforms that have swept the USSR resulted from the realization on the part of recent Soviet and Russian leaders that, without drastic political and economic change, competition with the industrialized western states was simply out of the question.

Whatever the outcome of the current political struggles in Moscow, Russia will survive as a great power. The bottom line is that Russia and the United States must cooperate. Our two countries stand together on the threshold of a new era, just as they did after the Battle of Stalingrad. That battle proved to be the beginning of the end for Hitler's fascism but the end of the beginning for cooperation between Washington and Moscow. Four decades of Cold War confrontation followed the allied victory over Hitler. Today, the world is looking to Russia and the United States to resume their cooperation in order to create a peaceful, secure world. We must do better than we did in the aftermath of World War II. ■

Malcolm Toon's Foreign Service posts included that of U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union. This article draws on a January 1993 status report on the U.S.-Russia Joint Commission on POWs/MIAs to which David Hess and Matthew Bryza of the State Department contributed.

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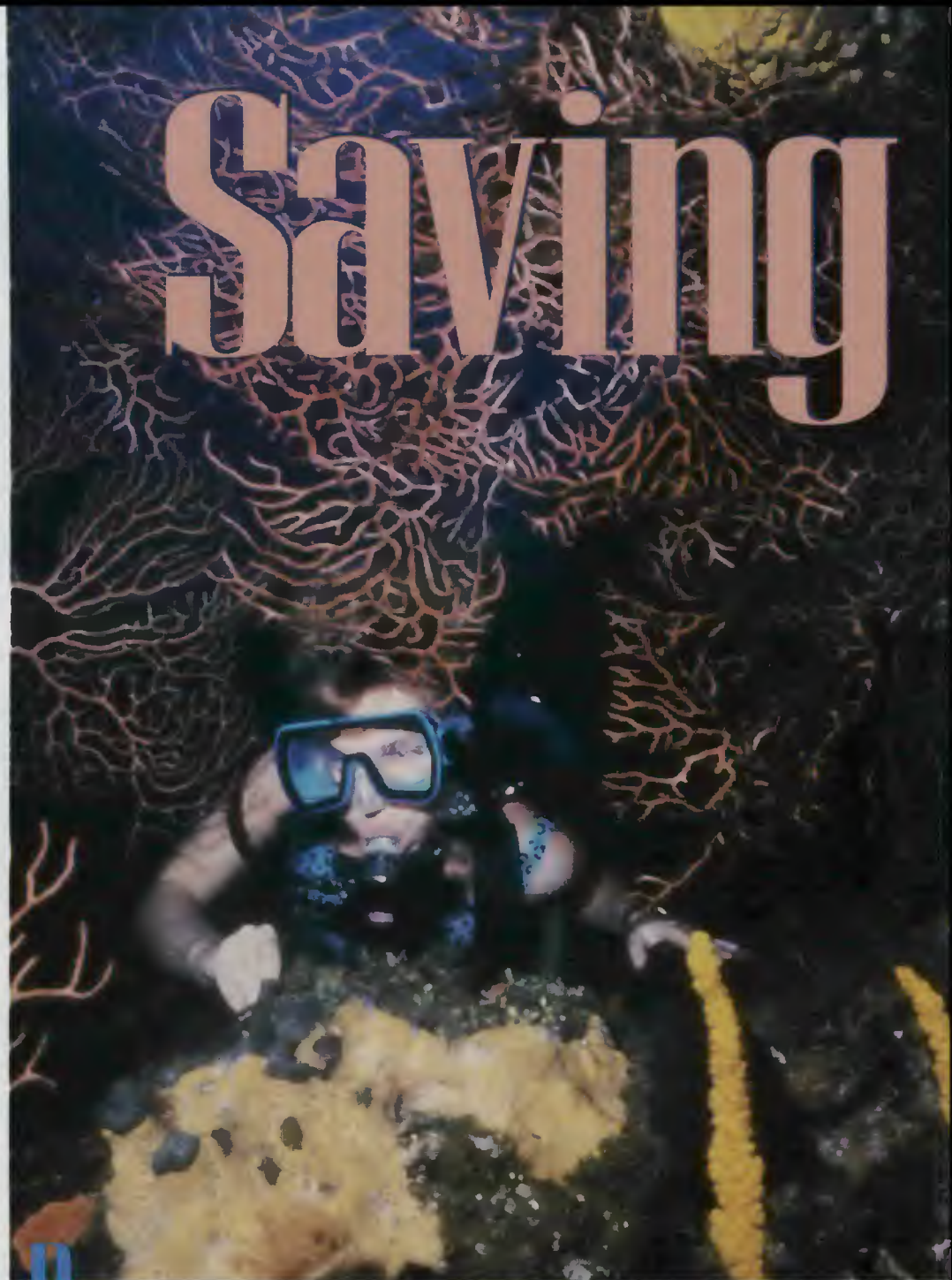


DETROIT ■ MEMPHIS ■ PHILADELPHIA ■ BALTIMORE

Saving

Right, The bay islands are the site of the world's second-largest barrier reef.

