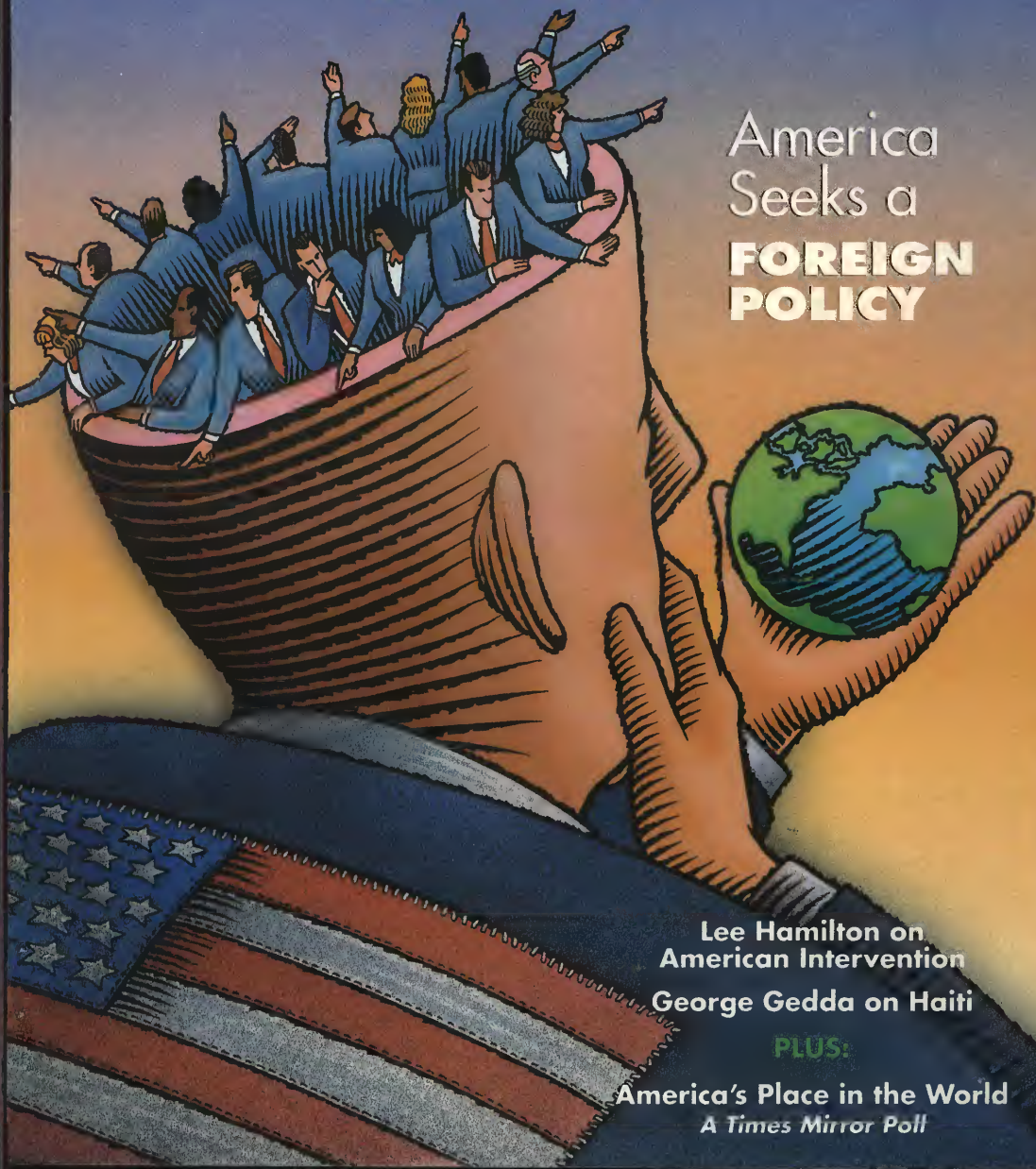


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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

A LONG-HAUL FIGHT

Last month's "President's Views," which dealt with the issue of political ambassadorial appointments, was a condensation of testimony I gave at a November 10 hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC) that considered six such nominations. At that hearing, AFSA testified in opposition to the spoils system by which non-career ambassadors are chosen and against the nomination of San Diego hotelier M. Larry Lawrence, because in our view he lacks the necessary qualifications to serve as U.S. ambassador to Switzerland. So meager was his understanding of basic diplomatic concepts that at his hearing he referred to Switzerland, whose name is synonymous with neutrality, as our "ally," and responded to a question about "export controls" with an answer about export promotion.

