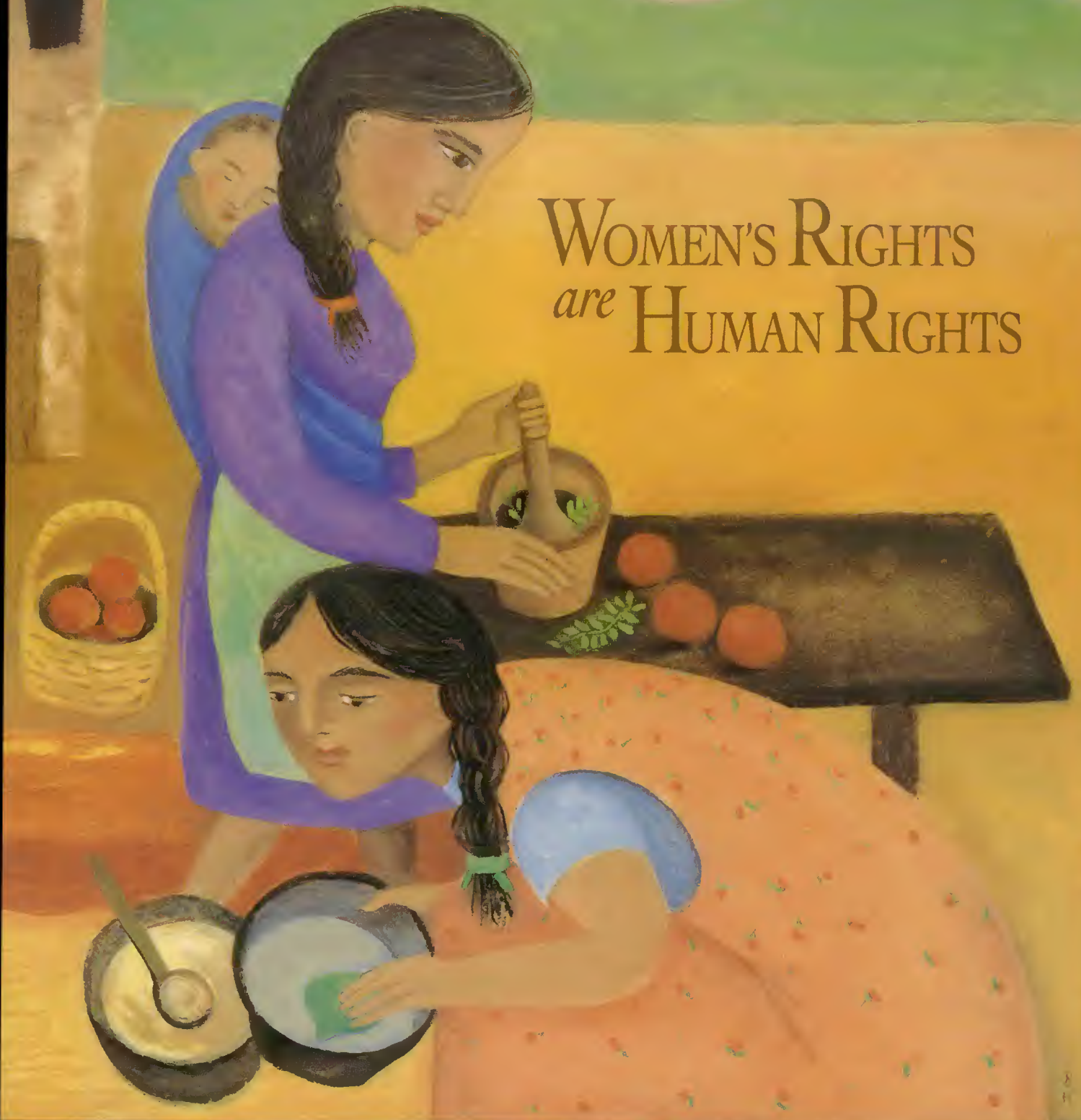


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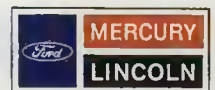
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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

WHY NOT THE BEST?

The system through which our political leadership selects people to head 162 U.S. diplomatic missions around the world is one of the last relics of the archaic nineteenth-century spoils system. It is a system that all too often serves not the country's need for effective representation abroad, but rather the politicians' need to reward people for political loyalty or financial generosity, while passing over professionals with enormous knowledge and unique experience.

While AFSA's *raison d'être* is to safeguard the integrity of the Foreign Service, we do not oppose all political appointees on principle. To do so would be naive and self-defeating. In fact, our country and we ourselves benefit from some infusion into American diplomacy of different talents and perspectives from the worlds of business, academia, or politics. But the overriding principle guiding the ambassadorial selection process must be: "Why not the best?"

The 1980 Foreign Service Act has it right: an ambassador "should possess clearly demonstrated competence to perform the duties of a chief of mission, including . . . useful knowledge of the language . . . and understanding of the history, the culture, the economic and political institutions, and the interests of that country. . . Contributions to political campaigns should not be a factor."

Nevertheless, we all know that too many people are nominated as ambassadors only because they, their spouses, their children, and their friends have made and/or raised lavish financial contributions to political campaigns.

The president is embarked on a major campaign to reinvent the federal government. AFSA is acting as a full partner with the foreign-affairs agencies' leadership to streamline our operations, eliminate excessive bureaucracy, prioritize our programs, and do what counts better with less. But while the reinventing-government agenda is being conscientiously addressed within the agencies, when it comes to selecting chiefs of mission abroad, it's business as usual.

At least three elements of contemporary diplomacy render the appointment of inexperienced and unqualified ambassadors harmful to our national interests:

Complexity The vast reach of our international concerns, amplified by instant communications, has made the job of an ambassador far more complex than ever. In virtually every country, we have significant interests and objectives, from trade promotion and military aid to labor and environment. That's a full plate for even the most seasoned professional; for an amateur it is well-nigh indigestible.

Efficiency In times past, when our missions abroad were relatively few and more generously staffed, the FS staff could afford to carry a neophyte envoy for a year or more while he or she learned the ropes. No more. In a two-year period when we have opened nearly 20 new embassies abroad, the State Department's budget has been cut by 10 percent, with more cuts to come. No longer can our embassies be like a palanquin, in which the ambassador is carried through his tour of duty by the country team. Today's embassy must be an eight-oar shell, in which the ambassador not only calls the stroke, but also pulls his or her weight.

Accountability For every Harriman or Bruce the spoils system has produced, it has sent abroad many envoys who have truly been disasters: no-shows, drunks, playboys, drug abusers. Between these extremes are two large categories: those who absorb the retraining adequately enough to do a creditable job after a while; and those who effectively fail but "stay out of the way." There must be a system of performance accountability for both career and political appointees. We can't afford the marginal performers who are currently protected by the spoils system.

The core question of how we choose American leadership abroad must be high on the "reinventing government" agenda. Our leaders have to be able to say that they have changed the way they choose our ambassadors—and that they are choosing the best.

—TEX HARRIS



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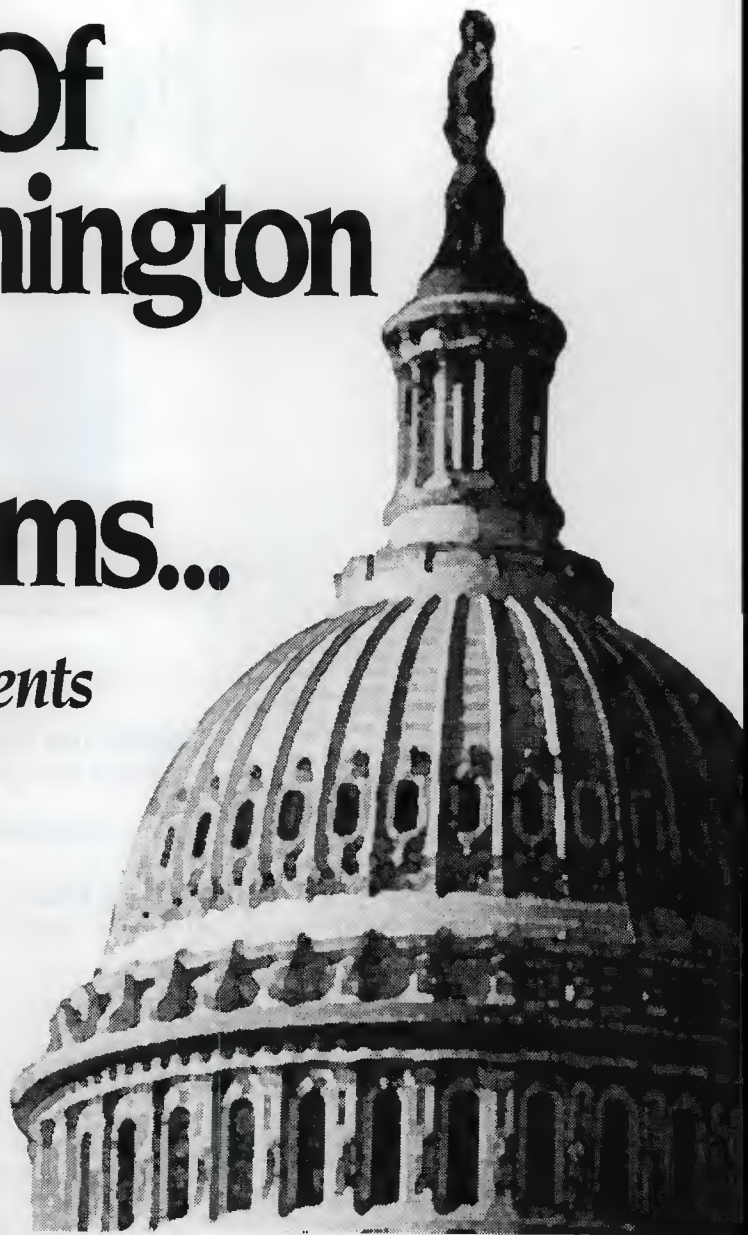
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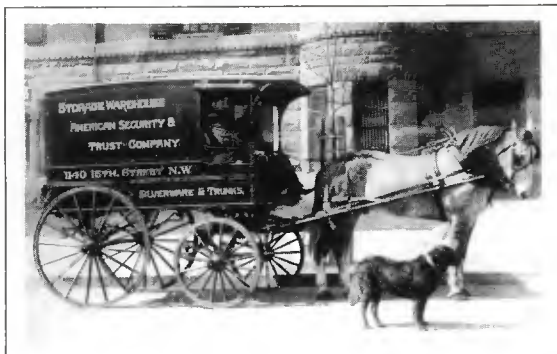
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LETTERS

Our Feet to the Fire

Congratulations to President Tex Harris for not allowing the Bosnia crisis to be swept under the rug. In writing that excellent editorial, ("Beyond Bosnia," October *Journal*) he helps to fill a leadership gap...

Indeed the Bosnia situation is a special one. The truly monstrous atrocities that the Serbs have inflicted on their neighbors, especially the Bosnian Muslims, amount to crimes against humanity, comparable—in sheer evil, if not numbers—to the Holocaust. The fact that the Croats and, to a much lesser extent, the Muslims, have sometimes retaliated in kind does not lessen the criminality of the Serb leadership and of their followers...

The United States has had world leadership thrust upon it, whether we like it or not. By continuing our present non-policy in Bosnia, we are abdicating that leadership either to no one at all or to CNN. Let our association of foreign affairs professionals hold the administration's (and the public's) feet to the fire.

J. Edgar Williams
Carrboro, NC

Foreign Service Professionals

As a former colleague of the four Foreign Service officers who resigned to protest U.S. policy toward the conflict in ex-Yugoslavia, I applaud the October "President's Views." The four acted in the finest tradition of Foreign Service professionalism. They did not engage in leaking or other forms of bureaucratic "guerrilla warfare," nor did they publicly criticize U.S. policy before they resigned. Rather, they did their best to carry out the policies of two administrations despite their own deep personal, practical, and moral misgivings. They shared those misgivings with their colleagues and superiors and tried to bring their concerns to the attention of the policymakers. Only when they deter-

mined that their views were not having any impact—and that they could not remain silent in good conscience—did they choose the hardest option.

Not all members of the Service agree with their position on Bosnia (although I trust few would argue that our policies since 1989 have been either successful or wise), but I hope all recognize that these four officers deserve our recognition and (as Secretary Eagleburger said) our admiration for taking a principled, courageous stand and choosing what in our tradition is the most honorable course.

Eric S. Rubin
Bethesda, MD

The Art of the Possible

It is not within AFSA's charter—as I view it—to question the propriety nor the thrust of foreign policy decisions, certainly not to impugn the "political and moral leadership at the highest level" ("Beyond Bosnia," October *Journal*). Moreover, the interference that our leadership is lacking in "responsibility, integrity, vision and self-confidence," is an unfair indictment. "Vacillation" may at times be no more than the art of the possible.

A commission as a Foreign Service officer presupposes the agreement of the individual to subordinate his personal views to legitimate policy decisions. To spread the spirit, or rather the miasma of dissidence by featuring both the actual and putative dissidents, is in itself of questionable loyalty to both the institution and our top national leaders...

A serious question arises if officers thus transfixed and historically uninformed can carry out the demanding task of the Foreign Service of our country. Are these, by any chance, the select few who will provide the new leadership for America's foreign policy to replace the compass of containment of half a century? Our first line

of defense deserves only the very best!

*Charles Katsainos
Washington, DC*

Locked-in Views

It is never superfluous to reiterate that in this country everybody is entitled to an opinion and the associated right to express it freely and publicly.

It goes without saying that the same rules apply to the new AFSA president, Tex Harris. His most recent editorial "Beyond Bosnia," however, is more than just an opinion. It is a blatant effort to sell AFSA's membership an idea that is mischievous, if not more than that.

A president of any organization is [in] a policy position. When a president speaks or writes, [the] words are taken to reflect the opinion of the organization's membership. I am confident that a significant percentage of AFSA's membership does not share Mr. Harris's views...

[The Yugoslav] tragedy is only now beginning to surface in all of its ugliness, revealing the multitude of guilty parties not just one as they [the 4 dissenters] would have it in their simplistic view of the world.

So many people nowadays read only what they want to read, preferably something that supports their locked-in views. As they say, you can take the horse to water, but you can't make it drink.

*Michael Mennard
Reston, VA*

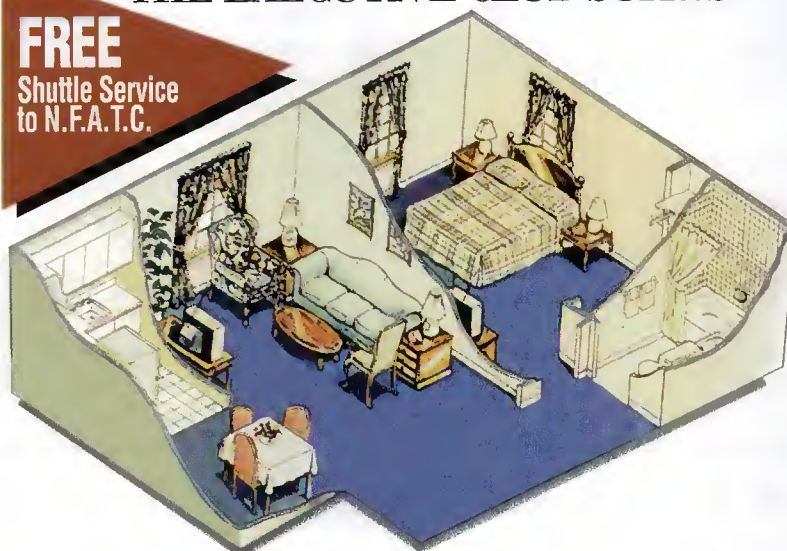
First Diplomat

The October *Journal* refers to plans to move the statue of Benjamin Franklin from "its obscure perch" by the department's diplomatic entrance to the grounds of the new National Foreign Affairs Training Center. It refers to Franklin as "America's first diplomat." That Franklin was not. That title was earned by Silas Deane, who was sent to

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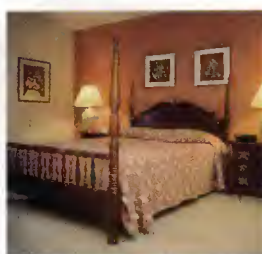
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LETTERS

France in March 1776 to seek financial and military aid, and if possible, an alliance with France. So successful was he that within a year Deane sent at least eight cargoes of arms to the United States, a mighty contribution to the decisive victory over the British at Saratoga in October 1777. Franklin did not join Deane in France until just before Christmas 1776, ten months after Deane's arrival there.

Perhaps Deane is not celebrated today for his diplomatic achievements because, while in Paris, he later came under the influence of an old English friend, Dr. Edward Bancroft, who had become an English spy. As a result, Deane, himself, came under suspicion. Allegedly, he also lined his pockets. In the end, Deane died under mysterious circumstances aboard a vessel in the harbor of Deal, England, when he was about to return to America. While he was accused of wrongdoing, he was never found guilty of such, and certainly died believing he was a victim of injustice. In any event, it was he and not Franklin who was "America's first diplomat."

Let me add, that to many people an "obscure perch" by the department's diplomatic entrance is preferable to any place on the other side of the Potomac.

*Jim Sampas
New York, NY*

A Vital Partnership

At a time when the president encourages foreign countries to purchase U.S. products, it is astonishing to read in "The Hype Behind Trade Promotion" (August *Journal*) that State's raising the level of its assistance to U.S. business is an act of "desperation."

Assisting U.S. business has been and remains a "storefront" in the manner of consular work or briefing the media. . . Today there are more State officers abroad with export-promotion responsibilities, and they are discharging them in more countries than Commerce.

Further, to set the record straight, those engaged in commercial work are not "selling," . . . selling is the task of the exporter. What business clearly wants,

as determined by FCS's 1991 in-depth assessment of its programs, is information...the kind of informed political and economic analysis that Mr. Vasquez believes the Service should provide if it is to have a role in the diplomacy of the future.

I suggest that the Foreign Service's close association with business will be of increasing value. Where [the author] misses the boat is in his failure to recognize that mutual interests of the Service and U.S. corporations, when tapped, can sharpen the quality of the finished product and forge a vital partnership as we strive to restore our economic power.

*Hal Lucius
Harpursville, NY*

A Delicate Business

Reading the two fine articles on the trials of overseas adoptions by officers Young and Livingston (September *Journal*) reminded me once again of the labyrinthine procedures one faces in foreign adoptions. Having undertaken what, in retrospect, were immensely complicated adoptions in the Sudan and Honduras (where regulations changed from one year to the next), I can only say that I am grateful for a helpful consular staff at both posts.