Far right, the wreck of the *Tulum*



MARC A. FRISCO

RESIDENTS OF THE BAY ISLANDS, LOCATED ON THE CARIBBEAN COAST OF HONDURAS AND SITE OF THE WORLD'S SECOND-LARGEST BARRIER REEF, HAVE REASON TO BE THANKFUL THAT THIS BREATHTAKING TROPICAL ECOSYSTEM REMAINS RELATIVELY UNKNOWN. A RECENT SALVAGE OPERATION THAT GARNERED LITTLE ATTENTION SAVED THESE PRISTINE ISLANDS FROM THE NOTORIETY OF PRINCE WILLIAM SOUND, ALASKA, WHERE THE EXXON VALDEZ RAN AGROUND.

A SUNKEN SHIP SLOWLY LEAKING OIL INTO THE REEF RECENTLY OCCASIONED A SALVAGE MISSION THAT PROVIDED A CASE STUDY IN EFFECTIVE COOPERATION TO AVERT ECOLOGICAL DISASTER.

the

*The story of quiet cooperation
that rescued the tropical Bay
Islands from ecological disaster*

The *Tulum* had lain off Roatan Island for more than a decade, 285 feet of rust stranded on the coastline like a steel whale. The ship was thought to contain about 20,000 gallons of oil. Aside from the occasional visitor intent on plucking steel panels from the hull, a local effort to remove oil in the 1980s, and a few early studies by U.S. military divers, the *Tulum* had seen little activity since running aground on a reef outside French Harbor in 1979.

Despite her visibility, the *Tulum* probably would have remained largely untouched, but for a few vocal islanders. Although leaking fuel and dirt had traced oil rainbows in the water around the ship for some time, in the winter of 1991-92 some American and Honduran island residents began to notice that the pollution was getting much worse. Tendrils of oil were seeping out of the ship's side into the

BY ALLISON PUGH

Honduran Harbor



DEBBIE HASTON-HILGER

transparent Caribbean waters at an alarming rate. Pleasure boats that ventured near the wreck returned with their hulls streaked with black grease. The matter was urgent: to an island economy that depended almost entirely on fishing and tourism, an oil spill—or even a big leak—would be a death knell.

The U.S. consul general in Tegucigalpa first heard of the oil problem from an American fishing executive and longtime island resident who sought U.S. help. The most pressing need seemed to be for more information, however. How much oil was in the ship? What was the threat of damage to the reef? What kind of an operation would be needed to resolve the oil problem, and did the Hondurans have the resources to handle it? And last, what if we did nothing? Officers of

Embassy Tegucigalpa's military group decided to try to convince the U.S. military's Southern Command to return a SEAL team that had visited the ship years before for a more comprehensive look.

SLUDGE

By June 1992, a group of seven SEALs from Panama were in Roatan. With free accommodations, food, boat transportation—everything, in fact, except for the bar tab, picked up by the islanders—the SEALs spent a week diving at the wreck of the *Tulum* and at three other wrecks considered to be potential problems. They presented their findings to the embassy's country team June 25.

The SEALs' report on the *Tulum* was alarming. The *Tulum* contained almost 160,000 gallons—eight times the original estimate—of thick sludge oil with the consistency of Jello, they said. Already, a two-mile oil slick emanated from the ship. Oil from the *Tulum* had already killed the surrounding reef, which was a stretch of brown in the green waters. The bow end of the ship was firmly entrenched in the reef, while the stern was in deeper water, and a crack down its middle threatened to split the hull. If you looked at the ship from the back, you could see the entire stern shifting back and forth in the waves. The report said the *Tulum* would not last through another storm season. Too many more shifts back and forth, and "the whole ship [would] break apart like a paper clip bent too many times," one SEAL diver said.

A United Nations Development Program study found that, while the reef's fragile ecosystem had thus far not been badly damaged, a spill of *Tulum*-sized magnitude would wreak havoc on the area. One ecologist on the island suggested that, with the wrong winds and currents, an oil spill from the *Tulum* could reach as far as Belize. The poten-



Salvaging the *Tulum*

tial devastation to environment and economy, both local and foreign, was great.