Thanks mostly to our opposition, the SFRC, while endorsing the other nominees, split 10-10 on Lawrence, whose nomination was then sent to the Senate floor without a recommendation. In the full Senate, a hold was placed on the nomination, suspending it until the Senate reconvenes in 1994. AFSA's success in temporarily blocking this high-profile nomination has focused considerable attention on the use of prestigious ambassadorships as sinecures for wealthy campaign contributors and, not surprisingly, has triggered a counterattack:

■ Op-ed pieces by friends of the would-be ambassador have appeared in California newspapers characterizing our position as nothing more than self-serving careerism and flailing back with childish epithets like "witless," "snobs," and—no kidding—"dorks."

■ Senator Harlan Mathews (D-TN) criticized AFSA bitterly at the SFRC hearing for challenging, as he put it, the president's "constitutional duty and responsibility to nominate people to the Foreign Service [sic]," and even questioned our "right" to do so. So much for the First Amendment!

■ In an apparently random act of retaliation, Senator Mathews put a hold on a list of 27 senior USAID officers whose promotions were then before the Senate for routine approval. Although these officers have nothing whatsoever to do with the nomination of Larry Lawrence, they are being held hostage, according to Senator Mathews himself, until Lawrence and three other nominations on hold are approved.

The absurdity and injustice of this action needs no comment. We have appealed to Senator Mathews and his colleagues, in the name of fairness, to stop penalizing these innocent USAID officers and to approve their promotions retroactive to the day they were suspended. I am confident that cooler heads will prevail and that our "hostages" will be freed and duly promoted once the Senate reconvenes.

The fate of our challenge to Larry Lawrence, however, is more problematic. Success in blocking confirmation of a manifestly unqualified ambassadorial nominee would be an unprecedented achievement and possibly a historic turning point in the longstanding campaign to ensure that America's diplomatic missions abroad are headed by "the best qualified" persons—whether career or non-career.

It may be that that point has not yet arrived, but we intend to press forward on all fronts. Win or lose, there can be no doubt that we have raised congressional and White House consciousness and gained media attention to the damage to the national interest wrought by sending rank amateurs to fill important diplomatic posts.

Win or lose, AFSA is in this fight for the long haul. We must secure justice for our USAID hostages and be prepared to use our heightened credibility consistently to challenge future Larry Lawrences until the political process ceases to treat ambassadorships as party favors for fat cats.

—Tex Harris



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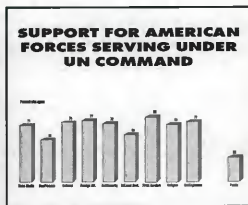
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LETTERS

Dissent and resignation

Resignation over issues of principle or policy is an important and admirable practice. I have great admiration for the moral courage and conviction shown by George Kenney, Marshall Harris, Stephen Walker and Jon Western with their decisions to resign over U.S. policy in the Balkans.

I see a great irony in the analogy with the resignations during the Vietnam War: The NSC eight resigned in opposition to our involvement in what was essentially a civil war in Vietnam; the State four—as I understand it—resigned in opposition to our *failure* to become involved in a civil war in the Balkans.

In the interview, [November 1993 *Journal*] both Harris and Walker concede that senior department officials were very open in hearing out their dissents, but they then suggest that these officials “weren’t listening.” Perhaps they weren’t. But perhaps these officials understood what they were saying, but weren’t persuaded—perhaps they simply didn’t agree with their analysis!

Another statement by Harris took my breath away: He said, “If they [State Department officials] cannot handle a *simple and straightforward* case like Serb aggression in Bosnia, there’s no reason to think they are going to be able to handle the more difficult problems we face today.” How can anyone who regards the situation in Bosnia as “simple and straightforward” expect to be taken seriously?

Like most people, I am deeply troubled by charges of Serbian genocide and the moral equivalency many see between Serbian ethnic cleansing and the Nazi holocaust. Genocide is defined as “the systematic killing of, or a program of action intended to destroy a whole national or ethnic group.” Acts of genocide, as well as rape, and torture, have clearly been committed in the Balkans, but they do not appear to represent an overarching policy of any

of the belligerents. Ethnic cleansing, as despicable and criminal as it is, is not quite the same thing.

Gross crimes against humanity and human rights deserve to be judged and punished, certainly, but a distinction between ethnic cleansing and genocide, although it may seem pedantic or legalistic to some, is important in terms of law, international relations, and (I would think) one’s daily life.

Civil wars are nasty businesses, especially so when religion and ethnicity fuel the fires of hatred. They are particularly hazardous grounds for outsiders to tread upon. There are precious few, if any, cases where an end to civil hostilities has been brought about by external force. Peacekeeping after the fighting stops, yes, but external force to stop a civil war, no.