Adoption by foreigners of a country's human patrimony is a delicate business at best, plagued by political considerations and fierce nationalistic pride, at worst. The great advantage we had was being assigned to the respective country, thereby putting us in a better position to follow the process with our local attorney and avoid the unscrupulous officials who exist everywhere and do, indeed, prey on the unsuspecting and often desperate foreigner. It is unfortunately these few [individuals] who give the process a bad name and invariably lead to the overblown type of investigation, which puts a chill into the entire process and embarrasses the host country.

Since this is probably an inevitable cost of the overseas adoption process, let me add my voice in asking for a review of the constraints on the U.S.

side, particularly those relating to INS requirements.

*Peter F. Kranstover
USAID/Costa Rica*

Lessons Learned

After reading Alan W. Lukens' article, "The Death of Crisis Management Exercises" (September *Journal*), I believe some clarification is in order.

First, the subhead, "Are American Embassies now safe from terrorism? The State Department seems to think so" is misleading and inaccurate. Crisis Management Exercises (CME) never had any direct relation to the level or effectiveness of security protection at U.S. missions. They were simply a very useful tool to focus the attention of post management on possible emergencies. Discontinuing the program certainly does not leave embassies less protected against terrorist attacks.

Second, the Bureau of Diplomatic Security never considered CMEs a "fringe activity." On the contrary, the program was amply supported, and by the author's own admission over 330 exercises were held at our overseas missions. The exercises are an outstanding training vehicle but in an era of fiscal restraint, we must find a less costly way to achieve the same objective. During the past ten years, many "lessons learned" have been identified from which all posts can benefit and examine/test their own preparedness; at the same time they can involve all personnel, which was not the practice in the past.

A CME "lessons learned" manual will be published next year, and we will use this same valuable information as the basis for developing a Washington-based CME program.

In addition, Diplomatic Security salutes the many dedicated officers who developed, managed, and carried out the CME program over the years, and they can be confident that their efforts will serve as the basis for CME programs of the future.

*Mark E. Mulvey
Director, Diplomatic Security Service
Washington, DC*

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DESPATCH

BY ANNE STEVENSON-YANG

Yours Truly

Working as a magazine editor can be anxiety-provoking, because mistakes are so public; it's like presenting a blueprint of your id to a team of surveyors for monthly inspection. Did I write that headline because I secretly dislike the author? Did I publish this unflattering photo because of some jealousy? Have I deliberately sought authors who would promote my own cranky points of view? Obviously the magazine is a group endeavor—one that I could never duplicate on my own—but on some level, I feel responsible for the whole thing. By the time you read this, I will have taken up a new job in Beijing, and this seems like a good time to look at the magazine's past and confess my hopes for its future.

Every editor and every editorial board have a vision, a purpose that they hope the publication will accomplish. Having come to this job in late 1990, I had a fascinating vantage point from which to view the beginning of a transformation in U.S. foreign policy and the institutions that carry it forward. I saw the Cold War framework that had guided our policies as something of an ill-fitting suit that our diplomatic establishment simply could not slip out of. I wanted the *Foreign Service Journal* to get in on the no-holds-barred discussion that would follow the Cold War, to help come up with new ideas.

Sometimes, despite the good offices of the Editorial Board, my eagerness to press forward the agenda has allowed parts of the magazine to become shrill. Sometimes, too, the magazine has become wooden in the effort to make readers think about the issues we believe are important—whether they like it or not. More

often, though, I think our approach has been successful. Over the last three years I hope we have prompted readers to consider more carefully the role of economic development and trade in foreign policy, the interconnections between diplomacy and the use of force, the role of intelligence and who should be charged with gathering it for the political leadership, the importance of public opinion in the shaping of international relations, and many other issues critical to the slow shaping of a new world order.

Beyond these political purposes, I hoped the magazine could be a chatting post for people in and involved with the Foreign Service—sort of like what the “senior lounge” was to my class in high school when we finally reached the lofty twelfth grade and had a place all our own where we could sit and talk. The *Journal* should provide a sense of community and historical continuity. I hope it is also fun to read. Magazines should have their own personalities, and I hope this magazine's is one you enjoy spending an evening with.

Now, the magazine will benefit from the ideas of a different editor. I cannot resist the opportunity of my parting, however, to leave a message behind.

The message is this: the importance of the *Foreign Service Journal*, small and obscure though it may be, should not be underestimated. This magazine is a meeting place in the mailbox for the people who are reshaping America's role in the world. All its readers should consider themselves the magazine's parole officers: write when you don't like an article, contribute an article of your own, pass the magazine on to others who work in foreign affairs.

I've had to take up my new position rather abruptly, and there are authors, illustrators, designers, printers, and other collaborators to whom I am deeply indebted for their patience and superb work. I have not had a chance to say goodbye to everyone, but I hope this letter can stand in for a personal farewell. It's been a privilege to work for you. 🐼

Our wonderful editor, Anne Stevenson-Yang, has left the Journal after more than three years of dedicated work. In the Foreign Service we understand that people come and go, and we applaud their progress. But it is still sad for all of us on the Editorial Board. We wish her the best, and hope we can recapture her from time to time in the Journal's pages.



This magazine is a meeting place in the mailbox for the people who are reshaping America's role in the world. All its readers should consider themselves the magazine's parole officers...

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SPEAKING OUT

BY LANNON WALKER

Down and Out: Personnel Reform Revisited

The end of the Cold War has engendered calls for both new international policies and a new model for managing foreign affairs. Less obvious, but no less critical to our nation's success overseas, is the urgent need for a final reform of the Foreign Service personnel system.

Why another reform when the Department of State has struggled so often to get its personnel system right? Very simply, past efforts have failed to correct the core problems of the Foreign Service, and the cumulative effects of these unresolved structural and cultural defects over many years have had several results:

- The premature retirement of our best officers.
- A lack of discipline in a Service that is supposed to be based on discipline and worldwide availability.
- An officer corps still not reflective of our nation's diversity.
- A persistent degradation in the very skills that constitute the *raison d'être* of the Foreign Service.
- An undermining of the career principle, especially in the senior assignments process.

Who should leave?

The main elements of the personnel system—recruitment, assignment, training, and promotion—depend upon the number of officers who leave the Service and on how their identity is determined. Currently, we rely on time-in-class (TIC) as the primary egress mechanism with age as the fall-back. The net result of this

approach is that those senior officers who have been promoted quickly are precisely the ones who run out of time-in-class at a relatively young age—just when these officers' experience and talents are needed to address the challenges of the post-Cold War agenda and just as the Service's heavy investment in its top officers should be paying off.

The Foreign Service has always prided itself on its merit-based structure, an up-or-out system based on tough competition. We should make that claim a reality and see to it that the officers who leave the Service are those who are ranked at the bottom of their class.

The Foreign Service has always prided itself on its merit-based structure, an up-or-out system based on tough competition. We should make that claim a reality and see to it that the officers who leave the Service are those who are ranked at the bottom of their class. There should be no egress mechanism other than low-ranking in terms of relative performance.

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 requires the use of a personnel model to determine promotion rates. This, in effect, involves a projection of the number of officers at each rank who need to leave if a given "flow-through" is to be attained. If selection boards were required to rank the bottom of the class as rigorously as they now do the top, then the director general would be able to identify those low-ranked officers who should leave.

Limited Career Extensions (LCEs) would be allied with very short TICs (three years for each senior rank), but management would not grant the LCEs to those officers ranked at the bottom of their class.

If this reform is instituted, both our very best senior officers and all those mid-ranked would either be promoted or kept on. This more competitive approach, based on selection board rankings, should result in less grievances. More importantly, if we undertake these reforms, not only will we keep our best senior officers, but mid-career officers struggling to cross the senior threshold will have a more predictable path.

Service needs first

The assignment process and the bidding system have imploded. The Department of State goes through contortions to fill its urgent staffing requirements even though the Foreign Service is based on worldwide availability and the discipline inherent in such mobility. Recruitment has little focus and is not based on the needs of the Service. Professional development is non-existent if it requires stepping out of the mainstream. Several reforms are urgently required; all must be based on an assessment of the needs of the Service.

- Recruit for the functional and area skills needed in the department. Assign officers to the skills for which they were recruited as soon as possible. This will require a reversal of the decision to postpone junior officer coning.
- Cease recruiting to staff visa lines. Officers recruited for the consular

SPEAKING OUT

track should serve on the line as part of their training, but the visa function should be staffed by properly trained non-FSOs.

- Publish job openings and solicit preferences but make assignments on the basis of the needs of the Service—and make the assignments stick. We need open bidding, not open assignments.

Improve skills

There has been a long, important, and unresolved debate over the respective roles of “experts” and “generalists” in the Foreign Service. In the meantime, we have let both expert skills—area, language, and functional—and our generalist skills—multifunctional, interagency, policy formulation, and program direction—deteriorate. By instituting the multifunctional track, without making it clear that expert

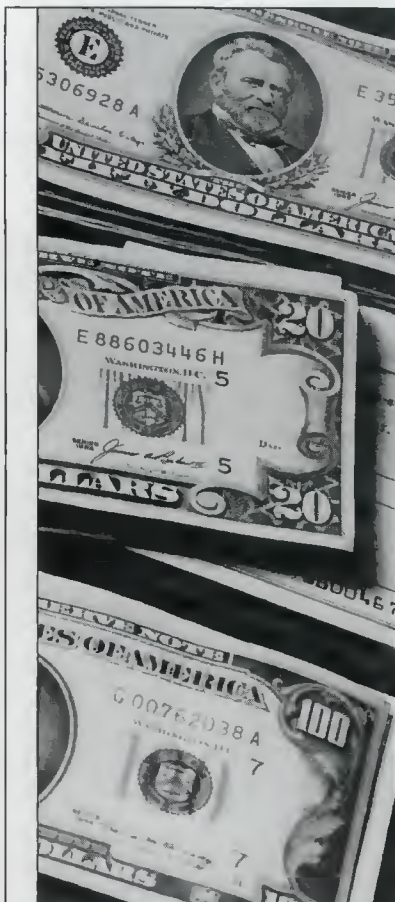
skills also lead into the Senior Foreign Service, the department has dangerously undermined our expert-skill base. The multifunctional track appears to be perceived as the preferred

There has been a long, important, and unresolved debate over the respective roles of “experts” and “generalists” in the Foreign Service. In the meantime, we have let both expert skills—area, language, and functional—and our generalist skills—multifunctional, interagency, policy formulation, and program direction—deteriorate.

route into the senior ranks and attracts a plethora of political officers, who are already over-represented in the senior ranks.

We need both experts and generalists in the Foreign Service and each should be the very best in their fields. It is time to take the steps to make this a reality.

- Officers should choose whether they wish to compete for promotion across the senior threshold as either experts or generalists—not both. And they would compete on the basis of their qualifications with their expert or generalist peers.
- This system, which was negotiated with AFSA in 1985, but later dropped before it became effective, means that both expert and generalist positions need to be identified in the Senior Foreign Service.
- Each officer would choose a professional development program designed either to deepen expertise or to expand multifunctional credentials.



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SPEAKING OUT

With such a system—recruiting and making assignments based on the needs of the Service and striking the right balance between experts and generalists—we will be able to significantly upgrade and maintain our standards as foreign affairs professionals.

A representative Service

The personnel system has failed to significantly alter the profile of the Foreign Service so that it represents our nation's diversity. It is time to do so once and for all.

The most effective way to have the Foreign Service truly reflect our plural society is through the recruitment process. We need to recruit for both skills and diversity. If we decide we need more economists or more experts on Asia, then we should set out to find them, and we should especially look for these skills among minority candidates. This will require

the involvement of our senior leaders as well as our recruitment system.

The most effective way to have the Foreign Service truly reflect our plural society is through the recruitment process. We need to recruit for both skills and diversity.

Anything less will be ephemeral, as it has been thus far.

Who should be responsible for reform?

The personnel system has been responsible for recruitment, assignment, training, promotions, egress—everything—with varying degrees of input from the bureaus. This should be reversed and the bureaus given

much more responsibility for recruitment efforts, assignments, and professional development. The central system should concentrate on setting standards and building crosswalks among the bureaus for multifunctional officers and for promotions and egress.

An assistant secretary should be responsible for seeing to it that the bureau is staffed to fulfill the needs of the organization. Bureau personnel experts should provide continuity, but assistant secretaries must themselves direct the overall recruitment program. Those recruited would know that the bulk of their careers would be spent in the bureau that recruited them. In this way decisions on assignments and on professional development can be enforced and will make more sense to the individual officer. The important thing is that operational managers, the assistant secretaries, must be respon-



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sible for the full range of management—including personnel. If we do not decentralize responsibility, we will continue to find that, in reality, no one is in charge of our future.

Integrity and Professionalism

Career Foreign Service officers serve all administrations with integrity and high standards of performance. The corollary to this commitment is that our political leaders view the Foreign Service as important to the national interest. Unfortunately, these principles are under attack and in danger of losing their relevance.

Most dangerous to the future of the Service is the growing tendency of the Foreign Service—through the work of an old-boy network at the most senior levels—to put forward unqualified career candidates for ambassadorial positions. Our selection process at the ambassadorial level often resembles

that used for political appointees, rather than a merit-based system.

The time has come to establish a Senior Assignments Board, consisting

Most dangerous to the future of the Service is the growing tendency of the Foreign Service—through the work of an old-boy network at the most senior levels—to put forward unqualified career candidates for ambassadorial positions.

of distinguished active and retired officers and outsiders who would recommend career candidates to the secretary. This reform should be allied with a return to the Askew Commission approach whereby the White House re-

viewed political and career candidates for overseas missions. The common goal of the Senior Assignment Board and the White House review commission would be to emphasize competence and qualifications among both career and non-career appointees.

A call for leadership

The current leadership of the Department of State has considered each of these personnel issues—but in most cases has failed to act or has taken the wrong path. For example, by continuing to rely on time-in-class, it has chosen the worst and most destructive option. It's time that the Foreign Service itself looks into its soul. If our senior career leadership won't stand up, AFSA must. 🐼

Lannon Walker has served as deputy assistant secretary of state for African affairs and as ambassador to Senegal.

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clippings
and
comment

USAID: Smaller but Smarter?

The mission and policies of the Agency for International Development continue to be dissected in the media. A feature article in *The National Journal* (October 2) on Administrator J. Brian Atwood, noted AFSA Representative Lee Ann Ross's concern that attempts to centralize management will detract from the agency's greatest strength—its field capabilities. "We've been doing more with less for so many years that it's untenable now to contemplate further [overseas] reductions," Ross declared to writer Dick Kirschten.

Kirschten points out that Atwood hasn't hesitated to step on toes, recently giving 50 career workers their walking papers. Atwood explained, "This is an old agency,... younger people have been blocked from coming up" to positions they deserve. Atwood remarked, "People haven't begun to understand the full weight of what is going to happen ... as we go through the downsizing process."

Kirschten gives AFSA credit for raising alarms about both the pace and direction of Atwood's plans, particularly his proposals to reduce the

agency's presence overseas and to centralize management in Washington. "The overseas missions should not be eroded in the reorganization," Atwood was informed in an AFSA statement that was circulated to all posts. Since then, Atwood has made numerous adjustments in his reorganization plan. Ross characterized Atwood's responses to the concerns as "reassuring."

The National Journal article points out that even a streamlined foreign aid agency is in danger of losing influence if the budget squeeze continues. ✂

Diplomatic Wife

Lucille Bloch, the wife of never-charged but ousted FSO Felix Bloch, is finally telling her side of the story. In a *Wall Street Journal* story by Amanda Bennett (October 20), she says the spy scandal is "about the downfall of a family." After more than four trying and perplexing years, the couple is now estranged, and two daughters struggle to reconcile the prim and proper father of their childhood with the stranger they read about in the newspaper.

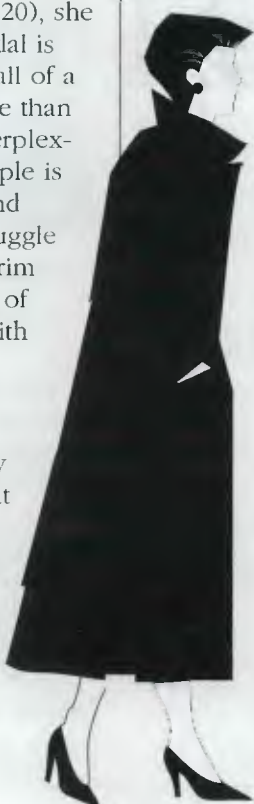
The Bloch story shows the fate that can befall women who find themselves tarred and cast off as a result of a husband's fall from grace. Mrs. Bloch was hastily removed

from the diplomatic world, she was tailed, many friends and colleagues shunned her, her calls to the State Department have gone unanswered, and she lost her job, according to Bennett.

As a Foreign Service wife, she did volunteer work, served on committees and entertained visiting Americans. According to a survey done in the late 1970s, the average wife of a Foreign Service officer spent between 20 and 60 hours a week on unpaid diplomatic activities.

Today, much of Mrs. Bloch's time is spent lobbying the government to get her pension and health benefits restored and trying to get her name officially cleared. "How long does an innocent person have to be harassed?" she asks. As Felix Bloch grows more reclusive—he now works as a bus driver in Chapel Hill—Lucille Bloch grows more vocal and seeks to make sense of her diplomatic years.

Was Felix Bloch a spy? His wife and daughters told Bennett they don't know. Mrs. Bloch says, "If he did commit treason, let him be charged." She is angry that even though Bloch was not charged, the State Department has denied the couple pension and health benefits. She thinks that whatever happens to Felix Bloch's pension, she is entitled to her share. ✂





The Fire Horse

He speaks his mind, keeps several steps ahead of his superiors and violates just about every other rule of the road for diplomats in the U.S. Foreign Service. Yet, *Time* magazine (October 25) reports that within four days of his arrival in Mogadishu, Robert Oakley had arranged for the release of two hostages and hammered out a tentative cease-fire. His style places him in the ranks of trouble-shooters like Philip Habib and Richard Armitage, whose authority derives not from their titles but from their willingness to operate in the highly volatile world of eyeball-to-eyeball diplomacy. *Time* says the formula is simple: earn the trust of the principals; talk straight and cut the best deal you can; then tell the boss what you have done.

"Oakley just bores in," said a Western diplomat in Mogadishu. However, Oakley is no miracle worker, according to a *Newsweek* article (Oc-

tober 25). A senior State Department official is quoted as saying, "If there had been no course correction, [focussing on a political solution] Bob would have gone out there and accomplished nothing." *Newsweek* says Oakley has built a reputation for straight talk to tyrants. Somali strongman Siad Barre got so tired of his lectures that he ordered him out of the country as ambassador in 1984.