Of the other three wrecks, one was almost completely submerged in the navigation channel of an island harbor. The *Wendy* had apparently been scuttled for unknown reasons and lay on the harbor bottom waterlogged but absolutely intact, complete with anchor and propeller. She had blocked large ships from entering the harbor since January 1991. She was another potential project for salvage workers.

RUNNING OUT OF TIME

Presented with the *Tulum*'s emergency, a remarkable international coalition swung into action. The Navy SEALs presented their findings in a briefing and slide show to Honduran President Rafael Leonardo Callejas and to the Honduran media. Callejas said he supported a salvage operation and agreed to sign away any U.S. liability if we were to take on the project. The vice president of the Honduran Congress, Carlos Kattan, convinced the legislature to appropriate immediately 2 million lempiras, or about \$370,000, towards the salvage of the *Tulum*, the *Wendy* and other wrecks in the Bay Islands.

The embassy solicited from the U.S. Navy a salvage team to visit the *Tulum* and remove the oil. They argued that the *Tulum* presented U.S. Navy divers and salvage workers with an

unsurpassed training opportunity for salvage that would also enable the United States to reap benefits from an environmental good works project. Besides, the Hondurans were paying for it.

Meanwhile, the embassy hammered out with the Honduran government the "hold harmless" agreement, a legal document absolving the United States of liability. Honduran military leaders had refused to sign

such an agreement years before, which proved one of the major obstacles to previous attempts by U.S. officials to address the problem of the *Wendy*. The deputy chief of mission, consul general, and other Foreign Service officers met with the Honduran vice president, attorney general, vice foreign minister, and others to negotiate the terms. Making things more difficult was that the U.S. position kept shifting as lawyers for each new participating U.S. agency got involved. Finally, the U.S. lawyers collectively drew the line in the sand. We must have the most complete, unreserved language possible, they said, or no American involvement. The Hondurans hesitated briefly, and signed.

Embassy and military personnel were also calling on their contacts to contribute assets to hold down the costs of the operation. Prominent business executives on the island offered up their contributions—room and board, land-based crane, 6-ton forklift, etc.—to get the salvage going. The Honduran Air Force agreed to carry the U.S. equipment in and back, saving tens of thousands of dollars.

During this period, the U.S. Navy sent down another site survey team, this time composed of officers and contractors with a direct role in salvage. The team came away with the same impressions as the SEALs had three weeks before. But, they said, in three short weeks the crack in the

Tulum's hull had gotten worse. The ship was breaking up.

STUMBLING BLOCKS

Go-aheads had come from all the way up and down the chains of command in the embassy, U.S. Navy and Honduran government. The Hondurans handed over a check for part of the 2 million *lempira* appropriation, covering the amount estimated for the U.S. labor and equipment to participate. Prospects for the project looked good. Then the bureaucratic antibodies set to work.

"You can't do it that way," said the officer from the Navy's International Programs Office (IPO) in Washington, D.C. The project could only be classified as one of two types: a Deployment For Training or a Foreign Military Sales case. It could not be the former, since it hadn't been classified as such when it was approved. Dubbing it an FMS case was possible, the officer said, because the Hondurans were paying for it. As such, however, there had to be a separate contract for the operation, and the "hold harmless" agreement—which had taken so long to negotiate—had no value.

The paperwork for a Foreign Military Sales case normally took weeks, the officer said. Also, before the United States would participate, the Hondurans had to find an additional \$30,000 for the return flight of the equipment, even though the equipment was planned to be left on the island for up to six months in case other U.S. salvage operations were undertaken during that time. All of the money, which had already been sent on its way to the Navy salvage contractor, had to be returned to the embassy, which would then have to send it back to the U.S. Treasury in New York to be disbursed to the contractor again. By the way, the IPO officer said, the IPO office would tack on an additional \$6,000 (3 percent) in administrative costs to the project's total price tag.

In Honduras, the publicity that already surrounded the embassy for its involvement in the *Tulum* had put the United States way out in front in the matter. If that ship broke up and thousands of gallons of oil spilled out onto the Roatan reef, the United States would

be blamed. Our survey teams had been the last to touch the *Tulum*, after all.

Rather than fight the Washington bureaucracy, the embassy and MILGRP merely tried to grease its wheels. To its credit, the IPO responded. The contract was drawn up, faxed, and signed within the week. The Hondurans delivered a second check to put the money over the amount the IPO required for U.S. action. In three short months from the suggestion of a site survey to when the salvage crew stepped off the plane, the operation was under way.

For all the preparation, the mission took only about a week, but it put on quite a show. Large Honduran C-130 planes landed and took off of Roatan's single runway, discharging their U.S. cargo of containers full of booms, pumps, and other equipment. A crane towered over the *Tulum* from a boat moored alongside. Press boats, a trash barge, a pleasure boat lent to the operation all circled around the ship as the oil was pumped onto another nearby barge.