But even if the resignees are correct, if genocide is occurring and the holocaust is being revisited, does the United States have a unilateral obligation to stop it? Or does this responsibility lie with the international community? No one appointed the United States global policeman or moral arbiter. Indeed, much of the world regards our presumptions in this direction misguided and/or arrogant in the extreme. Many think we should use the forces of argument, moral suasion, and other internationally accepted means to bring others to our way of thinking, as we seem to be doing in the Balkans, though perhaps not as effectively as we might. We should also stand ready to join the international community in acting, forcefully if necessary, to end these atrocities, although such responses seem remote. We do not have a writ to impose our values on the world and, most importantly, we lack the power and will to do so. The latter may be unfortunate, but it’s not necessarily a bad thing.

No single nation can cure the ills of the world or end man’s inhumanity toward man through the force of arms.

Anyone who thinks otherwise cannot be said to have any appreciation of the reality of international relations. Other nations or blocs do not generally welcome the intrusion of those from outside the neighborhood, especially when the intruders ignore regional or international organizations that are already engaged.

Let the State four continue arguing their case, offer policy alternatives, and attempt to persuade the American public, our government, and other nations that there are grave moral questions at stake.

This is not meant as an attack on those who resigned. I am respectful of their strength of conviction and salute their courage. In the long run, it may well be their courage that will be best remembered. And who knows, some day one of them may become our national security adviser. There is a precedent.

Jack R. Binns
Tucson, AZ

Disenchantment

In the April issue of the *Journal*, Anne Stevenson-Yang wrote on teamwork: “It will be some months yet before it is possible to draw conclusions about how profoundly the new team at the State Department . . . will color the conduct of foreign policy. . . so far, the grand policy shifts for which some had hoped have not been forthcoming.”

So much for “teamwork,” the conduct of foreign policy, and grand policy shifts: Harris, Walker, Western and yes, Deputy Secretary Wharton are gone! I have drawn my conclusion and I suspect you have too.

Below is an excerpt from my June 7, 1993 letter of resignation:

“ . . . I am fully disenchanted with the Clinton administration: the lack of a coherent U.S. foreign policy. . . during my service in Belgrade I saw firsthand how Ambassador Zimmermann and the entire U.S. mission ceaselessly endeavored to promote a peaceful and demo-

LETTERS

cratic solution to the fragmentation of Yugoslavia. No such effort is visible today. . . . Under Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff has clearly signaled that the U.S. has abdicated its role of leadership in the world, the White House makes a mockery of the State Department's list of candidates for ambassadorial posts and President Clinton fails at diplomatic protocol by not accepting the credentials of foreign ambassadors."

While I may not have been as eloquent or public as Harris, Walker or Western, I do share their dislike of the Clinton administration's shameful abdication of commitment to, or policy initiatives in, the Balkans. [However] I do not advocate U.S. armed intervention in Bosnia. Jim Anderson (November *Journal*) reflects my view when stating: "I don't think they (Harris, Western and Walker) have taken into consideration the global effects of acting without NATO or the United Nations." The problem is by all appearances that the Clinton administration hasn't either!

Michael Ellis
Elmwood, WI

Use might for right

The moving interview (November *Journal*) of the three young FSOs who resigned in protest over the Bush and Clinton administration's consistently cautious Balkan policies has raised questions which go beyond the role of the career Foreign Service in our democracy to the national dilemma over the purposes of American military power. I believe the two are connected in this case in ways that are not always recognized.

Those of us who have served as desk officers sympathize with the frustrations these officers must have felt in being unable to affect policy when it really mattered to them. We can also respect the highest motives which caused them to quit their profession over what they assumed were disagreements in principle with the leadership of the country.

The problem is not that the last two administrations didn't agree with the urgency of the arguments against inaction in the Balkans, but that they both lacked national support to order up big

numbers of American ground forces—the only serious hope of averting the disasters which have occurred. Although the Clinton administration has supported embargoes, air-delivered supplies to besieged Moslems, proposed arming them and even threatened air strikes against Serb artillery positions and supply lines, it announced to the world—as did President Bush—that the United States would not share in the risks with our allies of directly intervening on the ground. This removed the only real deterrent to the Serbs, who could see that all else was bluff and gesture.

It is unfortunate that the FSOs did not pose the moral issues for the United States in the Balkans in the stark terms of the American sacrifices which would have been required. . . . Until as a nation we decide to use our military power effectively and are willing to pay the costs of doing so—which will be a long time coming—we could have used these talented individuals more than ever.