Although officially retired from the State Department in 1991, he has remained ready to help anywhere his vast experience can be used. "Bob Oakley is a fire horse. When the bell rings, he's there," said former Ambassador [Richard] Murphy in the *Washington Times* (October 15). The U.S. special envoy to Somalia is no ordinary diplomat, says reporter Andrew Borowiec. All who know him or have worked with him say he is an exceptional man, eminently qualified to handle the most complicated situations. ✂

FSI and Fish Forks

Sarah Booth Conroy, *Washington Post* "Chronicler," in an October 11 column writes that the new National Foreign Affairs Training Center (NFATC) comes with a set of electronic-age facilities and attitudes that are light-years away from the time Conroy was a "junior wife."

She recounts how in the 1950s diplomatic wives, "wide-eyed with fear," were told, "You mustn't worry about entertaining even if you don't have fish forks."

Conroy remarks that now the world is more complicated in big matters and less complicated in small ones. NFATC re-

50 years ago

Women in War

From the *Foreign Service Journal* of December 1943.

Women Foreign Service clerks (WFSC), "the forgotten woman's army," have experienced devastating bombardments, death, panic, revolution, earthquakes, famine, pestilence, and floods, according to a *Woman's Home Companion* article reprinted in the *Journal*.

"There are only 800 clerks, yet more than half of them have been subjected to the hazards of war—bombings, shellings, and traveling through mine-infested waters to reach their posts. One in eight has suffered privation or terror as a captive of our enemies. Eight women clerks still are in enemy hands and will remain there for the duration..."

"The WFSC seems to endow its members with channeled lives. In Warsaw four WFSC survived the Nazi air and artillery bombardment of 1939 in which thousands of Poles died. After living for days in the midst of this blazing

battlefield, they managed to escape to Bucharest just before the Nazis entered Warsaw.

"Irja Lindgren was serving in the American legation at Oslo when the Nazis invaded Norway. King Haakon and his government moved five times in the first week. Miss Lindgren and the American minister, Mrs. Florence Harriman, moved with them, traveling almost continuously over heavily bombed highways. As soon as it became evident that Norway was lost, the State Department made arrangements to have the women led across the border to neutral Sweden. Because of road blocks and intense bombing, the women were unable to reach an appointed meeting place. They found their own way to Sweden. Later they learned that the Nazis had wiped out the village where their contact was waiting and he was killed." ✂

clippings and comment

flects those changes with a new 487,000-square-foot, multi-media campus in Arlington. There are 600 rooms—250 classrooms for 550 permanent staff teaching about 15,000 people in three-day to 10-month courses. The corner towers are designed to be “little grooving centers” where colleagues will be able to meet. ✂

Insider Out

Robert Kaplan's new book, *The Arabists*, describes the failures of “State Department insiders.” A *New York Times* book review (October 17) includes a vivid description of former AFSA president Hume Horan. Kaplan

says the former ambassador to Saudi Arabia was “a man so cerebral that, exactly like T. E. Lawrence, the size of his head seems out of proportion to the rest of his body...It is as though Horan is disembodied: a distilled brain in a jar.”

Kaplan says there was no one better qualified at that moment (1987) to be ambassador in Riyadh, but after crossing King Fahd in carrying out State Department orders, Washington recalled Horan. “A feeling persisted within the Foreign Service community”, recounts Kaplan, “that Horan was done in not just by the Saudis . . . but also by senior bureaucrats . . . for understanding the Saudis better than they wanted to be understood.”

The TV World

“Fleeting, disjointed, visual glimpses of reality, flickering on and off the [TV] screen, here today and gone tomorrow, are not the ‘information’ on which sound judgments on complicated international problems are to be formed,” comments George Kennan, in the *New York Times* (Letters, October 24). Kennan is protesting a statement by Dan Rather that television coverage helped create initial support for American action in Somalia. Kennan continues, “Television cannot consult the rich voice of prior experience, nor can it outline probable consequences, or define alternatives, nor express the nuances of the arguments pro and con.” ✂



That was Then...

Early 18th-century ambassadors had a wider latitude in pursuing the art of diplomacy than present-day ambassadors

are allowed. In 1708, during the Russian-Swedish War, Tsar Peter's ambassador to Constantinople, Peter Tolstoy, was instructed “to do whatever was nec-

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essary to keep the Turks quiet during the Swedish invasion." Robert K. Massie in the book, *Peter the Great*, writes, "Tolstoy spread dismal information about the state of the Swedish army... Gold—always a powerful influence at the Ottoman court—was lavishly distributed among Turkish courtiers and statesmen. Tolstoy also dangled false rumors that [Tsar] Peter and [King] Charles were on the verge of concluding a peace... It would be announced, he declared, with the news that Peter's sister was to marry Charles and become Queen of Sweden. Tolstoy has few equals in deviousness, and his campaign had its effect." ✂

Diplomatically Dapper

Both the *Washington Post* and *People* magazine have recently commented on Secretary of State Warren Christopher's style—as in suits and ties. Wrote the *Post* recently, he is "exceptionally well-dressed for a man who lives in a town that rarely gets racier than a powder-blue shirt." In a *People* magazine spread, the secretary comments, "Trying to be well-dressed is a mark of the respect you have for others." But, he adds, "this job is very hard on clothes. An 18- 20-hour day will do a lot to a suit." ✂



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Clinton's Competence

Secretary Warren Christopher defended Clinton's foreign policy competence in an October 18 *Time* magazine interview: "In protecting

our vital national interests, this administration is doing extremely well. Our support for Yeltsin; our involvement in the Middle East peace process; what we've done in nonproliferation with Russia, China, North Korea; promoting global economic growth; President Clinton's leadership doesn't have to give anything away to President Bush, and that's putting it mildly." Christopher was also asked if the crisis had been particularly hard on him, in fact, he hadn't slept for three days. He replied that "the atmosphere in some parts of the country and on Capitol Hill has been near panic... but we need to be steadier, and have a longer view of American interests. That more than anything has kept me awake." ✂

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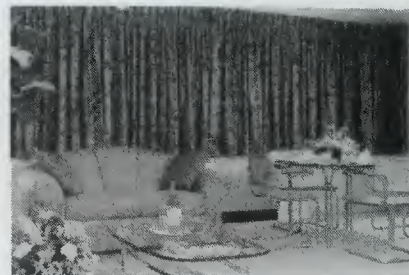
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A Grave Robber in Korea

Despatch from the U.S. Consul in Shanghai, George F. Seward, to U.S. Chargé d'affaires in Peking, S. Wells Williams



Korea was the last of the major kingdoms of East Asia opened to contact with the West. By the late 1860s, however, Western missionaries, mariners in distress, and even occasional small military expeditions were disturbing the enforced isolation of the "Hermit Kingdom." In what may have been the most remarkable intrusion into Korea during this period, a private expedition of adventurers—including an American—landed on the coast and attempted unsuccessfully to plunder the royal tombs. The American was later tried in the consular court in Shanghai, which had jurisdiction over Americans accused of crimes in China. He was acquitted for lack of evidence. The case is described in this despatch from U.S. consul George Seward, who was later appointed as U.S. minister to China.

Shanghai, July 13, 1868

Sir:

I enclose the supreme court and consular *Gazette's* report of the trial in the consulate of F.H.B. Jenkins, for setting on foot an expedition to Corea, having for its object to exhume the remains of a dead sovereign, or other person or persons of that country, and to hold the bones for profit.

This expedition left Shanghai in April last. There were apparently three leaders: a French priest named Farout, a citizen of Hamburg named Oppert, and our countryman above named.

A steamer under the North German flag, named the *China*, of 648 tons, was chartered for it. . . . About eight Europeans, 20 Manilas, and 100 Chinese sailors, beyond the complement of the ship, were engaged and embarked. At Nagasaki, muskets enough were taken to arm all these. . . . on the coast of Corea, two small boats were seized, and within a few hours the tender towing them steamed up a river about 40 miles.

Here the crowd of armed men landed and made their way across the country to a graveyard, where surrounding hills were covered with Coreans; they went to work to exhume the bones for which they had

come. These were contained in a stone or mason work sarcophagus, and having penetrated through the earth to it, they found themselves unable to do more, and returned to the large steamer, having met no opposition which they had not overcome by the simple display of their arms, or by firing them into the air...

Before the departure of the expedition, Mr. Jenkins had told me that he was about making a visit to Corea with a French priest and Mr. Oppert to open negotiations, which he said, were invited by the Corean government, looking to the sending of an embassy to Europe and America... After his return he told me of the real object of the expedition—to exhume the bones of a former king, and to hold them, to force a large payment of money. He at the same time declared that he was innocent of any knowledge of the purpose until after sailing from Nagasaki, when it was too late to leave the vessel.

I was not at all satisfied with this statement, and set to work to sift it. The result of my inquiries was a conviction that Mr. Jenkins ought to be put to trial.

I accordingly instituted legal pro-

cedure against him, as seen in the above-mentioned report of the *Gazette*, resulting in his acquittal.

You will notice that the verdict is a simple acquittal. This is equivalent, under our rules, to the Scotch verdict, "not proven." For while the evidence would not at all justify a conviction, it left an unfavorable impression on my mind, and with the associates. The presence of the accused with the expedition, his furnishing a large amount of money, although ostensibly this was a loan, and a large quantity of arms; his failure to indicate that he remonstrated when told of the real purpose of the expedition, and his reliance on the weakness of the prosecution rather than on the strength of his own case, all conspired to prevent us from giving him verdict of honorable acquittal. But it was completely evident that not he, but the French priest and the Hamburger Oppert were the persons most concerned.

I presume that no future steps will be taken. The evidence given is not sufficient to enable the consul general for Prussia to institute proceedings against the master and crew of the steamer. The French priest has wisely gone off from Shanghai. The Hamburg consul has not sufficient judicial powers. So the persons who set on foot this disgraceful expedition will all go clear, and an offense which must be ranked in the opinions of the Chinese and of Coreans, who have, I believe, common ideas of the sacredness of burial places, one which might have resulted in severe loss of life, and which cannot but grievously interfere with the efforts to open relations with Corea, will remain unaddressed.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

—George Seward



PHOTO BY STEPHANIE P. HANNES

C H A N G I N G

CHINA

BY ANNE STEVENSON-YANG

The American view of China and the image Chinese people—at least in the capital—have of their nation seem to be developing in almost polar opposition. The United States sees China as a creaky, autocratic nation that is reluctant to play by the rules. China uses prison labor, puts journalists in jail, and ships dangerous weapons around the world. Many Americans fear that, after Deng dies, chaos will overwhelm the political system, and China could even see another era of warlordism and fierce regionalism. Many probably felt pleased that Beijing lost out on the Olympics.

In Beijing, though, many Chinese are happily shaking off their former, rueful sense that China didn't count in international relations. They believe their children will have a chance to get rich and they will live to see their nation become a preeminent world power. People nurse anxieties about the growing economic pressure they must cope with, but they shrug off concerns about political stability, population growth, the lag between economic and political opening, and the possibility of a breakdown in central authority after Deng's passing. People seem convinced that these problems will be minor irritations in the healthy progress of the body politic. Common sense indicates that the truth must lie in between the two views.

A recent, month-long visit to Beijing, after five years away, left me with an array of impressions that may not come together into anything resembling analysis but give a glimpse of the tremendous difficulties involved in changing a nation's political and economic systems.

Superficially, much has changed since 1988. The wide roads around Beijing, which had been built, in the way of planned economies, before they were actually needed and had been used largely for mule carts and a few official cars, now see traffic jams every day mostly because of the overnight explosion of minibus taxis. Highrises have been thrown up throughout the city, and blocks of old courtyard-style houses—picturesque, but miserable to live in—have been razed. Foreign-invested department stores sell furs, makeup, and Armani suits and employ salespeople who greet customers politely at the door—a far cry from my previous three years residency there, when the salesperson was king and goods were available so sporadically that I grew accustomed to having to buy necessary items such as a mop from a sidewalk stand on my way to the opera because I knew that if I passed up the opportunity, I would not be able to find one again.

Formerly, the silky pockets of Beijing—the big hotels and the few nightclubs—were exclusively for foreigners. Chinese normally were not even permitted to pass through the gates. If you saw a Chinese at an expensive restaurant, he or she was certain to be the guest of a foreigner. Now, expensive restaurants are filled with Chinese hosting other Chinese—all on the company tab, to be sure, but nonetheless a big psychological as well as economic change. Many Chinese have money, when five years ago almost no one did. Now, stores that sell \$100 suits (about three times the monthly salary of a junior government official) are filled with customers, and many streets have “redecorating” shops that will redo the miserably bare apartments Beijingers live in for fees up to \$15,000. In 1988 Beijing had only a few hundred privately

registered cars. Now, entrepreneurs with money for cars discuss whether the Mazda 626 is as roomy as a Volvo.

Also new to Chinese—and familiar to us—is the pressure to compete. Unless someone is lucky enough to work for a foreign company or a hotel, salaries are not sufficient to keep up with the cost of living. The inflation pushing up prices of goods is only half the story; more important are fees added here and there and subsidies taken away, as government-owned businesses come under pressure to compete. At one government-owned company I visited, staff were very busy because of the departure of almost anyone

with marketable skills for better employment; those left were staying the benefits associated with a government “work unit”—housing, social security, health—

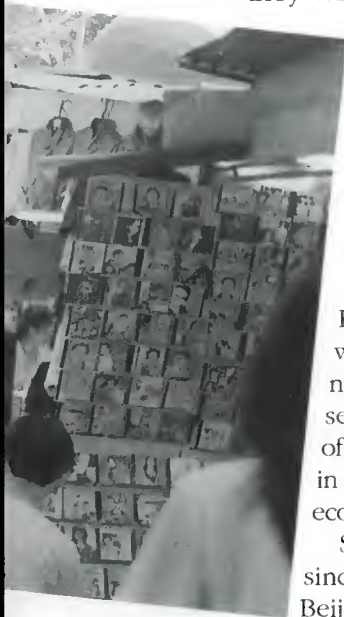


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while making their money elsewhere. At another government organization, employees barely have time for their jobs because of all the moonlighting. One person makes about 50 times his government salary at a travel agency, and another does freelance work on a computer she brings to the office. There is little choice: her child's government-operated day care center now charges a fee equivalent to her monthly salary.

Companies, like individuals, must find ways to earn spare cash. One organization I visited has sold the dormitories and dining hall it formerly maintained for staff to an investor who will open a restaurant and pay a yearly fee for the land use. A government-published magazine manufactures plaster figurines for the tourist trade.

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INTO THE OCEAN

For individuals, Chinese life seems to resemble American life a little more. Most Chinese live better than they did, in better housing, with a richer and more varied diet. Many are able to own televisions and VCRs and karaoke machines, and are even able to take short trips once in a while, but they are worried about keeping up with inflation, making ends meet in retirement, and paying for their child's education. A former local Party official who has lost his position now spends his days twisting pieces of wire into gerbil cages to sell at a free market (thus making many times his former income). Taking a lot of "miandi" cabs (private "bread-loaf cabs," so named for their shape), I surveyed the drivers, asking them what they paid in fees for the car, what they earned, what they had done before becoming a driver, and so on. Most had been drivers or mechanics before, in the army or government factories. All earned more as cab drivers, but most said they regretted having "jumped into the ocean"—the

current Beijing slang for taking the leap into the capitalist economy. Competition is so strong that they must work 12 hours a day, seven days a week, and the anxiety of having thrown away the "iron rice bowl" never goes away.

Popular wisdom has it that Chinese do not care about politics. Even Wang Dan, hero of the Tiananmen movement, has said he's no longer interested in politics. There seems to be a widespread feeling that development will take

care of the political problems, and there is some truth to that. Consumer demand, not government dictates, for the most part drives the supply of products to the market, whether the products are material or cultural. Beijing now has a sex store, admittedly more restrained than those one sees in Washington at Dupont Circle,

periences have disappeared and been replaced with kung fu novels and thinly disguised soft porn. Chinese television shows MTV, because, even though the government frowns upon such corrupting foreign cultural influences, the same government has a financial interest in the satellite that beams the programs into people's homes.

In some areas, liberalization has permitted the return of customs upon which the Communist government frowned. Once again, wealthy men are reportedly taking second and third wives. Funerals have become elaborate affairs with floral wreaths and processions, and

still thriving) firecrackers. (In the pre-Deng era, a wedding celebration consisted of readings from Chairman Mao and the gift of a Mao button.) Geomancers and fortune-tellers have set up shop again. It has even become fashionable to use the old, complicated Chinese characters still in use in Hong Kong and Taiwan rather than the simplified characters instituted during the Maoist era.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE

This social change implies dissension, and it seems to me that many Chinese appreciate too little the gravity of the conflicts that a government must mediate and thus the importance of having a government that does more than stay out of people's way. The inefficient, state-run economy, for example, cannot be abolished (and the one-child policy cannot be fully enforced) until China has a social-security system in place so that the government will provide pensions and health insurance to those who have not worked in its system. But who will pay? I quizzed dozens of relatively well-to-do Chinese on the income tax, and not one paid a cent. Civic responsibility is a concept that



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For individuals, Chinese life seems to resemble American life a little more. Most Chinese live better than they did, in better housing, with a richer and more varied diet. Many are able to own televisions and VCRs and karaoke machines, and are even able to take short trips once in a while, but they are worried about keeping up with inflation, making ends meet in retirement, and paying for their child's education.

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brides are again sent to their husbands' homes in convoys of expensive automobiles, heralded by deafening strings of (recently banned but

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would puzzle many Chinese; in building after building, for example, families spend a minor fortune remodeling their own apartments but will not pay ten cents to replace a light bulb or a pane of glass in the building's public area—who would be foolish enough to give away money? The

same people who will turn over 80 percent of their salaries to their aged parents would be outraged at the idea that they might have to pay so that jobless people can have unemployment benefits.


Already China has seen public demonstrations over corruption and unfair financial practices. What will happen when the Chinese begin to see the health effects of the terrible pollution eating up the air and water in the cities? What about when crime becomes intolerable? (Already, the "floating" population of unregistered residents in Beijing has formed civil-defense leagues to take care of their own police work.) Transience, since it takes people away from the families, schools, offices, and neighborhoods to which they are normally responsible, tends to create deep social problems. What will happen as China begins to see young people alienated from traditional cultural values—more beggars, more crime, more drugs, more miseries?

I can sympathize to some extent with Chinese puzzlement over the American insistence on human rights; theirs is a culture, after all, in which deeply ingrained mores need not be codified to dictate standards of behavior. In the United States, young people seek psychological counseling to achieve a fuller break from their families; in China, they seek counsel-

The same people who will turn over 80 percent of their salaries to their aged parents would be outraged at the idea that they might have to pay so that jobless people can have unemployment benefits.

ing to help them accept the greater good of submitting to the family's authority. Individual sacrifice for a greater social good does not elicit tears, and thus the Western concept of human rights, which is really individual rights, does not always translate into a Chinese context. Nevertheless,

people by nature prefer to be as unfettered as they can be, and Chinese are gaining more autonomy to move about, change jobs, get an education, and make choices that will better their children's chances of a bright future. When that autonomy clashes with other social values, will Chinese refrain from clamoring for change? If the government needs to reduce migration to the cities, further curb the frightening population growth, tax the working population to provide for the growing numbers of elderly, cut imports, permit massive layoffs and bankruptcies, or any number of other measures, will Chinese demand more rights?