As with any operation, some surprises changed the plans that had been laid out on land. There was more dirty lumber on the *Tulum* than the survey teams had estimated, so MILGRP personnel rolled up their sleeves the Sunday before the equipment was to arrive and removed it themselves. High winds stopped all work for one day, and on another day the oil barge's mooring was briefly entangled in a cable. In the middle of the operation, an islander who had lent the use of his large fishing boat had to race to the Nicaraguan coast where his brother's boat was sinking. Workers were able to conclude the project fairly quickly because the *Tulum* held considerably less oil than the survey teams had surmised, although the total amount was still in the thousands of gallons.

IN THE AFTERMATH

The Bay Islands reef rescue of August 1992 attracted little attention, although the State and Defense Departments did recognize and commend the efforts of their own. But sometimes the news is in what didn't happen. The *Tulum* is not Honduras' Exxon *Valdez*.

A magnificent variety of healthy flora and fauna still thrives in and around the reef, and Roatan's lush tropical foliage and birds are free of a black oil coating.

For the foot soldiers, the experience was a revealing one about how bureaucracies function. Once the site survey was approved, U.S. involvement and an ultimate attempt to resolve the problem became much more likely. At the embassy, as the project gained momentum, more and more agencies started sending their representatives to meetings. When the operation paused for the ironing out of the legal details, some disengaged themselves. In the United States, different wings of the Defense Department that got wind of the project made attempts to get involved at various stages in the process. When the project was perceived as a winner, the hardest task seemed to become one of streamlining the operation. Still, the speed with which the military responded was thrilling.

The Bay Islands project is not over. In January 1992, the U.S. Navy agreed to a request by the government of Honduras to undertake the salvage of the *Wendy*, the ship submerged in the navigation harbor. The operation to lift the *Wendy* is on a much grander scale than that of the *Tulum*, and involves hundreds of sailors and salvage divers and Navy ships anchored in Coxen's Hole Harbor from March to May. But this time preparations for the project were smooth and uninterrupted. After all, the international, interagency coalition that set to work to get the project done was on familiar ground.

Other U.S. operations, such as the Somalia mission, may be larger, louder ventures into new arenas of activity, but the Bay Islands project was a quietly prescient one. Down in this corner of the world, the United States was already the hero. ■

Allison Pugh is third secretary in the political section of Embassy Tegucigalpa. A former reporter for the Associated Press, she joined the Foreign Service in 1991, just as the Wendy was sinking to the sandy bottom of Coxen's Hole Harbor, Roatan.

IN MEMORY

John Banyas, 68, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of mesothelioma at his home in Keysville, Virginia on February 23.

Born in Fords, New Jersey, he served in the U.S. Navy in the Pacific and Indian theaters in World War II. In 1951, after earning a degree in business administration from Rider College, he joined the Foreign Service and served in Israel, Austria, and Venezuela. He spent five years as a planning engineer for Cities Service Company, he returned to the Foreign Service with the Agency for International Development. While at USAID, he served in Liberia, Tunisia, Vietnam, Ethiopia, Uruguay, and Guatemala. He retired in 1977 to "Journey's End Farm" in Keysville.

Survivors include his wife, Teresa, of Keysville; two sons, Kenneth of Alexandria, Virginia, and Patrick of Norfolk, Virginia; two daughters, Catherine Caddell, of Goldsboro, North Carolina, and Mary Burney, of Clarksville, Virginia, and eight grandchildren.

Anne J. Gordon, 72, who had been married 48 years to retired USIA Senior Foreign Service officer William Gordon Sr. died after a prolonged illness on February 8.

Raised in Memphis, Tennessee, Gordon came to Washington at the beginning of World War II to work for the War Department. Later, she accompanied her husband on postings in Africa and Europe.

One of the founding members of the Association of the American Foreign Service Womens' Writers' Club, she wrote poetry, stories, and recollections of her travels. Her work was published in the *Foreign Service Journal*, *GuidePost*, *American Vision*, and other publications. After retiring, she and her husband traveled throughout the United States and Europe. Gordon was also active in Christ Congregational Church in Silver Spring Maryland.

Survivors include her husband and their three sons, William Jr. of Clearlake Texas; David, of Ann Arbor, Michigan; and Anthony of Silver Spring.

Jo Coldwell Maestrone, 70, a retired Foreign Service secretary and wife of retired Ambassador Frank E. Maestrone, died of cancer at the San Diego hospice on December 2, 1992.