Charles Cross
Seattle, WA

A Paper Tiger

The Clinton administration's approach to foreign policy, as its adherents would have us believe, is the epitome of reason and rationality. Mr. Clinton and his secretary of state, Warren Christopher, are men of conscience with a shared commitment to human rights and dignity unmatched by any previous presidency. That they mean well I do not doubt, but commitment and compassion do not necessarily translate into ability, and this is precisely the problem with our foreign policy team. While the administration may not condone the slaughter in Bosnia, the lawlessness in Haiti, the chaos in Somalia, the intransigence of North Korea, neither has it been able to do much about any of these human tragedies. If anything, the ineffectual fumbling which has characterized a whole series of American initiatives has exacerbated rather than ameliorated these crises.

There is a growing perception among our allies and enemies that the United States does not possess the will to exert its

influence. The result is a widespread belief that the United States has become a "paper tiger"—that our threats are without substance, our pledges of support empty, and our loyalty fickle. From a nation which could organize and lead Desert Shield/Storm, we have devolved to a foreign policy lightweight, which is ignored by murderous megalomaniacs in the Balkans, savaged by rogue warlords in Somalia, shooed away from Haiti by shotgun-wielding thugs, and openly taunted by a nuclear pariah in North Korea. This is not the fault of circumstances or fate, this is our own doing, and it is both the fault and responsibility of our own leadership.

Certainly this administration, elected on a domestic agenda, has a host of other priorities to attend to—health care, the economy, the environment—and these priorities demand that time and energy be devoted to their resolution. What the presidential advisers must realize is that foreign policy challenges which are not handled adeptly and with care have a disturbing tendency to mushroom into larger crises which can indeed threaten our vital national interests and divert our attention from domestic concerns. What we need desperately is viable and credible foreign policy which will give us the breathing space in which to focus attention on pressing domestic needs.

Frederick J. Chiaventone
Weston, Missouri

A bureaucratic pickle

Ambassador Horan's belief that "ridicule is our anti-bureaucrat's magic sword" may be right, but his aim could be better. His "Fickle Pickle Award" proposal [November 1993 "AFSA News"] ignores two points: the bureaucrats who write most cables are fellow FSOs whose generally conscientious efforts would not be improved by AFSA ridicule, and many of their monstrous taskings originate in legislation.

Although we have all seen useless and frivolous cables, those he describes seem to be poor targets: soundings on possible reactions to congressionally-mandated sanctions against whaling violators probably should include moral bellwethers like Switzerland and the

Vatican; human rights reporting instructions are the same for all posts (regardless of resources) in response to just criticism that the U.S. used different standards for Burma, Israel, the USSR, Ivory Coast, etc.; and our experience with terrorism has shown the pound-foolishness of leaving stones unturned.

Obviously, improvements are needed in drafting and distribution of cables by FSO bureaucrats. Eliminating reporting requirements which support the U.S. role in protecting human rights and in combatting terrorism is not a bureaucratic option.

*Ward Thompson
Washington, DC*

Less with less

For the past 15 years, we've been told by Democratic and Republican administrations alike of the need to "do more with less." I've given up my first and business class travel, the QE II and the two-martini lunch. I've volunteered to take notes on the back of computer printout, recycle aluminum cans, and even to eat in the State Department cafeteria.

The current round of budget cuts, however, leads me to a modest proposal, "Do less with less." There is a relationship between government output and the amount of money you spend on employees, rough though it may be. Cut employees, and less gets done. When travel funds are cut, remind our friends on the Hill that we would love to say something authoritative about human rights in the provinces, but we haven't seen them for years. When housing funds are cut, be sure to remind the visiting firemen from Foggy Bottom that you'd love to throw them a reception, but you can't because you're still living in a filthy TDY dump after six months at post.

I know this letter is not in keeping with the State Department's "can do, hit the ground running," values, but so be it. Up with "less for less!" Down with "more for less!" The revolution has begun.

*Ed Goff
AmEmbassy Mexico*



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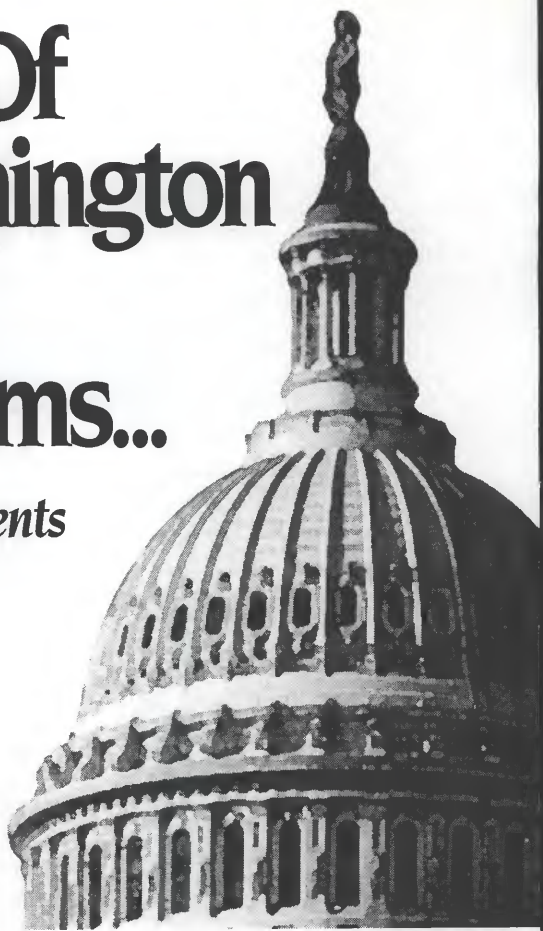
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SPEAKING OUT