Growth can be intoxicating, and China is in the midst of a Gilded Age, generating its own J.P. Morgans and Vanderbilts (as well as its Boss Tweeds). Chinese themselves do not know how the political system will adapt to new challenges; there is no reason Americans should be better able to predict. What is certain is that China is becoming more enmeshed in the international economy and political system and requires a more complex and nuanced set of responses from the outside world. 

Anne Stevenson-Yang is the former editor of the Journal. She and her family moved to Beijing in November.

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AFSAnews



AFSA testifies against ambassadorial spoils system

Adopting a new, more aggressive policy critical of the awarding of ambassadorships to wealthy but unqualified political contributors, AFSA President Tex Harris testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on November 10.

Together with Dennis Kux, chairman of the Senior Foreign Service Association, Harris opposed the nomination of M. Larry Lawrence to be ambassador to Switzerland. Lawrence, a San Diego hotel owner and major contributor to the Democratic Party and its candidates' campaigns, has little relevant ex-

perience in international affairs, AFSA contends. Harris focussed on the ongoing practice of rewarding large political contributors and fundraisers with prestigious ambassadorships, which he called "one of the last relics of the 19th-century spoils system." While the federal government is being reinvented in virtually all its aspects, Harris observed, "when it comes to selecting ambassadors it's business as usual."

In an era of growing demands and leaner, more economical operations, American embassies can no longer afford the luxury of carrying

diplomatic amateurs for a year or more while they learn the ropes, Harris contended. "Today's embassy can no longer be like a palanquin, in which an amateur ambassador is carried through his duties by a loyal staff, but must resemble an eight-oar shell, in which everyone pulls his or her weight."

Harris called for reform of ambassadorial appointments to be placed high on the "Reinventing Government" agenda.

State curtails Med Program

AFSA files grievance

AFSA and State are clashing over MED's effort to curtail substantially the hospitalization and related medical benefits granted abroad to U.S. government employees and their family members. All employees covered by the department's medical program should be aware of this dispute when considering their options in the current open season under the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program.

In mid-October AFSA reviewed a draft cable from MED that said in part:

"If an employee has no personal health insurance, the department's medical program will not make any payment for medical claims."

AFSA objected to this section as no justification could be found in 3 FAM 680. The response noted: "AFSA is not prepared to concur in a cable which does not accord with existing regulations."

The department responded with a

revised draft that omitted the offensive passage but substituted language that implied what the earlier draft had explicitly stated. AFSA asked for its deletion as well. The department refused, transmitted the cable, and formally advised AFSA:

"We cannot agree to delete that language as it correctly notifies employees that the department does not assume the cost of medical claims of the uninsured and that uninsured employees will be responsible for those costs."

This state of affairs is described as "existing policy."

Moreover, a MED representative advised AFSA that the department's responsibility to an employee covered by personal health insurance is limited to reimbursement of the co-payments required by the employee's policy. Other payments (e.g., expenses above the policy limits) are not reimbursed, according to the MED representative.

AFSA considers the department's

conduct in this matter to be outrageous, displaying an incredible arrogance vis-a-vis employees. Far from reflecting existing policy, the department's position is a bald-faced

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attempt to deal with its budgetary problems by amending the conditions of employment of Foreign Service members without negotiating with AFSA as required by the Foreign Service Act and the State-AFSA collective bargaining agreement. AFSA filed a grievance November 5 to reverse the department's position, but employees should be aware that the grievance process will last several months. In the meantime, the department may indeed attempt to enforce its interpretation of existing policy. Post reps are requested to notify AFSA of all such attempts.

To demonstrate that the department's new prescription is not "existing policy," AFSA would appreciate hearing by cable or FAX from uninsured Foreign Service employees whose hospitalization and related medical expenses have been paid by the department during the past five years and from insured employees whose expenses have been paid beyond the limits of their

personal insurance policies. These examples of current practice are urgently needed to support our grievance.

AFSA continues to urge that all members of the Foreign Service purchase appropriate personal health insurance for themselves and their families. Existing department policy does indeed exclude payment for hospitalization and related treatment in the United States (except for conditions incurred abroad), not to mention medical treatment abroad unrelated to hospitalization. No one can exclude the possibility of a medical emergency erupting during a U.S. vacation or TDY or of an expensive outpatient regimen abroad.

Finally, AFSA fears that this episode foreshadows additional attempts by the department to deal with its budgetary problems by cutting back employee benefits. Post representatives are asked to bring such attempts to AFSA's immediate attention.

News from FAS

by Maggie Dowling

Nearly half of FAS Foreign Service employees have expressed interest in supporting an election for a union representative. Signatures of support are still coming in. On November 4 AFSA filed a petition with the Federal Labor Relations Authority for certification as the exclusive representative for FAS Foreign Service employees.

To help to win the vote for AFSA bargaining representation, AFSA will be running an information campaign in the coming weeks.

In response to President Clinton's executive order encouraging labor-management partnership councils, FAS employees met to discuss the feasibility of a council at FAS. AFSA USIA Vice President Razvigor Bazala was present to discuss similar councils in other agencies.

The executive order has created real expectations of progress and participatory substantive change. FAS employees are unlikely to let that opportunity pass.

FCS news

by Barry Friedman

I was elected to the AFSA Board on October 27 and look forward to representing FCS on the AFSA board.

Although AFSA is the exclusive bargaining agent for Foreign Service employees at State, USAID and USIA, this is not yet the case at FCS. Once 30 percent of FCS employees indicate their interest in having AFSA become our union, an election will be held. Similar efforts are under way for the Foreign Agricultural Service.

The president's October 1 executive order directs federal agencies to establish "partnership councils" of managers and employee representatives to reinvent each agency. It is imperative that FCS employees have a collective voice to shape any such restructuring. I urge you to investigate what AFSA has to offer. For more information, please call me at (202)482-2902.



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Time for New Thinking

by Todd Stewart

AFSA's grievance to reverse the restrictions on medical benefits offers grounds for rumination on the themes of partnership and budget cutting. First, however, some background.

Since 1988, when the department terminated its special relationship with the American Foreign Service Protective Association, employees abroad have been required to file for and pay to the department whatever benefits their health insurance provides for hospitalization and related out-patient treatment covered by State's medical program.

This arrangement has had its problems. The department did not develop procedures to guarantee that employees hospitalized at government expense filed for their health insurance benefits and paid those benefits to the department. In addition, employees without personal health insurance (or with low-coverage policies) were seen as "free riders" in the system. Reportedly stung by OIG criticisms of the program's administration, the department determined to introduce reforms.

However, the department's medical program is enshrined in regulation and past practice, both of which establish "conditions of employment," which cannot be changed without negotiation with AFSA. Seemingly

oblivious to this requirement and the president's call for labor-management partnership, the department unilaterally released a cable (State 297969) which restricted post authority to approve hospitalizations at government expense to "dire and/or life-threatening situations." AFSA objected promptly and vigorously, and the offending language was modified. AFSA was indeed consulted on State 330581, which is described in the article on page 1; but our objections were simply overridden. The result is the November 5 institutional grievance.

Responsibility for this sorry situation lies with State. At our initiative, representatives of the new AFSA Governing Board met with the leadership of Medical Services in early September to explain the association's strong interest in quality medical care and to propose the establishment of a consultative mechanism to develop solutions to the very real problems MED faces. This offer went unanswered, as did a written offer to discuss the proposed medical program revisions and the means to achieve them. Instead, the department sent out State 330581 over AFSA's objections.

In the midst of this affair AFSA President Tex Harris received a letter from Under Secretary Dick Moose noting the president's executive order on labor-management partnerships,

expressing belief that the existing State-AFSA relationship "already epitomizes the productive and effective bilateral relationship envisioned in the Executive Order," and inviting AFSA to exchange ideas on how both sides see the partnership working. I have no reason to doubt the sincerity of the under secretary's letter, but I have difficulty reconciling its substance and tone with the department's actions regarding the medical program. Unfortunately, intimations of similar inconsistencies have appeared in other recent administrative actions by State, which AFSA is currently investigating.

The problem, I fear, is the inability of some administrators to reconcile the president's call for partnership with OMB's call for budget cutting. "Old thinking" would certainly allow an agency to treat its employees as objects in a cost-cutting exercise, rather than as co-participants in reinventing the agency. I suspect that such "old thinking" was indeed responsible for the impasse we have reached concerning the medical program. Rather than dwell on the past, however, I suggest that senior managers insure that such "old thinking" is expunged from the counsils of State. As confirmed "new thinkers," we in AFSA are more than ready to approach both old, and new, problems in that spirit.

Correction of SFSA poll of all senior officers

| POLL HIGHLIGHTS | Yes No Maybe | | | Yes No | |
|---|--------------|-----|-------|--------|-----|
| | Yes | No | Maybe | | |
| Would your decision to retire voluntarily be influenced by: | | | | | |
| \$25,000 bonus for voluntary retirement | 115 | 90 | 28 | | 121 |
| Your assignment prospects | 176 | 44 | 33 | | 192 |
| Outside employment prospects | 184 | 92 | 39 | | 79 |
| Availability of meaningful TDYs | 86 | 92 | 39 | | |
| Do you agree with the increased use of Section 813 requiring retirement for ambassadors unassigned after 90 days? | 260 | 147 | | | |
| How do you view your present job in relation to your abilities and grade? | | | | | |
| A stretch | 9 | | | | |
| A good match | 262 | | | | |
| Well below | 79 | | | | |
| Make work | 17 | | | | |
| Unemployed | 1 | | | | |
| Is your career preference to: | | | | | |
| Develop a second career ASAP | | | | | 121 |
| Re-evaluate after next assignment | | | | | 192 |
| Remain in FS until age 65 | | | | | 79 |
| With ceilings on the # of Sr. officers, what do you favor to correct the imbalance? | | | | | |
| Shortened TICs | | | | 94 | 141 |
| Broader use of Section 813 | | | | 237 | 67 |
| Cutting back on promotions | | | | 189 | 101 |
| Sweetened retirement incentives | | | | 329 | 22 |
| Are you now or have you been an ambassador? | | | | 99 | 325 |
| Should single ambassadorship be the rule? | | | | 115 | 296 |
| Do you recommend the FS as a career? | | | | 291 | 85 |

from the USAID vice president

What Can Be Done?

by Pat Patterson

Whether talking with new political appointees or respected career employees, we hear the same message: USAID must change!

It's ironic that USAID overseas is viewed as the world's most effective donor agency. We are a leader and an innovator when it comes to development. In stark contrast, in the U.S., the agency is viewed by some as "troubled," "under siege," even a "disaster." As a result, Congress and others want not just change, but dramatic change, for what is perceived as a broken agency, and they want it now!

There is an imperative felt by the administration to do something all will notice. This comes at the worst possible time of declining funding levels, plummeting OE budgets, personnel ceilings, and the like. To survive over the short term, management has started to institute cuts in such areas as long-term training, the granting of LCE's, and bonuses. These and other anticipated cuts clearly have over-the-horizon implications.

Nevertheless, despite the doom and gloom in Washington, USAID has a vital role to play throughout the world. Fortunately, this fact is not in question within the administration and in certain key circles on the Hill. In this post-Cold War period, there are opportunities for USAID to increase its effectiveness. Most agree

that there are too many "barnacles" and too much compartmentalization. There is room for more teamwork, cooperation, efficiency, interdependence, and diversity of the workforce in carrying out our mission.

Times are tough but this does not

"... by making the Agency's processes more participative and more transparent, I believe A.I.D. can gain the confidence of the Congress that it is making progress and that the Administrator will, in fact, produce a better A.I.D. . . . I have had an opportunity to meet and discuss A.I.D. with hundreds of career employees. I have been impressed with their capabilities, their dedication and their willingness to change. I am convinced that no group is more determined that A.I.D. can be better, should be better and will be better than the career employees of A.I.D."

From the statement of Larry E. Byrne, assistant administrator-designate before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, October 20

mean the administration can ignore its staff. AFSA is seeing an increase in grievances from Foreign Service employees, and some recent management actions have been the subject of legal action taken by AFSA. Most of these could have been avoided with better communication. If

not addressed, this problem will undercut the president's initiative, the National Performance Review, which calls for a partnership between management and employee representatives such as AFSA.

In the long run, close collaboration among the administration, employees, and their representative, AFSA, will facilitate reorganization, which will make the task of negotiating implementation proposals much easier.

What can be done?

- Create a labor-management partnership council in accord with the president's executive order. The order sets out the framework for a relationship that is built on cooperation and collaboration, not one that is adversarial—something AFSA has long advocated on the basis that all parties have a range of shared interests.
- Appoint AFSA and AFGE to the agency's Quality Council. This will facilitate the review of the newly proposed agency strategies, the rewrite of the Foreign Assistance Act and preparations for testimony before Congress, implementation of the reorganization plan, and other matters of importance to the Foreign Service.
- Discuss and develop ways in which AFSA and the administration can approach Congress, the media, and the American public to foster shared goals and objectives, while enhancing the role of the Foreign Service.
- Immediately appoint a Foreign Service officer to head HRDM and to head the Staffing and Career Development Division of HRDM. The continuing delay sends a negative signal to all employees. AFSA needs to know your concerns both overseas and in Washington with respect to the reorganization. Give us your ideas regarding what additional activities we might undertake or propose. *Contact Pat Patterson, Lee Ann Ross, or Jim Washington via Email or through AFSA's FAX (202) 647-0265.*

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from the USIA vice president

Just Do It

by Raz Bazala

- "Abolish USG's IG function and save taxpayers \$4.4 billion a year. IGs demand compliance with useless regulations. Either they contribute to problem-solving and accommodate risk-takers or out they go!"

- "Abolish the SF-171. Replace it with applicant resumes supplemented by documentation your agency thinks is useful. The role of OPM will be limited to monitoring a decentralized hiring process."

Whoa, Nelly! This is Hunt Valley, Maryland, October 1993. But is this the GSA annual regional offices meeting? There haven't been this many revolutionaries in one room since 1776!

Both of the above statements were uttered by senior administration officials from the NPR staff, OMB, OPM and GSA and not overaged hippie refugees from the 1960s. They echo ideas adapted from the management gurus blessed by the president and

vice president.

I and 400 other mid-level and senior government officials found ourselves at the cutting edge of "Creating a Government that Works Better and Costs Less" because the GSA event was combined with a National Performance Review (NPR) conference, "Reinventing for Results."

"Reinventing of government" has been launched on a trajectory that has already taken it far beyond ZBB, PPBS, the Grace Commission, or any other previous effort to change the way Uncle Sam works. But how much farther before it comes crashing back to earth?

USIA's leadership, like most federal agencies, has yet to absorb or internalize the dozen-plus executive orders and presidential directives issued on reinvention since the September 7 release of the NPR Report.

And who doubts that most mid-level managers are just waiting for the reinvention issue to disappear?

regulations do require, however, the agencies, to a greater or lesser degree, to make some effort to facilitate tandem assignments.

3 FAM 142.6-1, which covers State Department employees, states:

"The Department **makes every reasonable effort** to assign both members of a working couple to the same post in positions appropriate to their class levels and qualifications. If such assignments are not feasible, the two members of a working couple may be assigned positions at different posts, or one or the other is granted leave without pay for the duration of one full tour of duty. The couple is consulted on the alternatives."

AID Handbook 25, Chapter 36-3, on the other hand, states:

"The Agency **may assign, when practical**, both members of an AID tandem FS couple to the same overseas mission in positions appropriate to each employee's class level and qualifications. If this is not feasible, the two employees will be assigned to different posts, or one employee will be granted leave without pay (LWOP) for one tour."

USIA's Manual of Operations & Administration, Part V-B, Section 412.3 states:

"Married couples who wish to have their tandem status **considered as a fac-**

tor in assignments and training must apprise their Career Counselors before each assignment process begins. They should also indicate the status, location and transfer eligibility of tandem spouses who are employed by other foreign affairs agencies; whether leave without pay will be sought by one of the spouses; and/or which spouse's assignment should be given priority."

An employee may not grieve an assignment unless he or she can establish a violation of law or regulation. Given the permissive language of the regulations ("may" assign rather than "must" assign), a breach in the regulations related to tandem assignments will be difficult to establish.

AFSA, however, may be able to assist employees who believe their agency is not making good-faith efforts to facilitate tandem assignment by contacting agency management. We encourage employees who believe the agency has not made reasonable efforts to make tandem assignments to contact AFSA's Labor-Management Department at (202) 647-8160 or via fax (202) 647-0265.

Tandem blues

Employees are increasingly complaining to AFSA that State, USAID and USIA are failing to arrange or facilitate tandem assignments. In some cases positions may be available for each member of a tandem couple yet, due to a particular agency's inability or unwillingness to coordinate the assignments (both within the agency and with the other foreign affairs agencies), tandems are assigned to different posts or one member is required to take leave without pay.

While the benefits to the agencies and employees of tandem assignments are many—savings in housing, education, other allowances and increased employee morale—under current regulations, tandem assignments are not mandatory. The regulations recognize that, due to myriad factors that must be considered in the assignment process, it is not always possible to employ both spouses of a tandem couple. The

Gender discrimination remedies

by Sharon Papp
AFSA General Counsel

The Secretary's Open Forum and AFSA presented a joint session on "Gender Discrimination in the Foreign Service" on October 21 to a standing-room-only audience. Monica Wagner, the plaintiffs' attorney in the 17-year-old women's class-action law suit, detailed the court's findings of discrimination in: entry into the Foreign Service, initial cone assignments and job assignments, evaluations, and promotions from FS 03 to 02. She went on to discuss the remedies to this discrimination.

Wagner explained that the apparent animosity within the Foreign Service community to this lawsuit is the result of a false perception that the suit resulted in favoritism towards women, rather than equality. She pointed out that the remedies for discrimination were narrowly tailored to apply only to those women who the

department and the plaintiffs agreed were harmed by discrimination. Although Secretary Christopher seems to be dedicated to ending discrimination at the department, Wagner noted that a number of procedural and attitudinal hurdles must be overcome before gender discrimination is eliminated.

This program also featured presentations by Lynn Cassel of the USIA Women's Action Organization (WAO), and Tex Harris, president of AFSA. Cassel reported that WAO has been meeting with USIA management to discuss issues affecting female FSO's, including promotions. She noted that women are underrepresented in the Senior Foreign Service at USIA and attributed this to gender discrimination in the evaluation process. She pointed out that stereotypical language has been found in the evaluations of female FSO's and that, while evaluations for male FSO's focus on

achievements, evaluations for female FSO's often describe personality traits. Cassel discussed possible solutions to this problem, including removal of all references to gender in evaluations, training of rating and reviewing officers, revision of the promotion process, and inclusion of female members on all promotion panels.