After graduating from Washington State College in 1946, Maestrone entered the Foreign Service. She met her husband while serving in Vienna and accompanied him to posts in Hamburg, Salzburg, Khorramshahr, Paris, Brussels, Manila, Cairo, and Kuwait.

Among her many accomplishments, she revived the German-American Woman's Club in Hamburg as a charity institution and directed U.S. Army welfare assistance to refugees in Austria, and assisted destitute Arab children in Austria. As president of the American Embassy Woman's Club in Manila, she directed programs to benefit the poor. While in Cairo, she helped raise funds for disabled Egyptian soldiers and the poor.

After retiring to San Diego in 1984, Maestrone served on the San Diego Literacy Council and chaired the Middle East Discussion Group of the World Affairs Council.

Survivors include her husband; a son, Mark, of San Diego, California; a daughter, Anne Tompkins, of Woodbridge, Virginia; five sisters, and two grandchildren.

Elizabeth Maren Hutson, 28, was murdered while walking her dogs near her home in Mount Pleasant, District of Columbia, on March 23, 1993. "Bessie" was the daughter of Thomas and Arija Hutson, and had accompanied her parents on assignments to Tehran, Belgrade, Winnipeg, Moscow, Lagos, and Taipei.

Bessie graduated with an International Baccalaureate from Marymount School in London, and received a Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy from the University of Maryland. After graduation, she worked in editing and production management positions in Washington, D.C. She was active in recycling, community development, cycling, protection of animals, and was a generous supporter of many worthy causes.

In addition to her parents, Bessie survived by a brother, Navy Lieutenant Peter M. Hutson of Monterey, California, and Amy M. Hutson, of the University of Washington School of Medicine. She was

The Hutson family and Zev Friedman requested that the following notice be published:

Hello, My Bessie Girl

The broad and relentless outpouring of grief for Bessie Hutson and of sympathy for those who loved her has overwhelmed our ability, for now at least, to acknowledge in writing. Bessie would have had us go forward. So we shall join others on Mother's Day at the Lincoln Memorial to speak out strongly.

Afterwards, we invite friends and supporters of Bessie and her causes to walk, run, or bike, along with their pets (but without their weapons) to Bessie's House, in her beloved Mount Pleasant.

In particular, we invite even the opponents of gun control to join us in considering how this and other crimes in Washington's war zone might have been prevented. As a starting point, we see a gun-free Mount Pleasant as the answer. The death penalty for capital crimes, and life imprisonment for crimes committed with a gun may be prerequisites. But, if it cannot be done in Mount Pleasant, where can it, in the United States of America?

Inevitably, we need the means to carry out these reforms. The mechanism that has been established, at the request of many people, is called Bessie's Fund, whose address is listed in her obituary above. The telephone number is (202) 332-0355 and the fax is (703) 875-7338.

to have been married to Zev Friedman, of Bethesda, Maryland.

Contributions to continue the work of Bessie, or to bring effective control over guns, can be made to "Bessie's FUND" (For Unarmed Neighbors in the District) 1875 Newton Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20010-1016.

Renzo Pagin, 80, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on September 20, 1992 of Alzheimer's disease at Powhatan Nursing Home in Falls Church, Virginia.

A native of Italy, Pagin came to United States in the late 1920s. He lived in Philadelphia and New York before permanently settling here in the mid-1940s. He worked with the Voice of America in 1942 and then the Office of War Information.

After World War II, he joined the Foreign Service. He served in Beirut in the 1950s and Madras, India in the 1960s, where he was the consul and public affairs officer. In Washington, his posts included those of chief of the Near East, South Asian and African sections of the International Press Service.

From 1963 until retiring in 1971, he was director of educational and cultural affairs in the Near East and South Asian

division. He was a recipient of the Meritorious Service Award.

Survivors include his daughter, Gabrielle P. Fickin, of Falls Church, Virginia; a brother, Raoul, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania; and two granddaughters.

William Clyde Trueheart, 74, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of cancer at Sibley Memorial Hospital in Bethesda, Maryland on December 24, 1992.

Trueheart served as ambassador to Nigeria from 1969 to 1971 and as deputy chief of mission in Saigon in the early 1960s. He served as deputy director of political affairs of the U.S. delegation to NATO and to the Baghdad Pact in Ankara, Turkey and as the first secretary in London from 1959 to 1961.

Trueheart attended Yale University and graduated from the University of Virginia with a bachelor's degree in philosophy. After graduating, he worked with the Navy Department, then as a captain in World War II, and, after the war, as an intelligence officer with the Atomic Energy Commission.