BY CARLETON COON

Rome on the Potomac

I have come to believe that one of the most deeply dissatisfying aspects of my 36 years in the Foreign Service was the lack of concern shown by our foreign policy masters in Washington for individual country situations—particularly a disinterest in the internal factors driving a country's leaders to act the way they did. This Washington-centered point of view has blunted our foreign policy and undercut its ability to promote America's interests.

In the countless meetings I attended over the years, a Foreign Service officer would present a summary of the foreign context of whatever bilateral or multilateral issue was on the agenda. The man

at the head of the table would harrumph and say, forcefully, "Where does so-and-so stand?" (meaning a key Congressman, or NSC staffer). The discussion would then turn away from what the foreign situation demanded to what was "do-able" in the Washington context.

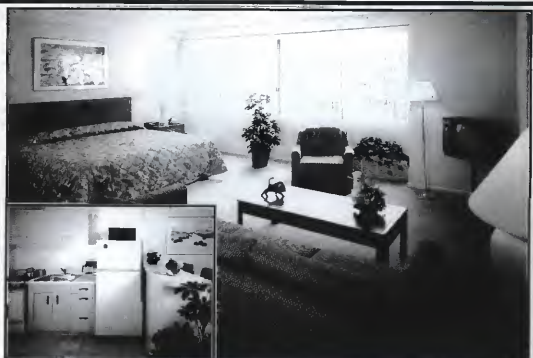
Or perhaps our leader would say: "Looks like the foreign secretary didn't get the message. We may have to try again, at a higher level . . . do you think X in the NSC would buy a presidential letter?" Again, the central theme of the discussion would change.

Washington was Rome and Byzantium rolled up together, the center of the universe; what people in

Washington thought was what mattered. On the most critical matters, the history of American diplomacy over the last half century is the history of an imperial power that made up its mind what it wanted and then told everyone else on the planet to do it.

Advancement in the Service was only loosely tied to brilliance in analyzing why things happened abroad, as opposed to simply reporting them. The fast track for the junior officer was in Washington, and the main road to the top went through assignments that offered a working familiarity with Congress and agencies like CIA, DOD, and USAID. Best of all was an assignment to

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These are sweeping generalizations; of course, there have been many exceptions, where our policies toward other countries have been managed with sensitivity and finesse. For example, take the business of distancing ourselves from Marcos in a timely fashion. This was a nuanced policy based on accurate knowledge of what was happening in the Philippines, and it saved our bacon there. Such exceptions, however, usually occur when the issue is so obscure that the crisis managers are content to leave its handling to the professionals.

Ironically, our leaders in Washington now have more information at hand about how people in other countries feel about current issues than is available anywhere else in the world. USIA public opinion surveys; collect information and funnels it back to Washington.

The Foreign Broadcast Information Service produces digests of what overseas media are saying in quantities that would fill a small-town library in a week. Our own Foreign Service produces penetrating assessments of local attitudes and concerns. But little of this evidence penetrates up the ladder to the Washington power elites who call the shots. The only kind of information that seems to matter is what our national security agencies have bought, stolen, or pieced together through some expensive high-tech means, and such information is almost always fragmentary and episodic.

During much of the postwar era, Americans were unconcerned about foreign policy issues other than winning the Cold War without a nuclear exchange. The question of why foreigners were taking a particular position on a problem did not concern many citizens. The Washington-centered views of our policy-framers have accurately reflected

this public indifference. Visible assertiveness was more likely to be rewarded at the polls than diplomatic subtleties that were usually carried out offstage. The result, more often than not, has been clumsy initiatives, where the United States has committed resources without adequately considering the terrain.

Times are changing. The world no longer resembles a football field, where there are only two teams and everybody knows the score. We can no longer get by with a bull-in-the-china-shop attitude. We need a more subtle and sensitive foreign policy, based on an informed awareness of what is driving other governments to behave as they do. We have the information base: will our leaders use it? 

Carleton Coon retired in 1985. His last assignment was as ambassador to Nepal.