During the question-and-answer period, many people in the audience stated that individuals who discriminate against others should be held accountable for their actions.

Tex Harris reported that among the top priorities of the new AFSA Governing Board is the promotion of diversity within the Foreign Service. Harris asked for and received a number of volunteers to participate in AFSA's diversity committee, chaired by AFSA USAID Representative Jim Washington. Harris invited all interested persons to contact AFSA to join in this effort.

Retirement Age Revision Opposed

An effort to raise the federal retirement age has been launched by Congressman Christopher Shays (R-CT). The proposal seeks to raise the retirement age of civil service employees from 55 to 65 over a 20-year period and to eliminate the special treatment for members of Congress, who now can "retire" at age 55. AFSA opposes this proposal, which poses a threat to the Foreign Service's retirement regimen and will target it in our Congressional Action Program.

\$25,000 Retirement Incentive

Pending legislation would offer up to \$25,000 to encourage surplus employees to retire or resign. State has moved quickly to implement this prospective program, and the other foreign affairs agencies are not far behind. AFSA is encouraged by Under Secretary Dick Moose's decision to offer this incentive to almost all State Foreign Service employees eligible for retirement. Interested employees should stay in

News Briefs

touch with their administrative offices.

FS Reserve Corps Supported

AFSA is advocating the vigorous implementation of the Foreign Service Reserve Corps at State and in the other foreign affairs agencies. Having an active and responsive Reserve Corps would financially assist retirees, a number of whom are in their late forties and fifties, and might induce senior officers to retire early, thus facilitating the free flow of personnel through the rank-in-personnel system. It would also aid the foreign affairs agencies to meet emergencies, fill gaps, and respond to surge demands with experienced career employees. However, there has been widespread opposition to utilizing the Reserve Corps by many of the regional bureaus, who prefer to fill needs from their own WAE lists. AFSA and the director general have urged greater utilization of the Reserve Corps, and AFSA will con-

tinue to work on this important "re-inventing" initiative.

Secretarial Matters

The Secretarial Committee has asked AFSA to request renegotiation of the State secretarial career package when the window for renegotiation opens in June 1994. To this end, we are looking for inputs from all State Department secretarial specialists on items that need to be taken up in a renegotiation. Secretaries at Amman and Bonn have already identified the following points which should be raised:

- paid travel to training sites;
- regional training;
- course timing (promotion criteria);
- administrative promotions/upward mobility;
- communicator pay & overtime regulations;
- promotion board debriefings to AFSA and the Secretarial Committee.

Contact AFSA Labor-Management Department on (202)647-8160, or by FAX (202)647-0265.

from the retiree vice president

by Don Norland

At AFSA we see an accelerating pace of activities to carry out the recently elected Governing Board's mandate to enhance the role and responsibilities of the Foreign Service. The words of this mandate are familiar. Too often they haven't been followed up by concrete plans to translate these words into action.

But changes in the world and at home have opened new and more promising perspectives for progress in achieving those aims. The end of the Cold War and its budget-busting arms race, for example, have led to a new awareness of the importance of diplomacy in promoting America's interests and values.

The State Department (including the Foreign Service) now has a real opportunity to improve its position. As every veteran bureaucrat knows, the budget is the key measure of status. The administration's priorities on the new foreign affairs agenda and the bureaucratic institutions for implementing them are reflected in this budget—the Clinton administration's first.

AFSA Awards: Recognize Outstanding Achievement!

Has one of your colleagues challenged conventional wisdom, or demonstrated extraordinary accomplishment? Nominate him or her for one of the prestigious AFSA awards. Prizes are conferred on a Foreign Service senior officer, a mid-level officer, a junior officer, and a Foreign Service secretary or group of secretaries. Also, a Foreign Service family member is honored for volunteer service, and a number of awards are given for achievement in the study of hard languages.

The deadline for nominations is January 31, 1994. Further details are in the November *Journal* or may be obtained from AFSA, Richard Thompson, 2101 E Street NW, DC 20037, tel: 202-338-4045, FAX: 202-338-6820.

To explore these new opportunities, President Tex Harris organized a meeting with OMB officials in charge of the international affairs (150) account. One key impression emerged: the elimination of the barriers that formerly separated the major budget accounts, e.g. defense, domestic, international, etc. inevitably means a more open and intense competition for the declining resource pie. At the same time, it is most encouraging to learn that Secretary Christopher has decided that the urgency of the new diplomatic agenda, along with the basic staffing and support for our missions abroad, requires added resources—and that he intends to press for them.

With the administration in agreement, the key remaining obstacle to budget allocations appropriately aligned to post-Cold War realities is the Congress where we suffer the effects of years of neglect and indifference. In most cases, it's not that the Foreign Service has a bad image with members of Congress; very often it's that we're simply not known at all.

To reach out to key members of Congress is thus central to our strategy of strengthening the Foreign Service and promoting the new foreign affairs agenda. And it's something retirees are uniquely placed to help carry out, especially those living outside the beltway.

Our request to each of you is very simple: Please consider contacting the district office of your representative to Congress and the state office of one or both of your senators, by phone, letter or in person, and ask to meet personally with a staff person in that office. We confidently predict that, for many, this will be their first meeting with a Foreign Service officer. We would be surprised if the staff person concerned does not show interest in hearing that a Foreign Service retiree lives in the congressperson's district, in hearing about what Foreign Service is, and in learning about the instruments of diplomacy as a means of advancing

American interests and values overseas.

Needless to say, it is important to us at AFSA headquarters to know the reactions you encounter and, especially, any recommendations on how to approach members of Congress. Incidentally, the Department of State's reputation for responding promptly to congressional inquiries lags behind almost every other major department. How to remedy that is one of our top preoccupations.

In summary, retirees are in a favorable position to play a key role in enhancing the image of the Foreign Service with members of Congress. We hope as many of you as possible will accept this challenge to provide a personal dimension to the Foreign Service and its contribution to resolving key issues.

Health care reform update

As anticipated, projections for health-care reform continue to evolve, making the details of an eventual plan impossible to predict. President Clinton's proposed bill sent to Congress October 28 would end the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program (FEHBP) in one move by December 31, 1997, when a new "universal coverage" is in place, instead of the gradual phase-in initially suggested. Federal employees who are retired by then would be offered supplemental plans designed to preserve FEHBP benefits.

OPM Director King told Congress in November that transfer of the nine million federal employees, dependents and retirees into the new plan would be smooth and that government contributions toward their premiums under the new plan would be 80 percent, instead of the 72 percent under FEHBP. However, there are at least five other health-care bills before Congress, which may take a year or more to decide on a final version of health-care reform. Separate hearings will be held on the federal program; AFSA is following these closely.

Congressional perspective

by Rick Weiss

As the legislative branch prepares to "call it quits" for 1993, Congress is focusing on crime bills, health-care reform, NAFTA, the November election results, and the upcoming 1994 primaries and general election.

For the Foreign Service, the first year of the Clinton administration on the hill was a "mixed bag"! Family Leave and Medical Act of 1993; congressional implementation of a locality-pay increase; presidential rejection of a COLA increase; "reinventing government's" reduction in federal personnel and resources; a \$25,000 buyout proposal; Hatch Act amendments; a presidential health-care reform that will terminate the Federal Employee Health Benefit Program in 1997; a congressional ap-

propriation freeze for FY94; the possibility of a balanced-budget constitutional amendment; and a redrafting of the Foreign Assistance Acts.

As of mid-November, the 1994-1995 authorization bill is awaiting Senate floor action and further House deficit-reduction proposals are awaiting House action. In the Penny-Kasich proposals to reduce the budget deficit, there are recommendations to reduce federal spending by over \$100 billion over the next five years. Of this amount, the plan saves \$34 billion through government personnel reductions and management reform, and reduces foreign aid by over \$5 billion. The plan:

- cuts the federal workforce by 252,000.

- raises the federal civil service

retirement age to 65, phased in over 20 years.

- caps senior service leave accrual at 30 days.

- restricts matching contribution in thrift savings plan.

As the administration prepares its draft budget for FY95, the present FY94 budget for international affairs may be the ceiling, although the Secretary of State is seeking additions. For the Foreign Service, if FY94 was bleak, FY95, an election year, may be worse.

The AFSA challenge is to ensure that FY95 cuts are made on the basis of review of the priority missions of the foreign affairs agencies and not borne inequitably by its employees.

Privatization conference features Atwood & Summers

"Privatization speaks volumes about the very nature of the political system, its notion of stability, and its view of the future."

—J. Brian Atwood

by John J. Harter

AFSA Conference Affairs Officer

Worldwide, privatization is raising hopes for improved economic efficiency, more foreign trade and investment, and greater prosperity, according to several speakers at the 17th AFSA Conference, "Privatization in the 1990s," which took place at the Department of State on October 7. The conference was cosponsored by USAID.

Several conference panelists said the global trend toward privatization

has been encouraged, not only by the unsatisfactory performance of state-owned enterprises in virtually all countries, but also by striking successes achieved by countries that have long pursued market-oriented, private enterprise approaches, such as Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore.

USAID, the World Bank's International Finance Corporation, and other bilateral and multilateral donors have recently raised the priority of financial and technical assistance aimed at facilitating privatization in developing countries and formerly communist countries.

J. Brian Atwood, USAID administrator, was the conference keynoter and Lawrence H. Summers, under secretary of the Treasury for international affairs, was the featured luncheon speaker. A number of prominent representatives of business and government also addressed the conference.

A Highlights Report on the privatization conference will be available at AFSA in January. Write or telephone Mr. Harter at AFSA if you wish a copy.

The next AFSA conference—"Economic Sanctions and Export Controls"—will take place at the Department of State on March 31, 1994.



A panel on "privatization and infrastructure" considered special problems posed in the privatization of transportation, telecommunications, energy, and other "natural monopolies." The panelists were (left to right): Everett J. Santos, International Finance Corporation; James Waddell, Price Waterhouse; Mark Dunkerley, British Airways; Gary D. Krach, GTE; and John Sachs, Latham & Watkins.

Financial Aid, FYI

by Theresa Auricchio,
Scholarships Administrator

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Nepal

the *feminization* of HUMAN RIGHTS

BY ARVONNE S. FRASER

Ironically, horrible events, once publicized, can spur action that otherwise might take years. Rape in wartime and domestic abuse are as old as mankind, but international publicity about the widespread rapes in the former Yugoslavia put the issue of violence against women high on the agenda of the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights. Meeting in Vienna just a few hundred miles from the violence in Bosnia, the conference officially sanctioned

women's rights as human rights and drew attention to the connection between discrimination and violence. It also highlighted the importance non-governmental organizations play in shaping policies.

An acknowledgment that women, too, have human rights has been long in coming. Although the UN Charter affirmed fundamental human rights and the equal rights of men and women, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights contained an implied contradiction. Implicit in its articles was the idea that women belong to the private sphere, men the public. The private sphere—the family—was declared to be “the natural and fundamental group unit of society ... entitled to protection by society and the State.” Individuals have rights, but family members are under the jurisdiction of a male head. The establishment of separate UN commissions on human rights and on the status of women confirmed the distinction between human rights and the equal rights of women.

Until recently, neither the Human Rights Commission nor the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) dealt directly with this dilemma. The Human Rights Commission concentrated on civil and political rights, while most non-governmental human rights organizations emphasized governments' abuse of the human

hOW THE WORLD CONFERENCE
ON HUMAN RIGHTS BROUGHT
WOMEN ONTO THE AGENDA



AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Mauritania

during the UN Decade for Women and began to speak out, the problem was rarely discussed; then, research, publications, conferences, publicity, and local meetings on the violence issue abounded. Ultimately, governments and the UN responded with a Declaration on Violence against Women, which calls for punishing the perpetrators and establishing educational, research, and legal programs to change customs and traditions that might sanction or ignore violence. At press time, the UN General Assembly was expected to adopt the declaration.

By 1992 the international women's movement had learned that in organizing there can be strength and that the state can be a friend as well as an enemy. The idea that men and women can be partners if the theory and practice of human rights is extended to all began to be accepted by all members of the movement.

This concept of partnership was embodied in the Women's Convention. Building on the Universal Declaration, the convention was both a framework for women's participation in the development process as well as a statement of women's rights. A concise policy outline for governments, obligating them to take legislative and other measures to eliminate discrimination and ensure women's "full development and advancement," its preamble made clear that the successful development of nations required the full and equal participation of men and women. Explicitly acknowledging women's contributions to family welfare, it nevertheless calls for the repeal of patriarchal inheritance and divorce laws and places legal prohibitions on betrothal and marriage of children.

By 1993, more than 120 nations had ratified the convention, now a treaty. Under its administrative articles, a 23-member expert body reviews country reports for progress in implementing the treaty's provisions and may make recommendations and comments to the UN General Assembly. At its 1992 meeting the expert committee issued extensive comments and general recommendations detailing how gender-based violence is an abrogation of women's human

rights of political—mostly male—opponents. The CSW also concentrated first on women's political rights—the right to vote and hold office—but moved on to education and employment and the controversial topic of equal rights in marriage and family relations. CSW asserted women's right to freely choose a spouse, condemning the common practice in many countries of selling or bartering girls or women into marriage. It argued for minimum age and registration of marriage laws, as well as for the right of women to retain and pass on their own nationality to their children. In so doing, CSW directly confronted the implied contradiction in the Universal Declaration by asserting that marriage should be construed as a partnership among equals, with men and women having equal parental, nationality, and property rights.

By 1979—the midpoint of the "UN Decade for Women," the CSW had drafted a treaty on women's human rights and development, called the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which was modified and adopted by the General Assembly. Presented at the second world women's conference in 1980, the convention called for guaranteeing women basic human rights by ending discrimination against women in edu-

cation, health, employment, marriage and family law, using temporary special measures (affirmative action), if necessary. It also assured women the right to participate in political and public life and be equal before the law. Violence against women was not mentioned, but Article 6 stated that governments should take measures "to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution," and another provision alluded to the unequal treatment in penal codes dealing with adultery and prostitution and the so-called crimes of honor, which allowed men who had killed or abused adulterous women to go unpunished.

Numerous governments signed this 1980 convention, and it was ratified within a year as an international treaty. The convention received very little attention, however, until after the 1985 world conference when violence against women began to surface as a major issue of the international women's movement.

All women face the fear of violence resulting from their secondary status. Families in every country of the world teach girls to be careful. Women fear rape and endure domestic and sometimes workplace abuse in order to keep food on the table for themselves and their families. Until women mobilized

rights and how governments should treat the issue in their reports.

A HEARING FOR WOMEN

The demand to consider women's rights as human rights had become a slogan women's groups used in preparing for the 1993 human rights conference in Vienna. Women's non-governmental organizations (NGO) turned out in force for the conference, armed with posters and pamphlets, ready with a whole panoply of workshops and seminars, including a two-day Women's Tribu-



Peru

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

nal, which featured victims of violence from all over the world who had sought recourse. Telling their moving stories to a packed room and played on TV monitors throughout the massive Austria Centre, they could not be ignored.

The U.S. delegation went into the conference concerned that the universality of human rights would be challenged by authoritarian governments who would argue the relativity of cultural values. The delegation was prepared, however, with a new U.S. action plan integrating human rights into "all UN peacekeeping, humanitarian, conflict resolution, elections monitoring, development programs, and other activities." The plan included selection of a high commissioner for human rights,

strengthening human rights mechanisms, promoting human rights education and respect for diversity as well as a section on the rights of women and children. U.S. Counselor Tim Wirth pointed out that the Clinton administration was committed to reinventing and promoting democracy and human rights at home and abroad. Secretary Christopher spelled out these ideas and was interrupted with applause from the galleries when he stated: "Violence and discrimination against women don't just victimize individuals; they hold back whole societies by confining the human potential of half of the population." What was also greatly appreciated was his integrating women's concerns throughout the speech, not simply devoting one section to it.

UNIVERSAL RIGHT

The linkage between violence and discrimination and the integration of women's concerns in the whole field of

GRASS-ROOTS HEROES AND HEROINES

Virtually every recent UN world conference, whether on environment, population, human rights, or women includes a parallel non-governmental (NGO) forum. Organized by members of the Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations with UN consultative status, these NGO fora attract attention because they are colorful, informal, and openly argumentative—a combination of country fair, debate society, and university symposium. New ideas are floated, experiences are exchanged, and new networks are created. In the case of women, the three world conferences held between 1974 and 1985 were powerful mobilizing events. They helped create and solidify a new international women's movement whose weight and power were felt at the 1993 human rights conference, because the three

parts of that movement—women's liberation, women's rights, and women-in-development—came together around the violence issue.

The growth, power, and significance of NGOs were amply demonstrated at the human rights conference in Vienna. Organizers of the NGO parallel activities at the conference report that over 1,500 organizations and 2,700 individuals registered with them. Only 22 percent came from North America and Europe and half the registrants were female. The same report indicates that 3,691 NGO representatives registered with the UN, of which only 1,573 had UN consultative status.

Participation by NGOs at the conference bespoke a sad irony, however. While upstairs in the government conference, human rights principles were practiced in

the meetings, this was not always true downstairs in the NGO meetings. The boozing of President Carter was a clear abrogation of freedom of speech. Opposition to his speaking was orchestrated by a few to demonstrate their animosity toward the United States, but they were joined by others who were frustrated by the organization and operation of the NGO meeting. As the statistics above imply, the majority of NGOs present were new to the UN system, many attending only to promote their particular cause. The idea of mass participation and consensus is always subject to domination by a minority unless the majority can enforce its will through appeal to established rules, which are non-existent in many of these new ad-hoc organizations.

— Arvonne Fraser

human rights was what united the various elements of the women's movement. This was reflected in the conference document, the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted on June 25, the final day of the conference. After reaffirming commitments to the Universal Declaration and the Charter and noting the "major changes taking place on the international scene," the Vienna Declaration expresses concern about the "various forms of discrimination and violence, to which women continue to be exposed all over the world." The document overturned the cultural relativism argument by noting that human rights "are universal, indivisible, interdependent and inter-related." While national and regional differences and cultural and religious backgrounds should be "borne in mind, it is the duty of states ... to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms."

Two separate sections of the document are devoted to women. One states that "Gender-based violence and all forms of sexual harassment and exploitation, including those resulting from cultural prejudice and international trafficking are incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person, and must be eliminated." This can be achieved by legal measures and through national action and international cooperation in such fields as economic and social development, education, safe maternity and health care, and social support.

In another, the importance of women's full integration and participation as both agents and beneficiaries of development is noted, as is the importance of mainstreaming women's concerns into UN human rights activities. The General Assembly was urged to adopt the draft Declaration on Violence against Women and to deal with violations of women's human rights in situations of armed conflict. Murder, systematic rape, sexual slavery, and forced pregnancy require an effective response, the document stated. Women's groups welcomed the decision of the Human Rights Commission to consider appoint-



Timbuktu

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

ment of a special rapporteur on violence against women.