After retiring from the Foreign Service in 1974, he became an adviser to the

Office of Environmental Affairs at the State Department, a consultant to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, a president of DACOR, a faculty adviser to the Air University at Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama, and a partner in the Washington real estate firm MGMB.

Survivors include his wife, Phoebe Anna Everett Trueheart, of Washington, D.C.; two sons, Charles, of Washington, D.C. and Joshua, of Nyack, New York; a half sister, Rose Trueheart Wilson, of London; and four grandchildren.

Elizabeth Korn Weigle, 31, daughter of retired Foreign Service officer David A. Korn, died at Fredrick Memorial Hospital in Fredrick, Maryland on February 24 after suffering a ruptured aneurysm.

A graduate of Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School and the University of Maryland, she accompanied her father on assignments to Beirut, Tangier, Nouakchott, Tel Aviv, and Calcutta.

Surviving family members include her husband, Glenn Weigle; her two daughters, Kristin and Jennifer; her father; her mother, Susan Palmer; her sister, Marie Korn; and her two brothers, Philip and Stephen. ■

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PANDAEMONIUM: ETHNICITY IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

By Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Oxford University Press, 1993, \$19.95 hardcover, 221 pages

Reviewed by Daniel Newberry

You will not be able to put Bosnia and ethnic cleansing very far from mind while going through Moynihan's book. Despite saturation coverage of the phantasmagoria that is the Balkans, few publications have offered a much-needed historical perspective. In this far-ranging, data-packed study, Moynihan provides much of that sort of perspective.

Despite its subtitle, "Ethnicity in International Politics," a good chunk of Moynihan's work deals with ethnicity in

the United States. There are some surprising and sobering insights—surprising, that is, to anyone who has not read into the more recondite sociological analyses of immigration patterns. The 20 million or so immigrants who came to our shores between 1870 and 1910 were not anybody's "wretched refuse." They were an enterprising lot who helped to put American agricultural exports into competition with those of their former homelands.

Moynihan also insists that the melting pot never really melted. He lists blacks and Puerto Ricans, along with Jews, Italians, and Irish but without elaborating to what extent he considers those groups still "unmelted." Moynihan goes on to reaffirm his prediction, published in 1970, that "religion and race [will] define the next stage in the evolution of the American people."

In this new book Moynihan, who was a sociologist before he was politician or diplomat, turns his rigorous academic training toward the myths and illusions of nationalists and internationalists alike, with devastating effect. Woodrow Wilson comes across as the No.1 Mischief Maker of the 20th century by declaring self-determination of peoples as an Allied goal. Moynihan implicitly agrees with Wilson's Secretary of State Robert Lansing, whom he quotes extensively. Lansing forecast that the "self-determination" standard would raise hopes that could never be realized and would cost thousands of lives. Lansing held Wilson "responsible for the consequences."

Seventy years behind Wilson, Mikhail Gorbachev gets very little attention in the book, but Moynihan inferentially shows Gorbachev up as being ineffably

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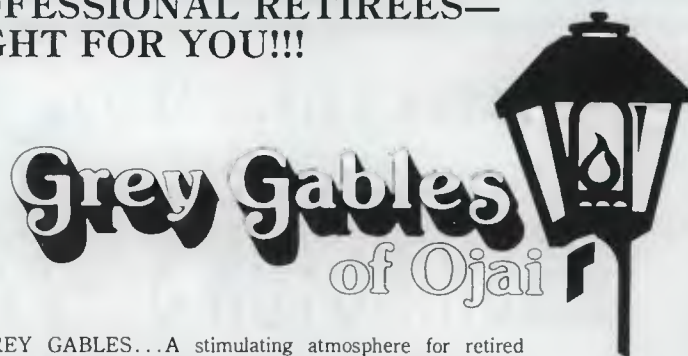
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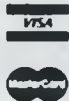
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blind or untruthful. Remember when Gorbachev acknowledged that he became aware of the nationalities problem in the USSR only in 1985? Incredible that he could not have known of the vast literature, including books and ideological tracts by Lenin and Stalin, on the uses of nationalism to promote internationalism.

Moynihan recounts the Communist experience extensively. He delights in pointing to the contradictions in Communist ideology. The contradictions in others' thinking get the Moynihan treatment too. For example, the United Nations Charter's simultaneous but contradictory principles of respect for national sovereignty and of the right to self-determination of peoples. Moynihan does not expatiate unduly on these themes, but he does lead us to look at some of their consequences for our own foreign-policy management.

What Moynihan does not do is to offer a prescription for what to do about the increasing fragmentation and cruelty occasioned by ethnic assertiveness.