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The players and the policy

A plethora of articles has recently assessed the role and rationale of our foreign policy leaders. The resignation of Clifton Wharton Jr. as deputy secretary started off the debate with an editorial in *The Washington Post* (November 11) commenting on the manner of the departure: "The problems of the Clinton administration's conduct of foreign policy have very little to do with Clifton Wharton. . . Any frank assessment of who are the weak members of the lineup must take into account the Clinton team's failure to demonstrate that it is on top of what is admittedly a frazzling set of foreign-policy problems. . . . Secretary Christopher has yet to convey a convincing sense of what are his views on major subjects of the day. . . . Defense Secretary Les Aspin is not short on views but is laboring to harness them to policy. Anthony Lake is still working on what the role of national security adviser ought to be."

Time magazine, in a story by Bruce Nelan (November 22) continues the discussion, declaring, "Christopher and the other two members of the troika that run U.S. foreign

policy . . . are talented, intelligent, hardworking men who rarely backstab or second-guess one another. They argue correctly that they have done well enough on the issues that affect the country's most vital interests, including Russia, the Middle East, Japan, and the future of NATO. . . . Yet the U.S. performance in [Bosnia, Somalia, and Haiti] has been marked by vacillating objectives, bad staff work, and a reluctance by any of the trio to take the lead in shaping policy. . . . Under Secretary Christopher's stewardship, U.S. foreign policy is being questioned from Capitol Hill to capitals of the world."

Christopher responded to criticism that he fails to exert tight enough command over his own building, by saying that State will have to "pull up our socks, tighten up our operation." Two of State's success stories have been Dennis Ross's efforts as special coordinator for the Middle East and Ambassador Strobe Talbott's consultations with Russia, according to Nelan.

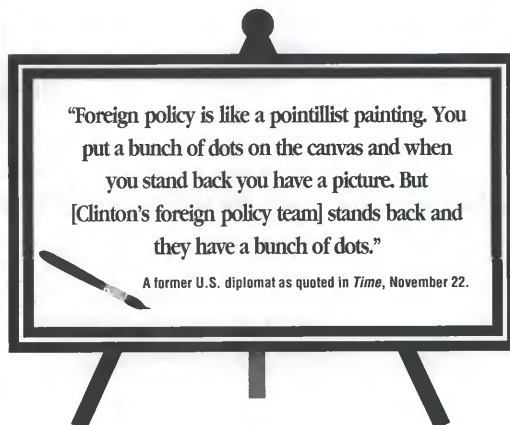
Nelan maintains that Christopher and others have articulated the general course

of U.S. foreign policy. Now that policy must be implemented and sold to a nation that enjoys being a super power but is unwilling to pay the price. "The public would be more likely to follow," says Nelan, "if Clinton, Christopher, Aspin and Lake all marched smartly in the same direction."

Elaine Sciolino in *The New York Times* (November 8) also writes about "three men in search of a strategy." She says that in response to criticism that they are not doing well—and even calls for sacrificial resignations—the three have begun to fight back.

Sciolino believes that the policy failures of Bosnia, Somalia, and Haiti have begun to expose some fissures in the group. While Christopher and Aspin say that they get along well, they have sharply different styles. She writes, "Christopher is so disciplined that he prepares and edits written remarks even for a short encounter with a lawmaker or a journalist, so goal-oriented that he sees every meeting as an opportunity to get results." Aspin is seen taking a more stream-of-consciousness approach, and Lake's National Security Council team is characterized as disorganized and highly politicized.

Sciolino goes on to say that Anthony Lake's image is the one being overhauled—his anonymity has evaporated as he gives speeches and interviews. He is portrayed as a "stealth diplomat," instrumental in conducting a 36-hour diplomatic marathon with Japanese officials at the Tokyo summit last July. Asked about his sudden role reversal, he says with a touch of irony, "A star is born." ☞



"Foreign policy is like a pointillist painting. You put a bunch of dots on the canvas and when you stand back you have a picture. But [Clinton's foreign policy team] stands back and they have a bunch of dots."

A former U.S. diplomat as quoted in *Time*, November 22.



"One of our ambassadors in the Caribbean hosted an oil executive from a major oil company. During the course of the lunch, the gentleman turned to [our ambassador] and said: 'Madam, I should be an ambassador. I have been in lots of countries.' The ambassador turned to him and said: 'Sir, I have been in lots of gas stations. I should be an oil executive.'"

AFSA President Tex Harris before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Temples of diplomacy

The International Chancery Center on a 47-acre plot in Northwest Washington is finally taking shape, according to Laura Randal in *The Washington Times* (November 4). A building resembling an ancient Egyptian temple, another looking like a turn-of-the-century Austrian castle, and another suggesting the



three-story shop houses of Singapore are all being built in the international complex.