The Vienna document also recognized the importance of NGOs in promoting and protecting human rights. Their growth, power, and significance was amply demonstrated at the conference, where 3,691 NGO representatives registered with the UN.

PRINCIPLES AND REALITY

How are human rights principles enforced, implemented, and encouraged? In a world where many are conditioned to accept authoritarian rule, instilling human rights values will take time. It will require modifying not only laws and behavior, but beliefs, and teaching a new set of three R's: rights, responsibility, and respect and, perhaps a fourth, the rule of law. These legal projects mounted in many developing countries by NGOs teach people their rights and provide legal services. In-depth studies of the linkages between democracy, development, and human rights may also be needed.

Women's and human rights groups have made the connection between advocacy and holding governments accountable, but empowerment implies responsibility, developing clearly defined, democratic rules of procedure, including equitable systems of

representation when mass participation is inappropriate. The world conference on human rights proved to many non-governmental organizations that citizens can influence governments. When a critical mass of citizens understand and appreciate the art of governing themselves and practice human rights principles in doing so, democracy will be sustainable.

The worldwide proliferation of non-governmental organizations, an expression of the freedom of association, is a favorable development, but this movement needs nurturing. Leadership and the organizational and citizenship skills that democratic governance require can be gained through experience in such organizations. Women's groups that had previously perceived the state

as unfriendly gradually realized that the state and intergovernmental bodies were a necessary part of the solution to their problem.

By 1992, violence against women had become an integral part of the reporting in the State Department country reports on human rights practices. Perhaps it is time now to add a section on NGO activities as well. The intelligence gained through this endeavor would be invaluable.

In 1995 three more world conferences will be held: the fourth world women's conference in Beijing; a world summit on social development in Copenhagen and a world conference on population and development in Cairo. As with the preparation for the 1993 human rights conference, non-governmental organizations can play a critical role in the shaping of the agendas and policies. World events will affect all these conferences, or course, but there is a momentum to the NGO movement that must not be ignored. ■

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from TREATIES to CRISES

BY DAVID SHORR

S HAPING THE CSCE FOR PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY

For more than three years, the international bodies that deal with European security have been struggling to figure out their missions in the post-Cold War world. Now that local ethnic rivalries present the most formidable threat to peace and stability, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)—with its special competence in the links between human rights and security—is assuming greater political responsibility.

To take on this role, the CSCE has had to undergo a significant transformation; for nearly two decades it had been a conference of human rights and arms control technicians, but in the last two years it also became the sponsor of diplomatic efforts to heal strife-torn nascent states.

During 1990 and 1991, it was unclear whether CSCE would be entrusted with the flexibility and authority such a mission requires. The forum was shunted aside, as champions of the European Community or NATO (including the United States) sought a primary role for their favorite institution. The CSCE was portrayed in many Western capitals as crippled by its consensus decision making process and large membership; skept-

ical governments, however, rejected those proposals that would strengthen the group.

SPUR TO ACTION

The international community's failed response to the Yugoslav crisis revealed a niche for CSCE. That tragedy convinced decisionmakers of the importance of taking preventive action and defusing conflicts before they escalate to the horrific scale of the wars in Bosnia and Croatia. Such activities—often referred to as “preventive diplomacy”—have become the bailiwick of the “new” CSCE. Among the mechanisms developed in the CSCE for this mission are conflict-prevention missions in ethnic trouble spots, a peace conference for the Armenia-Azerbaijan war, and a high commissioner on national minorities.

For all its reforms, the CSCE has no major success stories to its credit. It hasn't ended any wars or stabilized any countries. In part, this is due to the stubborn nature of the problem. But it is also fair to ask whether the scale of the new CSCE apparatus represents an utmost effort to tackle the thorny issues of ethnic violence and civil strife.

Some CSCE diplomats feel the forum hasn't gone far enough in refashioning itself. Istvan Gyarmati, the senior Hun-

garian foreign ministry official responsible for security policy, said the CSCE has been underutilized because "there wasn't interest on the part of major players to engage themselves in the real conflicts." Gyarmati—who has found his own role frustrating as CSCE emissary for the conflicts in Georgia—says governments have failed to exert real political will through the new mechanisms.

MISSIONS TO HOT SPOTS

Since September 1992, the CSCE has stationed small international teams in the former Yugoslav and Soviet republics of Macedonia, Serbia/Montenegro, Moldova, Estonia, and Georgia. The United States strongly supported setting up these missions and has contributed personnel to each of them, 24 staff in all. All but three of the U.S. participants have been active-duty or retired Foreign Service officers. The Macedonia mission, aimed at preventing expansion of the Yugoslav war, has been led by an American ever since it opened in fall 1992.

Norman Anderson, who took over last March as the third head of the Macedonia mission, says the mission's duties include monitoring Serbian border incursions, tracking developments in neighboring Kosovo, coordinating sanctions-policing efforts, and taking part in negotiations with ethnic minorities. Because there are few foreign embassies in the republic, the CSCE mission serves as the international community's key outpost in Skopje.

Like his counterparts in the other missions, Anderson has played mediator to reduce tensions between ethnic communities. His mission has pressed "the government to take more ethnic Albanians into the police and civil service. And, at the same time, we advise the Albanians to stay within the bounds of peaceful democratic processes," Anderson said.

CSCE's largest mission to date, in the rump Yugoslav federation of Serbia and Montenegro, placed teams of monitors in the ethnic enclaves of Kosovo, Sandjak, and Vojvodina for 11 months, until Yugoslav authorities expelled the

THE MISSION'S DUTIES INCLUDE MONITORING SERBIAN BORDER INCURSIONS, TRACKING DEVELOPMENTS IN NEIGHBORING KOSOVO, COORDINATING SANCTIONS-POLICING EFFORTS, AND TAKING PART IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH ETHNIC MINORITIES.

mission last summer. By the time the operation closed down in early August, it had a staff of 20, but this was only half the size that had been mandated nine months earlier. CSCE had a difficult time finding staff for the mission; the same governments that had enthusiastically supported strong staffing for CSCE failed to follow through with concrete measures that would make personnel available. Recently, however, the State Department office that recruits staff for the CSCE missions adopted a program that lengthens the period for which personnel are assigned to missions. Until this fall, most U.S. participants were pulled from their regular jobs to serve two- or three-month temporary duty. Last spring, State created four one-year positions, which are being used to rotate diplomats through the CSCE missions.

Perhaps the most ambitious project in the CSCE is its effort to help end the five-year war over the Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan. In March 1992, CSCE foreign ministers asked a group of nine countries to work with Armenian and Azeri leaders to find a settlement. Over the following 18 months, the peace conference more than once seemed on the verge of establishing a ceasefire, only to be undercut by a new military offensive.

John Maresca, the U.S. representative to the talks, says that, despite the lack of a settlement, the time has been well spent. "We haven't solved the problem, it's true, but we have accomplished some significant things. We have established an ongoing negotiating forum. We've brought everybody to the table. We have a monitoring opera-

tion ready to go," he said late last summer. Maresca draws a comparison to the Middle East peace process, which took decades to achieve results and points out that outsider involvement in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict is relatively recent.

PEACEKEEPING

The monitoring operation to which Maresca refers is a peacekeeping force the CSCE has prepared in the event of a ceasefire. Governments have made commitments of troops and equipment for a force of 300, and many of the details for their deployment have been worked out—although it is unclear whether U.S. troops have been offered. Guided by chain-of-command rules worked out during an organizational meeting in Helsinki, CSCE has selected two Swedish generals to lead the operation on the ground.

Despite this work, the Russian representative to the peace process in late August gave the Turkish media a skeptical reading of CSCE's ability to deploy peacekeepers. Maresca responded in an interview that such a stance was typical of Russia's lukewarm attitude toward outside intervention in the former Soviet republics. "Their ideal situation would be to solve the problem themselves without any involvement from the international community . . . But to have a stable ceasefire, you have to have credible monitors, and the only way to do that is under an international umbrella."

Maresca says the CSCE effort enjoys strong backing from the UN, which has passed Security Council resolutions endorsing the negotiations and prospective peacekeeping operation. In contrast, the two organizations jostled over another former Soviet hot spot, Georgia, where they were unable to agree on a division of responsibilities.

ANTICIPATING TROUBLE

To focus attention on ethnic rivalries that haven't yet erupted into armed conflict, the CSCE in December 1992 created the Office of High Commissioner on National Minorities. The

high commissioner's moral authority as an arbiter is based on his independence and his ability to represent 53 governments. The office's first occupant is former Dutch Foreign Minister Max van der Stoel who works with a staff of five in the Hague.

In his recent discussions with the Estonian government, which were invited by Tallinn, van der Stoel was armed with a clear mandate from the Committee of Senior Officials (CSO), the CSCE's chief policymaking body. Along with the Council of Europe, the high commissioner sought modifications in Estonia's draft law on aliens (read, ethnic Russians).

Van der Stoel said the results were mixed. One success was a broadening of the right of appeal for those initially denied resident status. Outside the framework of the law itself, the Estonian prime minister also promised that, when considering the cases of Russian former Soviet military of-

ficers, "humanitarian issues would prevail." Among the disappointments is that, while resident aliens will be allowed to vote in local elections, they will not be able to stand for office.

Van der Stoel also helped defuse a confrontation with the majority Russian population border city of Narva. He convinced local leaders to accept the ruling of the Estonian constitutional court that a referendum on secession had no legal standing. The plebiscite was canceled after it was declared illegal by the court.

The high commissioner is stressing the other aspect of his office—his independence—as he looks into the status of minorities in Slovakia and Hungary. He has assembled a panel of scholars to conduct a two-year study of the situation. Van der Stoel said he chose to work with academics in this instance because, "it is better that the governments concerned don't

have the impression that another government is looking over their shoulder." He said he is giving the process two years because Slovakia's institutions are unformed.

After spending 40 years focused on averting another European war, the United States and its European allies must now turn their attention to issues to which they are unaccustomed: local referenda on secession, the ability of Russian officers to settle in Estonia, the proportion of Albanians in the Macedonian civil service. Yet the peace and stability of entire countries hinge on just such matters. The former East Bloc's multi-ethnic states will be able to attain co-existence and democracy only if these problems can be resolved. ■

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DECISIONMAKING IN CSCE

Through most of its 18-year history, CSCE's two chief functions were to codify a canon of human-rights principles and sponsor conventional arms control talks. In recent years, the now 53-country CSCE has acquired a set of mechanisms that enable it to intercede in crises and potential crises with greater alacrity. As John Kornblum, head of the U.S. CSCE delegation in Vienna, puts it, "The CSCE, of all the [security] institutions, has probably changed more than any other."

The innovations of the last three years include frequent meetings of senior diplomats, a CSCE-sponsored peace negotiation, conflict-prevention missions in ethnic trouble spots, and a high commissioner on national minorities.

The reform of the CSCE was initiated at a November 1990 summit in Paris, which gave the CSCE two things it had never had: a regular schedule of meetings and three

permanent offices. The offices, however—a Secretariat in Prague, Conflict Prevention Center in Vienna, and Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights in Warsaw—serve largely administrative functions, providing organizational support for meetings, negotiations, and missions. In the words of John Kornblum, head of the U.S. CSCE delegation in Vienna, this initial reorganization left CSCE with "no real structure for operation. It was more think-tank-like than operational."

Many of the operational mechanisms were conceived in mid-1992, but they were given form and substance in CSCE's newly regularized consultations. Over time, these meetings have grown more frequent. After it was created at the Paris Summit, the ambassador-level Committee of Senior Officials (CSO) in 1991 went from quarterly to monthly meetings in Prague.

By the beginning of 1993, a weekly

consultative forum was needed to handle the volume of work; the so-called Vienna Group. CSCE-watchers have expressed concern that these new meetings will undermine the transparency of the process. Unlike the decisions of the CSO, those of the Vienna Group are not published, but, a U.S. diplomat pointed out, nor are they secret.

Another locus of leadership that emerged was the rotating position of chairman in office held by the government hosting the annual ministerial. The foreign ministry that holds the chair—along with its predecessor and successor, who comprise a "troika"—proposes and carries out many of the most vigorous projects. The chair passed from Sweden to Italy at the Rome ministerial in November.

Last summer German Ambassador Wilhelm Höynck filled a new position of secretary general. One of his first tasks is to study how CSCE's organization can be rationalized.

— David Shorr

BALANCING

BY DAVID CALLAHAN

Under Secretary Lynn Davis juggles conflicting goals

Last fall, when Bill Clinton was leading in the polls and many long-exiled Democrats were maneuvering for jobs in his administration, Lynn Davis had no thoughts of re-entering government. Davis, who had served as deputy assistant secretary of defense in the Carter administration, was working as a vice president at the RAND Corporation, and her agenda at the think tank would take years to complete. She was not involved in the campaign or the transition that followed. "I told people that I wasn't going to be even tempted back," Davis recalls. "I said to myself that I wasn't going to leave RAND because I hadn't accomplished all the things I wanted to accomplish."

But when Warren Christopher began assembling his team, Davis felt she couldn't refuse an offer to serve as under secretary of state for International Security Affairs. "This is perhaps the only position that I could have been tempted back to take," says Davis. "It bridged together a lot of the background of writing and research that I've done on international security and arms control issues. It seemed like the right place at the right time."

For an administration that has made bringing more women into government a top priority, Davis stands as a prized asset. "When the Clinton team began examining qualified professionals who would meet the requirement for diversity . . . there were practically no people who could match her credentials and background and quality," says Alton Frye, vice president of the Council on Foreign Relations. "She really is an outstanding experienced professional."

Davis may have been wooed with particular vigor because she is a woman, but few question her qualifications. She has spent her entire career in the field of arms control and security affairs. During the early 1970s, as a Ph.D. candidate in political science at Columbia

University and then as a young assistant professor at Barnard College, Davis made an early mark in the arms control field through her work on strategic nuclear issues, particularly on the instability caused by ballistic missiles that carried multiple warheads. Initially, Davis imagined a career as an academic, but she

became drawn to the world of policy through a Council on Foreign Relations fellowship that placed her at the National Security Council for a brief period in the mid-1970s. At the Pentagon, Davis dealt with a wide range of international security issues. During the 1980s, she

spent time at the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London and the Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins University. At RAND, Davis has distinguished herself as an accomplished manager.

But while Davis clearly brings impeccable professional credentials to her job at the State Department and wins the admiration of many for

her keen analytical abilities, some experts outside of government have been troubled by her appointment. In the arms control community, Davis is regarded as a centrist, and many have been disappointed by the positions she has taken in interagency debates. Davis's dispassionate manner and a record of



Under Secretary Lynn Davis

ACT

mixed success in the bureaucratic wars during the Carter years raise the question of whether she has the crusading zeal or political savvy needed to keep arms control and non-proliferation issues on the front burner of the Clinton administration's policy agenda.

In her position as under secretary, Davis's portfolio extends beyond arms control to other international security issues, particularly military relations with foreign countries and security assistance, areas now in a state of great flux. One of Davis's main tasks is to see that efforts at change in this arena do not get bogged down and that they are guided by an overarching vision rather than by more transitory concerns. Yet it remains to be seen whether Davis, who has not been an intellectual leader in outlining innovative policies for the post-Cold War era, will master this broad architectural component of her job.

THE NON-PROLIFERATION IMPERATIVE

At the top of Davis's agenda is restraining the proliferation of unconventional weapons, which includes chemical, biological, and nuclear arms, as well as ballistic missiles. In a talk to State Department employees in June, Davis said that such proliferation is "now our greatest security challenge." In appointing Davis to her post, Secretary Christopher directed her to focus most of her attention on this issue. Davis took the suggestion to heart, and while she has

received lukewarm reviews in regard to other arms control issues such as the restraint of conventional arms and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, her performance in this area has been generally praised. Leonard Spector, who heads the Carnegie Endowment's program on non-proliferation, credits Davis and other officials with moving quickly and effectively, building on a good policy base from the Bush years.

Davis's office has been involved in both bureaucratic and diplomatic initiatives on the non-proliferation front. In a change from the Bush administration, responsibility for these issues has been now centralized in the Political-Military Affairs Bureau, which reports to Davis. In addition, the FY 1994 budget request contains \$50 million for a new Non-proliferation and Disarmament Fund, which Davis has been lobbying for on Capitol Hill. The fund will support the education and training of foreign officials in areas that support non-proliferation; enforcement and interdiction programs carrying out the destruction of weapons stipulated by treaties such as the Chemical Weapons Convention and START; and programs to assist in the verification of international non-proliferation regulations.

On the diplomatic front, Davis sees the non-proliferation challenge as quite different from the bilateral superpower negotiations that were long the centerpiece of the arms control effort. In contrast to formal bargaining between two parties over specific data, the non-proliferation effort, says Davis, revolves around "international regimes that we seek to build as foundations, and then a lot of day-to-day bilateral and multilateral diplomacy ... to achieve these goals of non-proliferation." Davis sees this process as more subtle and on-going than the old arms control negotiations because of the variety of players involved and the conflicting interests at stake. "One has to think of non-proliferation in terms of security and insecurities in various parts of the world," she says. Today the ways of approaching non-proliferation issues are "not as often the tools of negotiations in the classic sense." Instead, there is a greater reliance on persuasion and coercion employing a variety of carrots and sticks,

with policymakers gauging U.S. interests in determining how to treat a given state engaging in weapons proliferation.

CARROTS AND STICKS

Davis sees value in this kind of nuanced approach, as do other officials in the executive branch. But as international non-proliferation regimes become more advanced, and Congress does more legislating to insure that the U.S. penalizes violators, executive branch flexibility in dealing with such states is likely to decline—a development that many arms control experts believe is a good thing. The uneasy partnership between Congress and the executive branch on proliferation issues was recently illustrated by the imposition of sanctions against China and Pakistan.

On August 25, the Clinton administration barred the export of certain high-technology products to China and Pakistan as punishment for China's sale to Pakistan of advanced missile equipment. The sale violated the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), an agreement among 23 industrial countries to reduce the spread of missile technology to Third World countries. In a trip to Beijing earlier in the summer, Davis found that the Chinese refused to discuss their missile transfers in any detail, and she was unable to obtain Beijing's cooperation in finding out more information about the sale to Pakistan. It was Davis's office that then made the decision that China and Pakistan were in violation of the MTCR. But the sanctions that were imposed on the two countries—negligible in the case of Pakistan but involving some 7 percent of U.S. exports to China—had been predetermined by 1991 congressional legislation.