In that respect *Pandaemonium* is a curiously unsatisfying book. It is provocative and informative, but it leaves the reader with the conviction that one must read more deeply and widely into the subject. Moynihan helps us in that regard. He graciously credits such scholars as Nathan Glazer and Harold Isaacs for pioneering analyses in ethnicity.

Isaacs's *Idols of the Tribe: Group Identity and Political Change* (1975) has the advantage that Isaacs, unlike Moynihan, showed no compulsion to demonstrate how "I was right and they were wrong" or "I warned them and they refused to listen." Cassandra is a role that Moynihan plays with verve, but he offers no road map for heading off the horrors of rampant ethnic chauvinism. Isaacs noted that we are refragmenting and retribalizing ourselves, doing so, moreover, much faster than we are moving toward any humane arrangement of our social and political affairs.

It is this theme of man's inhumanity to man that underlies many of the most

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thoughtful commentaries about ethnic rivalries that are coming from all sides these days. Ambassador Robert Neumann, for example, expresses the conviction that it is difficult but need not be impossible to bring people to view their enemies as "fellow victims" (*Washington Quarterly*, Winter 1993). In another context Ruth Walker, deputy editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, observes that "the question for a truly open society has to be how great is a people's ability to give newcomers a genuinely warm welcome, to love its adopted children as much as it loves its native-born sons and daughters?"

One impact of Moynihan's disturbing book is to provoke the reader to rethink many illusions and reexamine conventional wisdom while there is still time to avoid compounding the mistakes of the past. Otherwise things will grow worse before they get better, or worse still, utter despair will set in even among the most altruistic of our leaders. Moynihan foresees our reaching a degree of "compassion fatigue." He observes "a large capacity to tolerate atrocity," but not an unlimited capacity. He ends the book on a note of not very convincing optimism. He implies that there will be no grounds for optimism at all until we restrain the tendency to hope for too much, either of altruism or of common sense. The current events in Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia have already gone a long way toward smothering any such hopes.

Daniel Newberry, a retired Foreign Service officer, is working with Wallace Irwin, Jr. on a book tentatively entitled "A Layman's Guide to U.S. Foreign Policy."

Diplomatic Primer

AMERICAN AMBASSADORS IN A
TROUBLED WORLD: INTERVIEWS WITH
SENIOR DIPLOMATS

Edited by Dayton Mak and Charles Stuart Kennedy, Greenwood Press, 1992

Reviewed by Andrew L. Steigman

Hidden away in Georgetown University's Lauinger Library, the For-

eign Affairs Oral History Program collection is quietly growing into a major resource for scholars of diplomatic history—and a potentially rich source for diplomatic practitioners.

The collection currently includes nearly 600 interviews (more than 450 fully transcribed) with ambassadors and other senior diplomats who have represented the United States in the last half of the 20th century. Since the collection is indexed primarily by country and post, however, it's far easier for the diplomatic historian to find material relevant to a particular time and place than for practitioners to find answers to the more generic questions they're likely to raise.

To make things easier for today's diplomats, Program Director Stuart Kennedy has teamed with Dayton Mak to distill lessons for ambassadors from selected interviews in the collection. *American Ambassadors in a Troubled World* looks at the role of the ambassador and the problems a chief of mission is likely to encounter and does so in two ways: a series of issue-oriented chapters covering such topics as the appointment process, embassy management, and the difficulties of dealing both with Washington and with foreign heads of state, and a set of chapters on crisis situations with which ambassadors have had to cope in recent years.

The authors have succeeded surprisingly well in providing coherence to a book built from interview excerpts in different voices, some of which address their topics more directly and more effectively than others. They have done it by providing an introductory paragraph of biographic notes and scene-setting for each of their chosen excerpts. The result is a highly readable primer on the ambassadorial role and a book likely to be of particular interest to the past and present members of the Foreign Service—who will find many old friends on its pages. ■

Andrew L. Steigman is assistant dean of the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service.

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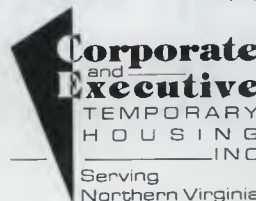
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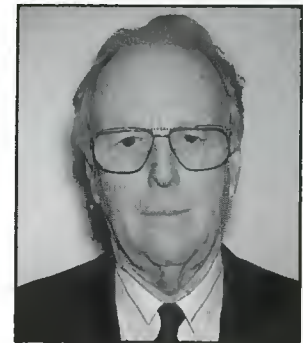
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Press Comment

from the *Foreign Service Journal*, May 1943
excerpted from the *New York Times* of April 22, 1943

Some people's feelings about the State Department can be very simply described. Even if it was good they wouldn't like it.