Each embassy in the center pays rent to the U.S. government, averaging \$500,000 to \$600,000 for a 99-year lease—about one tenth of the land's commer-

cial value according to its State Department director, Herbert Johnson. And each embassy agrees to build an embassy reflecting the traditional architecture of its home country—all design plans must be approved by the State Department.

After three decades of preliminary plans, seven of the 21 sites are occupied by the chanceries of Israel, Kuwait, Jordan, Egypt, Austria, Bahrain, and Ghana. Singapore's structure is almost complete. Nine other embassies have leased plots and four tracts remain unleased. Johnson says, "The embassies are not there as a demonstration of world harmony. They're there because it's cheap."

Most Washingtonians don't even know the center is there off Van Ness Street. But the center also boasts a State Department annex and the modern building of Intelsat. ☞

Threadbare striped pants

"In contrast to the popular picture of American diplomats in striped pants living the high life in Paris and London, the real world of the Foreign Service is one of dangerous duty in hellish places, families torn apart by constant transfers, isolation, unremitting economic hardship and official ingratitude." So wrote Walter Mondale in *The Los Angeles Times* on January 1, 1992. As ambassador in Tokyo, he will now have a first-hand look at the trials and tribulations of the Foreign Service.

Mondale's respect for the Foreign Service is reflected in his words two years ago. He continued, "The Foreign Service is fast becoming the key American institution for constructing a post-Cold War world. With increasing global interdependence, diplomacy is sure to grow in importance relative to other instruments of national power. . . . As our military presence abroad is reduced, the Foreign Service will also become the principal institution protecting our international economic

50 years ago

The different demand

The Editors' Column in the January 1944 *Foreign Service Journal* describes the "insistent" call for active participation in foreign affairs—a very different demand than reflected in today's opinion polls.

"Never before has America displayed such interest in the foreign scene. Never has an American government listened to so insistent a public demand for active participation in world affairs. The government appears to listen sympathetically, and we believe this is good.

"If our so-called isolationism is a thing of the past, and world affairs are our affairs, it will be the part of common prudence to preserve intact the asset we now have in

our Foreign Service. Wisdom dictates that upon the existing firm foundation we should build and expand in preparation for the wider responsibilities which will devolve upon our shoulders immediately after the war.

"The traditional conservatism of our foreign policy has been reflected in the administration of the Foreign Service. . . . If our officers are to engage in that broader activity which the conduct of our foreign relations will require, provision must be made for modern administrative practices. . . . The opportunity to prepare the Foreign Service for its future program is directly at our doorstep, for in the post-war era events will already have overtaken us." ☞



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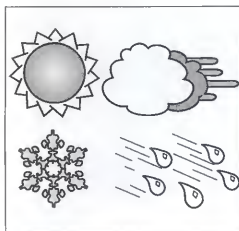


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War's 'weather girl' now in Ottawa

Bobbie Keith, an administrative assistant in the U.S. embassy in Ottawa, was arguably the most popular woman in Vietnam from 1967-69. As 'Bobbie the Weather Girl' for

Armed Forces Television in Saigon, she gave a lighthearted nightly broadcast to thousands of Americans in Vietnam.

Keith is written up in *USA Today* (November 11) in a story by Desda Mossat on the inauguration of the Vietnam Women's Memorial. Keith represented the 20,000 civilian women who served in Vietnam at that ceremony.

In 1967 Keith was a 19-year-old secretary for USAID when she was asked to audition for the weather spot. She got the job and soon became the armed forces "fantasy girl," receiving tons of fan mail and hailed as a heroine and morale booster. She wasn't paid for the broadcasts or for the hundreds of visits to U.S. soldiers around Vietnam, but says she has no regrets about her tour of duty.

Keith has worked in embassies all over the world since then. While she was posted in Washington she became a volunteer at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. ☞

position. Considering its new importance to our national security structure, it deserves more resources and more respect."

American values

"With the Cold War over, many Americans are exhausted by the effort of the last 40 years," says Congressman Dave McCurdy (D.-OK) in a column in *The Christian Science Monitor* (November 9). "They rightly want a peace dividend and relief from global commitments."

He continues, "We must tell the American people what we have at stake abroad and convince them that their defense and foreign-affairs money is well spent. But even more critical is a new effort to re-

store Americans' confidence that they can play a strong global role."