This fall, the Clinton administration policies on non-proliferation were formalized with the completion of a Presidential Review Directive. The new policy, which Clinton announced in his September 27 speech to the UN, is not a dramatic overhaul of Bush's policy, but instead builds on that policy and proposes several new initiatives. Perhaps the most significant of these is a call for a negotiated worldwide ban on the

production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes. This idea has long been embraced by arms control experts but was vigorously opposed by both the Reagan and Bush administrations. The directive also reportedly proposes a new effort to make available U.S. space launching capabilities to Third World countries in exchange for their cooperation in controlling the spread of ballistic missile technology.

PROLIFERATION POLICEMAN

One issue that remains unaddressed by Davis or others at State is how anti-proliferation efforts should drive U.S. interventionary policy. Since Desert Storm, the Pentagon has moved adroitly to justify many of its programs by citing the threats posed by states with the potential for arms buildups. "The politics of proliferation and non-proliferation are the most volatile political subjects in U.S. foreign relations," says Michael Klare, director of the Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies in Amherst, Massachusetts. "The United States is brushing up against countries on the proliferation issue in ways that have the potential to cause a war." However, Davis has been virtually silent, at least in public, on the key issue of when and where the United States should be prepared to use force to stop the proliferation of weapons.

Klare credits Davis and the State Department with pursuing a good non-proliferation policy on a day-to-day basis, but complains that the Department of Defense has been allowed to dominate the broader debate about what level of threat to U.S. national security is posed by proliferation. The Pentagon, says Klare, has a virtual free-hand in shaping a policy outlook that may lead to new interventions. "What are the implications of being a proliferation policeman of the world? They are vast and they haven't been debated."

With responsibilities for both arms control and broader policy planning on security issues, Davis is the logical candidate at State to work at integrating the proliferation challenge into overall U.S. national security policy and to offer a counter of the Pentagon view, which must be seen as partly driven by budgetary imperatives.

ARMS FOR THE WORLD?

Following the Gulf war, there were widespread calls for restraining the global trade in conventional weapons. The Bush administration resisted any serious efforts toward this end, but on the campaign trail Bill Clinton pledged to more forcefully work with other supplier nations in negotiating restraints.

Lynn Davis is not new to the controversy over conventional arms sales. During the Carter years she played a major role in drafting Presidential Directive 13, which provided the framework for that administration's historic effort to rein in the arms trade. But in her new position, Davis appears to be opposed to initiating new and comprehensive policies that relate to conventional arms sales.

During the Carter years, says Davis, "we discovered that overall guidelines don't work and that these issues had to be approached regionally." What happened is that "we often made policy by exception to the general guidelines." Davis thinks that "we should look at regional insecurities and U.S. interests in friends and allies in the region and define arms sales policies consistent with those. . . . Sales for defensive purposes or to keep a balance of power can make a good deal of sense from an American point of view." In her public statements, Davis has never stressed the goal of reducing the overall size and scope of the world arms trade.

Many analysts disagree with both Davis's interpretation of the Carter experience and her favored approach for the 1990s. "Lynn Davis, who had a major hand in devising the Carter policy, was right the first time," says one arms control expert. The Carter administration's policy had problems, he says, but it also had "many innovations" and it would be wrong to draw the lesson from that experience that general guidelines don't work. Many of the Carter guidelines were "both modest and realistic," he argues. These included the ban on introducing new arms technologies to a region for the first time, an insistence that the United States have a veto over any reexporting of U.S.-made arms, and the tying of arms sales to human rights performance. Without new general guidelines "what we have is little more than a policy of goodwill," says another analyst. William Hartung, an

expert on the conventional arms trade with the World Policy Institute, worries as well that Davis's case-by-case approach "is tantamount to saying we're not going to have an arms transfer policy. The ad hoc policy is really a policy of no controls. Because there's always a reason that a particular ally will want a particular system."

In addressing the issue of conventional arms sales, Davis shows considerable sensitivity to the economic stakes involved. She believes that domestic economic factors must be considered in shaping arms-sales policies. "If you broaden your definition of national security to include economic prosperity for Americans and more generally for the world, then these kind of additional interests come into play," Davis says. And she is hardly alone in this view. Since taking office President Clinton has repeatedly stressed that a cornerstone of his foreign policy agenda is the revitalization of the American economy. With this in mind, Davis sees her task as "balancing the promotion of trade with the clear need to control dangerous arms."

MULTILATERAL RESTRAINT

But Alton Frye thinks the United States has been "striking the wrong balance in facilitating or encouraging substantial sales of advanced conventional weaponry." Frye argues that because of a desire to help an ailing defense industry, the United States is "having difficulty following . . . our security interests in slowing the spread of modern weaponry." He points out that the United States is now far and away the world's largest arms supplier. "We are not going to get the Russians and others to exercise restraint as long as we are so dominant in the market, [but] if we use our leverage correctly, we can energize a multilateral restraint regime." Frye has pushed for a multilateral regulatory plan that would make restraining arms sales in the interests of both recipients and suppliers.

Hartung contends that the economic gains of arms sales are illusory, in any case. "Arms exports are a dead end economically. Promoting arms exports is going to end up costing the United States more than it benefits to the extent that it stimulates arms races in the Middle East and Asia. The expenditures

for our own forces because of higher levels of arms in those regions is going to cancel out any kind of short-term benefit that comes from keeping some production line running. You need a broader long-term lens."

The administration has yet to establish a policy on conventional arms. Initial talk of a dual-track policy of working simultaneously to stem the proliferation of both conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction has been abandoned. "That's going to be dealt with separately," says Davis. The administration's delay on this front has some observers complaining about a missed opportunity. The on-going efforts by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council to limit the arms trade through the so-called P-5 talks have been totally inadequate, many say, and will remain so unless the United States assumes a major leadership role on the issue.

AN UNEASY BALANCE

Davis's position on conventional arms sales underscores the concern that some have about her willingness to be an energetic advocate for arms control. Because of the prominence of domestic issues in the Clinton administration's political outlook, says Michael Krepon of the Stimson Center, "there's not enough pressure from the top to push the arms control and the non-proliferation agenda." Overseas crises like the war in the former Yugoslavia also have the effect of pushing arms control issues to the back burner. For these reasons, it is particularly important that there be officials lower down in the chain of command who work zealously to push an arms control agenda. But as things now stand, commented one outside analyst, "there's no great champion of arms control in this administration." Davis, he charges, "is not coming from a very pro-arms control perspective. Indeed, many of her positions seem to be to the right of the Bush administration's views."

Beyond her failure to push for conventional arms restraints, Davis reportedly opposed the extension of the nuclear test ban moratorium that Clinton agreed to this summer. And, upon arriving at the State Department, she joined those advocating the abolition of the

Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), a proposal that many arms control lobbyists found anathema.

But in fairness, Davis occupies a position with built-in conflicts. On the one hand, her office is charged with coordinating non-proliferation and arms control policy. On the other, it manages defense relations with foreign countries, seeking to maintain U.S. influence with governments whose arms-acquisitions goals are sometimes out of sync with U.S. policy. Because of this dual portfolio, Davis does not see her role as that of an institutional advocate for arms control. Instead, she sees her job as harnessing the often conflicting goals in U.S. foreign policy to creative ends. Essentially, Davis is in search of win-win situations, particularly in the sensitive area of balancing non-proliferation concerns against the desire to maintain key friendships abroad. "What we try to do is find the areas where these two are not necessarily in conflict, where states accept that to be a partner they have to support the same goals for non-prolif-

eration that the United States supports."

Ironically, given her role in trying to kill ACDA, the survival of the agency actually makes Davis's job easier. A crusader for arms control probably is required in the current policy environment, and Davis, the quintessential analyst, will never be such a crusader. ACDA's survival will relieve the pressures on her to play this role.

Like many Clinton appointees, Davis sees herself as just getting started in her new job. Her long-term goals include insuring the success of the international conference in 1995 to review the Non-Proliferation Treaty and negotiating a worldwide ban on nuclear explosions. Her message to the critics who have hastened to question her performance is to be patient: "The test will be a year or so from now as to what we've accomplished." ■

David Callabau, a Princeton, N.J. based writer on current affairs, is a frequent contributor to the Journal

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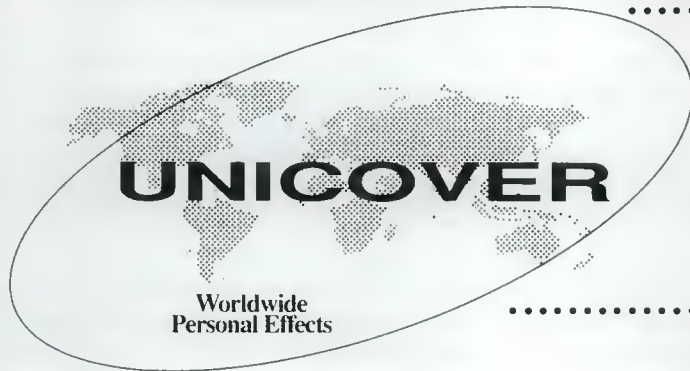
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7:45 A.M. Nice day. Took breakfast and the Washington Post onto the balcony.

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8:30 A.M. Walked 2 1/2 blocks to meeting at State Department.



5:00 P.M. Picked up dessert at Watergate Pastry Shop and walked home.

5:45 P.M. Buzzed in guests at front door.

7:30 P.M. Decided to stay another month!

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IN MEMORY

Charles Dodson Barrett III, 37, stepson of retired USIA Foreign Service officer Keith E. Adamson and son of Robin A. Adamson, died August 4, in Illinois.

He attended schools in Laos and Thailand during family tours of duty there. In Hawaii, he graduated from Kalani High School. He was an assistant engineer with Commonwealth Edison in Illinois.

Survivors include his wife, Donna Bard Barrett, and daughter, Jamie Leigh; parents, Robin and Keith Adamson of Honolulu; his sisters, Kathy Barrett of Denver, Mercer Duffy of Andover, Massachusetts, Jeanne Barefield of Norfolk, Virginia, and numerous nieces and nephews.

Jacob D. Beam, 85, who served as ambassador to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union during a diplomatic career of more than four decades, died of a stroke August 16 in Rockville.

In Moscow, Beam served as *chargé* after Ambassador George Kennan was expelled by the Soviet government. A few months later, he was President Eisenhower's special representative at the funeral of Joseph Stalin.

From 1959-1961 he was ambassador in Warsaw. While in Poland, he conducted talks with the Chinese Communists before they established formal diplomatic relations with Washington.

In 1966, after four years as assistant director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Beam was posted to Prague. He was there during the "Prague Spring Rebellion" of 1968. In 1969 he was named ambassador to the Soviet Union. He retired in 1972 to Washington D.C.

Beam joined the Foreign Service in 1931. In the late 1940s, he was chief of State's Central European Affairs Division. In 1949 he served in Indonesia and then went to Yugoslavia. He remained there until his first assignment to Moscow. He was deputy assistant secretary of state for European Affairs before being named ambassador to Poland. His honors include the Distinguished Honor Award and the Foreign Service Cup.

Survivors include his wife of 41 years, Margaret Glassford Beam of Washington, D.C.; a son, Jacob Alexander Beam of Newton, Massachusetts; and three grandchildren.

John Richard Burke, 68, a former U.S. ambassador to Guyana, died of a heart attack August 8 at his home in Arlington, Virginia.

Mr. Burke served in the Foreign Service from 1956 until retirement in 1989. His early service included posts in Bangkok, Paris, Washington, and Saigon. From 1967-1969, he was director of the office of Vietnam Affairs, then attended the National War College. Later he was DCM in Port-au-Prince, and Bangkok, and director of the Office of Caribbean Affairs.

From 1977-1979, during the time of the mass suicide of Jim Jones' followers, he was ambassador to Guyana. Burke returned to Washington and served as deputy assistant secretary of state for Administration. He received the State Department's Superior Honor Award.

Born in Madison, Wisconsin, he served in the Navy in the Pacific during World War II, and he was recalled to duty during the Korean War. He graduated from the University of Wisconsin.

Survivors include his wife, Amelie Martha Cecillon Burke of Arlington, Virginia.

Carl John Grip, 65, died August 5 in Burlingame, California.

He began his Foreign Service career in 1956 and served in Lebanon, Syria, Norway, and at the U.S. mission to NATO in Paris and Brussels. He also served in Geneva as counselor for International Organization Affairs. As an FSO, he attended the University of California at Los Angeles and the National War College. He retired in 1983.

Survivors include his wife, Helen Jean Grip of Bethesda; two daughters, Linda Goldstein of Chevy Chase, and Karen Cox of Gloucester, Massachu-

setts; and two grandsons.

Sheelah M. Langan, a retired Foreign Service secretary, died in Middlebury, Vermont, on July 6.

She joined the Foreign Service during World War II. Her first assignment was to Rome. Subsequent postings took her to Bangkok, Tripoli, Rabat, Athens, London, Bogota, and Mexico City. In both Colombia and Mexico she served as the ambassador's secretary. She retired to Vermont in 1970.

Charles W. Redick, 51, died of prostate cancer July 24 at his home in Bethesda.

Joining the Foreign Service in 1969, he served as a political officer in posts that included Taiwan, Cambodia, Lebanon, France, Tunisia, Zaire, and New York. Recently he had been studying Japanese at FSI in preparation for a post in Japan.

Redick was born in Boulder, Colorado and raised in Silver Spring, Saigon, and Tokyo. His father was in the Foreign Service. He was a graduate of Oberlin College and received his master's degree in Chinese Studies from Yale University. He was an Air Force veteran.

Survivors include his wife, Cynthia Timbrook Redick, and a daughter Alison Redick, both of Bethesda; his parents, Margaret and Joseph Redick of Staunton, Virginia; and a sister, Nancy Redick Powell of Arlington, Virginia.

John H. Southerland, 75, died September 5 in Fairfax, Virginia. He had Parkinson's disease.

Southerland joined the Foreign Service in 1941. Early posts included Ethiopia, Italy, Spain, and Costa Rica. From 1956-1960 he served in State's international conferences office. Overseas assignments then included administrative posts in Cambodia, Portugal, and Turkey. He returned to Washington in 1976 and retired in 1979. He received a Commendable Service Award.

Survivors include his wife of 44 years, Barbara Southerland, and a daughter,

IN MEMORY

Nancy Southerland, both of Arlington; his son, Charles, of Centreville; and his twin brother, Paul, of Topeka, Kansas.

Frances McLean Williams, 77, widow of former Foreign Service officer Elwood Williams III, died of a heart attack July 27 in Bar Harbor, Maine, while on vacation.

A former resident of Arlington, Virginia and Washington, D.C., she had lived in Goodwin House West in Falls Church since 1988. She was a volunteer for the Multiple Sclerosis Society, the United Givers Fund, St. Agnes School and the John F. Kennedy Center, and received a presidential letter of commendation for her work with the National Park system.

Survivors include three children, Anne Williams of Lewiston, Maine, James M. Williams of Princeton, New Jersey, and Libby Barton of Washington, D.C.; a brother, Herbert McLean of Montreal; and a sister, Helen Kennedy of Prince Edward Island, Canada.

Perry Laukhuff, 87, Foreign Service

officer, died August 23, in a Lynchburg, Virginia hospital.

Laukhuff taught government at Sweet Briar College from 1930-36. He then entered the U.S. Foreign Service. He served twice in Berlin and was interned with the U.S. Embassy staff there in 1941-42. As director of the Office of German Political Affairs, he accompanied Secretary of State Acheson to many international conferences and was a principal drafter of most diplomatic notes exchanged with the Soviet Union dealing with Germany from 1949-1952. He was later named counselor and deputy chief of mission to Saigon.

Laukhuff was born in Dayton, Ohio, son of Frank Edward and Laura Perry Laukhuff. A graduate of Otterbein College in Westerville, Ohio, he received a master's degree at Harvard and did further post-graduate study at Harvard, Ohio State University, the University of Michigan, and the Academy of International Law at The Hague.

He is survived by his wife, Jessie Lousie and daughter, Louise Argyle

Laukhuff of Richmond, Virginia.

Michele Maule Matlock, 34, daughter of retired Foreign Service officer Robert Maule and Sue M. Maule, died August 8, at home in Chugiak, Alaska, after a five-year battle with adrenal-cortical carcinoma. Her parents contend that this rare cancer was induced by Michele's early excessive exposure to DDT. (January 1989 *Journal*, Speaking Out)

Matlock was born in Brussels, Belgium, then accompanied her parents on assignments to Baghdad, Port-au-Prince, Vienna, Beirut and Montreal. She attended Union School in Haiti, the American International School in Vienna and the American Community School in Beirut. She graduated from Seattle Pacific University and worked as a special education teacher in Washington and Alaska.

Michele is survived by her parents; her husband Kevin; children Brandon, Peter and Fiona; and by her brother, Brian and sister, Alison. 🕯

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BOOKS AND THE ARTS

A Chamber Music Capital

By Max Kraus

The Washington area has many halls suitable for chamber music and good musicians to perform in them. This combination has placed Washington in the front ranks of chamber music offerings, with a variety and quality of presentations that even New York has a hard time matching.

This review of Washington chamber music performances is by no means complete; included are only the concert series for which I have received season announcements, and I keep hearing of new ones, such as a series at the National Institutes of Health, including

artists such as the Tokyo Quartet.

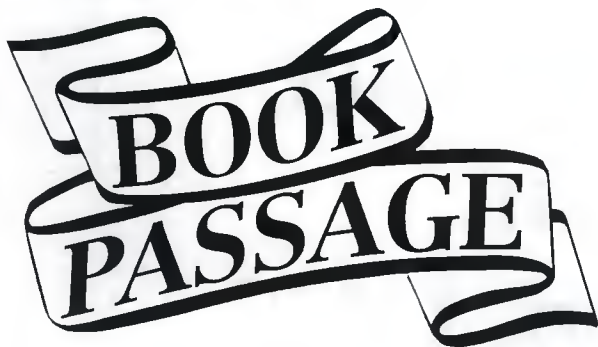
In July 1993, Washington became the world cello capital when the University of Maryland hosted an international competition dedicated to the memory of the late American virtuoso and teacher Leonard Rose. More than 100 cellists from 34 countries sent applications. The competition culminated with a concert in the Kennedy Center's Concert Hall, where the three finalists, two from Germany and one from Finland, performed cello concertos by Shostakovich, Prokofiev, and Dvorak, with the National Symphony Orchestra guest-conducted by Yves Pascal Tortelier, the son of French cello virtuoso Paul Tortelier.

In addition, during the week preceding the final, many leading cellists, some members of the international jury, gave

recitals in the university's Tawes Recital Hall. The programs included Beethoven's five cello sonatas performed by Gary Hoffman and pianist Menachem Pressler; a recital by jury president Bernard Greenhouse; and another one by the trio of pianist Joseph Kalichstein, violinist Jaime Laredo, and cellist Sharon Robinson. A final recital by Lynn Harrell, accompanied by Taiwanese pianist Wu Han offered listeners the chance to hear a reading of Beethoven's Sonata op.69 that was quite different from the one by Hoffman and Pressler earlier in the week.