Why are people so out of patience with the State Department? Why do they demand a drastic housecleaning? It cannot possibly be because the State Department's policies are working out beautifully.

We all remember the fatal flaws in the State Department's North African policy; incidentally, people are careful not to identify it as the president's policy, which it is. By making friends with the wrong people in North Africa the president—beg pardon, the State Department—was imperiling the whole North African enterprise. Our false new friends were only waiting for the right moment to stab us in the back.

And now we see the thing happening before our eyes. Here is Rommel chasing the English Army into the sea. Here are the Nazi planes knocking our air transports down by the score. Here is the Arab native population slitting the throats of our sentries under cover of night and sabotaging our communication lines. Or, if not quite that, here anyhow is the Arab

population soaking our boys four times the price for oranges and live chickens and picture postcards. The responsibility for such outrageous assaults on the spending money of our boys in Tunisia lies on the doorstep of a befuddled State Department.

People are angry with a State Department whose one objective was to drive the Germans out of North Africa, and the Germans are being driven out.

As in the case of the North African military operations, which persist in going well despite a stupid State Department, we see Giraud and de Gaulle being pushed slowly together by a befuddled State Department. Our people in Washington are making a mess of things because they are thinking only of French unity. Instead, we should be now picking out the only fit ruler for future France, which is de Gaulle or Giraud, as the critics have known all along. But when the critics know who is the right man for France and the only right man, it is another way of saying that French unity can never be achieved by compromise and conciliation. If the State Department strives for French unity through compromise it is sinning against the light. ■

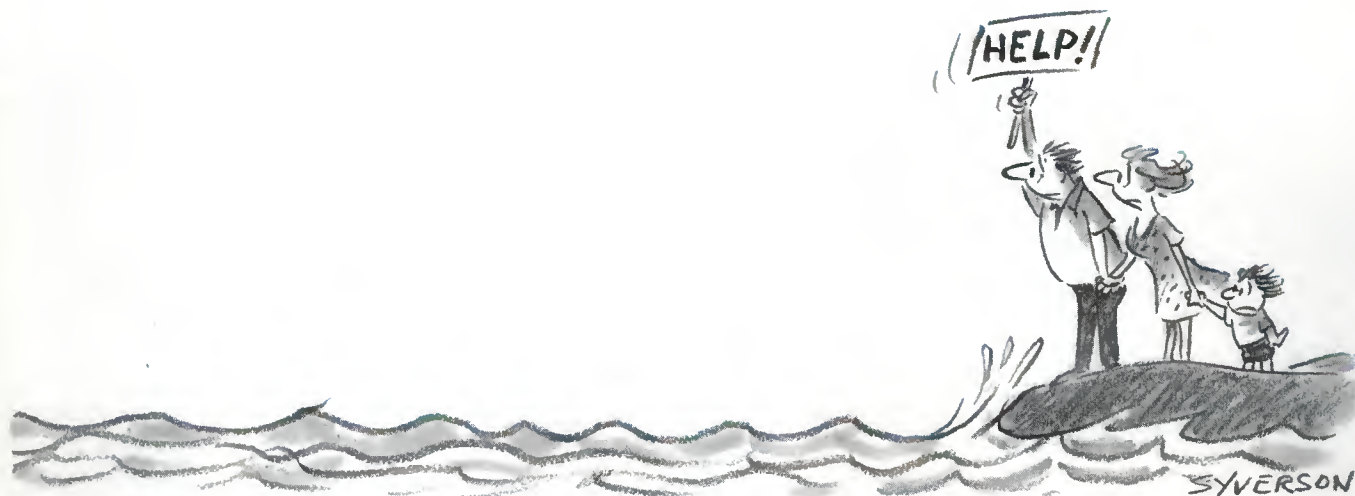
FOREIGN SERVICE QUIZ

Geography Quiz

1. Name the countries where the following universities are located:
a) Bar Ilan b) Charles c) Guelph d) Patrice Lumumba e) Maharishi International f) Makerere g) Sophia h) Stellenbosch
2. Name the highest mountain on each of the seven continents and its height to the nearest thousand feet.
3. Name, in order, the 10 most heavily populated countries.

1. a) Israel b) Czech Republic c) Canada d) Russia e) United States f) Japan h) South Africa
2. Africa: Kilimanjaro (19,340), Antarctica: Erebus (12,300), Asia: Everest (29,028), Australia: Kosciuszko (7,310), Europe: Elbrus (18,600), North America: McKinley/Denali (20,320), South America: Aconcagua (22,831)
3. China, India, the United States, Indonesia, Russia, Brazil, Japan, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nigeria

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