Perhaps I had not realized what fine chamber music is offered at the University of Maryland until I moved into that state last year, but during the coming season I plan to brave the Beltway often

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BOOKS AND THE ARTS

on my way to College Park. For one thing, the superb Chamber Music Society of Lincoln Center will play all but one of their traditional three Washington area concerts in Tawes Recital Hall, and there are other treats in the offing there, such as the Belgian Kuijken Trio playing baroque music on period instruments. Their program includes music by Jean Marais, the viola da gamba master featured in the film "Tous les Matins du Monde."

Concerts at the Kenedy Center

The Kennedy Center's Terrace Theater, a bicentennial gift of Japan, is my favorite chamber music auditorium in the Washington area, acoustically superb, with perfect sight lines and, with its 500 seats, ideal size. During the 1993-94 season it will offer an embarrassment of musical riches starting, as is now traditional, with a concert by the Guarneri quartet, this year joined by the rising young Orian Quartet. For those who like to discover tomorrow's stars before


they become household words, I recommend the Young Artists Series in the Terrace Theater.

The same auditorium also is the home base of the Washington Chamber Symphony, formerly the Handel Festival Orchestra. Its music director, Stephen Simon, (a nephew of former Ambassador Walter Annenberg) is an internationally recognized Handel scholar, but he wanted to expand his repertoire and changed the orchestra's name to reflect this.

The five scheduled chamber music concerts, which are so popular that they are given twice, on Friday and Saturday evenings, include a piano concerto by the American composer Dominick Argento. His opera, *The Dream of Valentino*, will be given its world premiere by the Washington Opera during the coming season. Simon also has an American premiere on one program, a concerto for harpsichord and strings by the Czech composer Viktor Kalabis, with the composer's wife as soloist.

The Terrace Theater is Stephen Simon's home base. In addition to the chamber concerts, he also conducts four concerts there for young people 6 to 12 years old. Again, these concerts have proven so popular that they are given twice each, on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. Simon involves the youngsters as he teaches them the rudiments of music; even inviting them backstage to learn more about musical instruments.

Once a year, as the holiday season approaches, the reinforced Washington Chamber Symphony, various choral groups, bell ringers, and sundry other performers draw a capacity crowd of festively dressed children and adults to the Kennedy Center's Concert Hall for the annual "Holiday Spectacular Sing-Along," which includes a visit from Santa Claus. It is the most joyful concert of the year in the usually staid auditorium. To complete their season, Simon's busy musicians give four yearly recitals in the Corcoran Gallery's auditorium.



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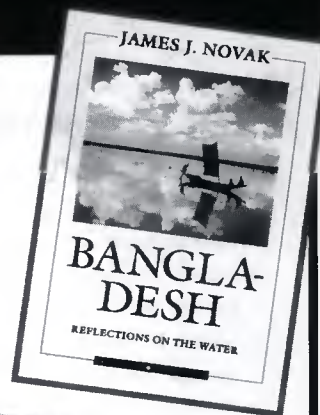
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BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Sometimes these programs offer surprises, such as an arrangement of Vivaldi's *The Seasons* for five concert marimbas performed by the WCS's tympanist Nora Davenport and four of her teen-age pupils.

Smithsonian Concerts

The announcement of the Smithsonian Chamber Music Society's 1993-94 season in the resident associate magazine is guaranteed to set any chamber music aficionado's heart palpitating. It offers music ranging from Bach and Telemann through the classic and romantic schools to Richard Strauss, performed by the Smithsonian's resident ensembles and international guest artists.

Most of the music is played on period instruments from the Smithsonian's collection either in the Museum of American History's Hall of Musical Instruments or in the Grand Salon of the Renwick Gallery. In the latter auditorium the Smithsonian Quartet will continue its performance of the complete string quartets by Franz Josef Haydn. A much less familiar name also appears on the Smithsonian's season program, that of George Onslow, who lived and composed in Paris between 1784 and 1853.

Some Smithsonian concerts are preceded by lectures—many people might want to find out more about George Onslow before hearing his string quintets performed. Lectures also precede another highly successful series of Smithsonian concerts by the 20th Century Consort, a group composed mainly of first-desk players of the National Symphony Orchestra. Their concerts are given in the auditorium of the Hirshhorn Museum, and listeners can meet the musicians and sometimes the composers at post-concert receptions.

Many chamber music treats are offered free of charge, including the Library of Congress series and the Sunday concerts in the National Gallery of Art and in the Phillips Collection. Across the street from the diplomatic entrance of the State Department is the auditorium of the National Academy of Sciences, where the Li-

brary of Congress concerts have found a home while the Coolidge Auditorium is being rehabilitated, and where the free "Arts in the Academy" concerts are performed.

Many embassies in Washington also present chamber music concerts, either by hosting groups such as the Washington Music Ensemble, the Beethoven Society, or by arranging their own concert series as part of their cultural presentations programs. At most embassies post-concert receptions give guests the opportunity of meeting the artists.

A word of warning; there are so many chamber music ensembles active here, with names so similar, that it is difficult to tell them apart. The Washington Chamber Symphony, mentioned above, is not to be confused with the excellent National Chamber Orchestra which performs both in Washington, D.C. and in Rockville, Maryland; this season it even has a composer in residence. Then there are the Chamber Artists of Washington who perform at the French embassy and, not surprisingly, feature French composers. In addition to the Monday Musicales, which were started by Polish-born pianist Felicia Borisov, there are also the Friday Morning Musicales. The Virginia Chamber Symphony has acquired a new music director, Cal Stewart Kellog, a mainstay on the podium of the Washington Opera, and its new season has a distinctly operatic accent.

Chamber music-loving FSOs should take heart from this report: During your Washington tour, you can wallow in great music!

Max Kraus is a retired Foreign Service Officer.

Letters Home: A War Memoir, Europe 1944-45

by John C. Ausland, 1993 softcover, Land Productions, Oslo, Norway 164 pages.

Reviewed by Ward Thompson

In this era of Iraq and Bosnia, some might recall with nostalgia the heyday

of U.S. military policy in the brief year from D-Day to V-E Day. John Ausland was with an Army artillery unit as it landed on Utah Beach and fought its way to the Rhine. His dual perspective—in his letters as a young officer and his commentary on them nearly 50 years later—gives us a timeless and dispassionate personal view of a not-so-lovely war.

Ausland's letters convey the flavor of life in a unit close to the front, through serious anecdotes on interpersonal relations and battle logistics and lighter accounts of leaves spent in Paris and Luxembourg. They show the evolution of the callow American in uniform—from naive bravado, to confusion, to frank reflection—as the writer prepares in England for D-Day, experiences the landing, witnesses American military blunders, and encounters liberated French and defeated Germans.

Although they give us occasional glimpses of the war as we know it from history books, the letters focus all too rarely on either the big picture or the intimacy of battle. They relate the typical view of a soldier; though the observations he sent home were increasingly perceptive, Ausland was naturally no more able than other soldiers to influence events, remaining but an unusually erudite cog in the machine.

Ausland as editor, while sticking to the script, adds just enough context to the letters to make clear that the American war machine, although magnificent, was less than well-oiled. He describes misguided tactics, needless loss of life on some occasions, undue caution to avoid casualties on others, exaggerated award citations, and flawed teamwork. Commenting on a letter about a meeting with Omar Bradley, for example, Ausland recalls the young, non-career officers laughing at the general's description of the upcoming landing as historic, noting Bradley's bemusement that they did not share the professional soldier's enthusiasm for war.

There are other parallels to later

wars: the American public's lack of interest in the front, the bias of journalists (Ausland crossed paths with both Hemingway and Ernie Pyle), the Army's clumsy management of relations with Germany's civil populace, even the brutal treatment of civilians by U.S. soldiers.

These flaws are minor in the World War II scheme of things, and it is never Ausland's intention to argue with success. Five decades have not shaken Ausland's faith in the letters' implicit conclusion that military means, for all their ugliness and inefficiency, may sometimes be the viable option.

Ward Thompson was a young military officer in Vietnam.

A Finnish Saga

**FINLAND AND THE UNITED STATES:
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS THROUGH
SEVENTY YEARS**

*Edited by Robert Rinehart, Institute
for the Study of Diplomacy,
Georgetown University, 1993, \$12.00,
paperback, 141 pages.*

Reviewed by James E. Goodby

Finland could not have saved her free institutions just by resting on the laurels won in the Winter War. Diplomacy was truly Finland's first line of defense as she worked to become one of the most successful democracies of the Western World. We are too close to the recent end of the Cold War to render final judgement on the incidents and policies of that era, but no amount of revisionism is likely to change the basic outlines of Finland's saga.

Robert Rinehart, of the Foreign Service Institute, has skillfully edited the papers and discussions of a conference on Finnish-American diplomatic relations held in 1989; the result is a fine short history covering the 70 years beginning in 1919. The papers draw on newly declassified material and, equally importantly, on the insights of a group of very

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BOOKS AND THE ARTS

distinguished Finnish and American specialists. It may be a little deflating for Americans to consider that, as one author puts it, "the United States played a minor role during the periods when Finland faced its greatest dangers," but there are lessons in this, as well. In a period of resource limitations and pre-occupations with internal affairs, great demands are placed on statecraft. This requires not only a recognition of the limits of American power but also a sensitive and accurate reading of what the United States realistically can do to advance its vision of a democratic society of nations.

This story of Finnish-American diplomatic relations shows both nations in a very good light in their mutual recognition of their limits and their possibilities. One illustration of this is Jukka Nevakivi's account of U.S.-Finnish economic relations in the post-World War II years. Modest U.S. aid made a great difference to a Finnish government struggling to meet its obligation to pay

reparations to the Soviet Union. In another essay, R. Michael Berry makes the point that "Finland recognized the need to work within the limits of Soviet security interests in order to maximize its options to remain on the periphery of—but within—the Western community for shared economic and cultural values."

At the time these papers were being written the end of the Cold War had not yet come. Today, more emphasis would be given to how Finnish Cold War policies positioned the nation to join Western institutions in the post-Cold War period. Unlike any other nation on Russia's western border, except NATO member Norway, Finland can expect accession to the European Community in the relatively near future.

Providing additional depth to this account of Finnish-U.S. diplomatic relations, the State Department's historian, William Slany, has contributed an excellent chapter on the beginnings of these relations. William Copeland un-

derscores the remarkable success of educational exchanges in strengthening U.S.-Finnish relations throughout the Cold War.

The 1989 conference that generated this book was sponsored jointly by the Embassy of Finland and the Foreign Service Institute. This history is based on a perspective rooted in Cold War conditions. Nonetheless, the book has the merit of prompting the reader to ponder on what, if anything, the Finnish experience may mean for those states that have only recently followed Finland's example in leaving the empire once run from Moscow. Russia is very different from the Soviet Union, but she expects her interests in the "near abroad" to carry some weight. The newly independent states on Russia's periphery are very different from Finland, but they face some of the same problems Finland faced in the period covered by this book.

Khrushchev's reminiscences included a reference to the resentment that ordinary Finns felt about a Soviet military base near Helsinki. He then hinted at the kind of relationship he hoped Moscow might enjoy with its Western neighbors if military repression were removed. Finnish policies encouraged that kind of thinking and those types of policies, backed by the sacrifices of the Winter War and the cohesion of the society following Finland's defeat in World War II, spared the country the fate of every other European nation on the Soviet Union's western frontier.

Does the Finnish experience show how a self-reliant neighbor of the new Russia should behave? Each newly independent nation will decide that without tutelage from anyone else, of course, but the story of Finnish statecraft should make interesting reading for thoughtful diplomats from the "near abroad".

James E. Goodby, the former ambassador to Finland, is currently the chief U.S. negotiator for dismantlement of nuclear weapons at ACDA.

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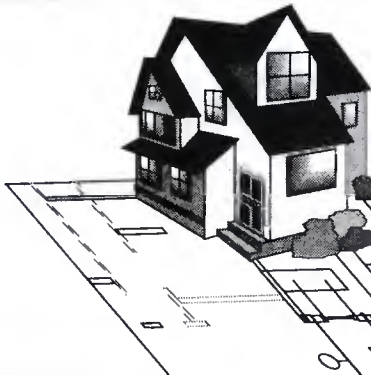


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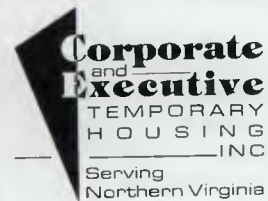
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Tough Tahan

BY RATHA RAJAGOPAL

Gunung Tahan, the highest mountain in peninsular Malaysia stands tall at 2,187 meters. I contemplated the 65-kilometer trail to the top. It winds through low-altitude primary jungle, across rivers, up a narrow and broken 1,500 meter ridge to a cool mountain plateau. It would be a tough climb, but I expected nothing less. I was lucky to be climbing with two experienced climbers, an American and a Britisher, I was also glad that my rucksack weighed only 16 kilograms as I weighed a mere 50.

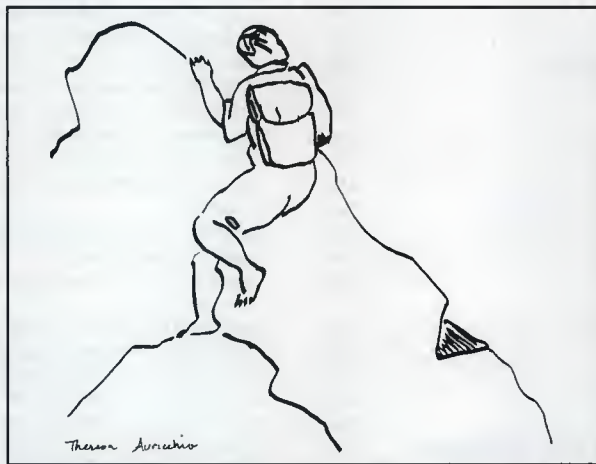
We started off from Tamen Negara Park to the first campsite, reaching the camp about five hours later. I dropped my rucksack—it suddenly seemed to have increased its weight by many kilos—and stripped off my camouflaged pants. I let out a scream—the first slimy leech fat with my blood was on my left shin, and there were an additional six on my other leg.

After that excitement, it was back to business—cooking dinner, a task I looked forward to at the end of a long day. Finally my tired feet and body made their way to the tent. I hoped that the next eight days would be easier.

The next day we moved for eight hours over two hills and 11 “bumps.” I ached all over and felt discouraged because I was slower than my two companions. I was actually taking 15-second breaks after every minute of the uphill climb. It was a relief to reach Gunung Rajah, the last stop on the tough and painful ascent, before we went slightly downhill to the campsite. I loved the entire scene, the campsite

and river were totally ours. The river was clear and had a silvery shine to it. Thanks to my friends' fishing skills, we had steamed fish with pasta for dinner.

The third day of the climb was a relaxed six-hour trek that included seven river crossings. The river was low with clear water, but that did not stop me from clinging to my friends for support and confidence as we crossed on logs placed across the wide river.



On this day, we met the “Orang Asli,” similar to aborigines, who greeted us with smiles. I was impressed with the children who *ran* up the slopes. After much climbing along the rocky ridge, we reached Camp Teku. Looking at the jungle from the campsite, I was intimidated as it looked so strong and powerful. I felt dwarfed by nature and yet awed by God's creation.

The next day we psyched ourselves for a steep climb to Wray's Camp, not my favorite campsite. You had to walk downhill for ten minutes to reach a tiny creek to collect drinking and bathing water. It poured that night.

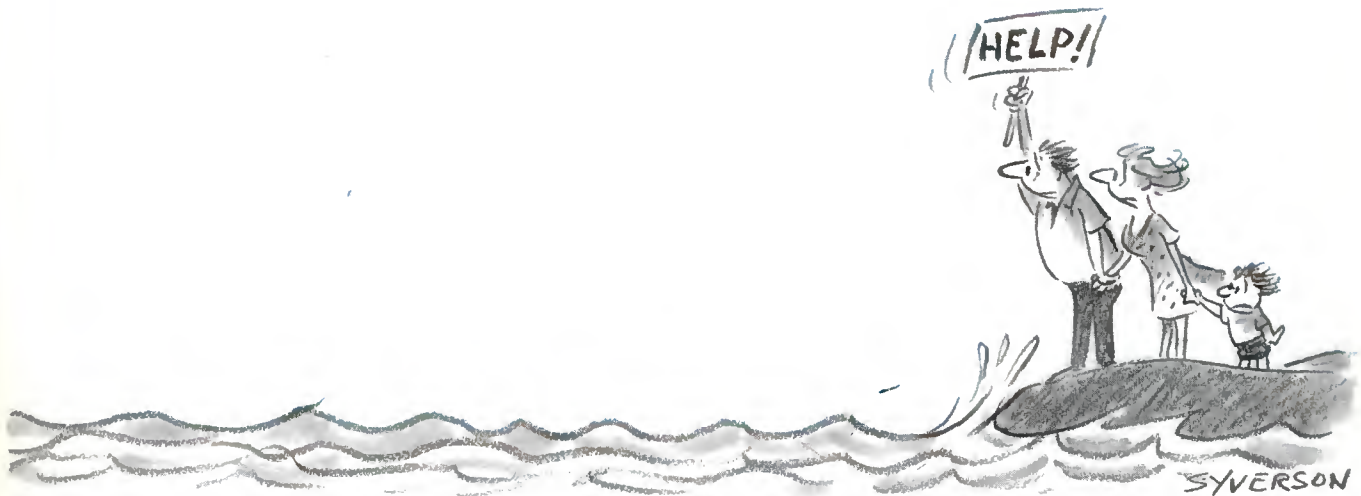
The fifth day included a lot of rock climbing; it was my most exciting day. I had never rock-climbed so extensively and was amazed that I could do it with my rucksack. Many times I had to pull myself up by the sheer strength of my arms and legs. I have a fear of heights, and there was no way I could look back or down while climbing the rock-face and treading along the ridges. Our campsite was called *Padang*, which means “field.” Among all the surrounding rocks and small vegetation, there it lay, a square patch of grass.

Day six was the summit day. We were finally on our way to the top of Tahan. Ironically, I felt bored and restless as I climbed higher. When I finally reached the top after a four-hour climb, I was too indifferent to celebrate. What an anti-climax!

The return trek was at a faster pace. We cleared Wray's Camp and reached Teku, which was crowded with other campers. It was a holiday weekend in Malaysia. I could not wait to get back to the park and home to Singapore. I had been long enough in the jungle. My feet were sore, my arms and legs were scratched, my shoulders were bruised, leech bites itched, and I was sun-burned, but I was filled with a sense of achievement. Mountain ridges, river rapids, virgin jungle, turquoise and violet butterflies, a swarm of bees, hornets whizzing by, these will always be in my memories. It was worth it. 

Ratha Rajagopal is a Foreign Service national working in the General Services Office in Singapore.

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