McCurdy writes that George Kennan recognized this connection and argued in 1954 that we must preserve the "traditional values of civilization," linking these cultural values to our foreign policy. McCurdy ends by saying "if we work to enrich our national character, our foreign policy will rest on a much stronger foundation." ☞

USAID overhaul

The Clinton administration is launching the most drastic overhaul of U.S. foreign aid programs in more than three decades, says Warren Strobel in the November 5 *Washington Times*. The new plan would scrap the 1961 law ►

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governing foreign aid and eliminate many of the country-by-country disbursements that now dominate the program. While the effort is called reform, administration officials acknowledge that it is an effort to salvage a dwindling aid budget.

The administration is proposing that Congress fund broad goals—such as stemming the threat of nuclear weapons—that reflect the threats of the post-Cold War period. Not just foreign aid, but the entire foreign affairs budget would be recalculated, from dues for UN peacekeeping to promoting U.S. exports. The 33 goals USAID must pursue by law would be replaced by four broad categories: democracy building, the environment, sustainable development, and

population control.

"This is an honest attempt to do things differently," an administration official said. He asked the \$64,000 question: Does Congress, after a decade of calling for foreign aid reforms, have "the guts" to go along? Congressman Lee Hamilton (D-IN), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, promised quick hearings on the issue, and Administrator J. Brian Atwood said he was confident the measure would pass early next year as "a vote on reform."

U.S. News (November 29) emphasizes the USAID goals of promoting open economic and political systems, sound population and health policies, and environmental protection as a way to prevent humanitarian disasters before

they erupt—and to prevent the outflow of money and troops needed to manage such disasters once they explode. "Prevention is the name of the game," says Atwood.

The article points out that while the president has called for a shift in the nation's foreign-policy priorities, the White House budget cutters are gutting the new development policies. U.S. News says the result is a fierce battle within the administration that pits Vice President Gore and other champions of development policies against the administration's deficit hawks and the Defense Department.

Clinton has promised, "I'll make sure there is no cut," but he will be hard pressed to find more money for USAID. Furthermore some senior offi-

cials complain that neither the secretary of state nor the national security adviser has much stomach for this fight.

U.S. News reports that USAID's 1994 economic support and development accounts have already been cut 20 percent, and the White House recently proposed an additional \$458 million in cuts, which could mean reductions of 30-60 percent in many programs.

Arguing that such deep cuts could kill a number of programs, Administrator Atwood and Tim Wirth, the State Department's point man on global affairs, are fighting back. Wirth argues that sustainable development should be pursued with the same vigor as the Cold War strategy of containment. "Your budget defines what you

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clippings and comment

think is important," says Wirth.

The Washington Post (November 27) comments on the USAID overhaul with a story by John M. Goshko and Thomas W. Lippman on the "discussion draft" now circulating in Congress. They say that a

shift in emphasis for the foreign assistance programs would give the president "broad flexibility to use aid to advance his foreign policy goals and would jettison existing programs conceived primarily to combat communism. . . . The aid bill would

write into law the foreign policy philosophy of the Clinton administration, by specifying the use of aid to promote democracy, liberalize economic markets and improve living standards." The USAID programs would require the "active participa-

tion . . . of potential recipients."

The *Post* article further points out that the new approach would bring all federal agencies and international programs, including non-governmental organizations, who would participate in the policy and program planning process, into a coordinated assistance effort.

Goshko and Lippman say that on Capitol Hill the response to the draft was mixed. "Some members regard the proposal as a useful starting point while others have already objected to a provision that would allow the president to waive restrictions on aid to nations suspected of developing nuclear weapons, in particular Pakistan."

The Washington Post also reports that for the first time ▶

Reaching out to all (except white males)

Richard M. Moose, under secretary for management, has encountered difficulties filling some key jobs. Thomas W. Lippman, in the November 22 *Washington Post*, writes that the problem is that the White House personnel office is hostile to white males.

Moose's November

12 "Friday Report" to the secretary of state describes his difficulties in recruiting for State's chief financial officer. Lippman writes, "There were candidates within the State department, [Moose] indicated, but he couldn't appoint them because White House personnel is deeply entrenched against white

male career officers."

Moose "has it backward," Bruce Lindsey, White House personnel director said. "I'm not deeply entrenched against white males, I'm deeply supportive of reaching out to people who are not white males. . . . We are trying to push the State Department as well as others to seek minorities and women for senior positions." ☞



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since the Truman era, the United States has cut the number of nations getting foreign assistance. As the first step in the USAID reorientation, Atwood announced the closing of 21 USAID missions to "focus on

a limited number of goals" in "only about 50 countries," relates A.D. Home (November 20). Closing these posts, which manage aid programs for 35 countries, will eliminate nearly 1,100 jobs, mainly of Foreign Service nationals,

over the next three years.

Among the countries to be phased out are some of the biggest recipients of U.S. economic aid since World War II: Pakistan, Zaire, and Costa Rica. Other countries in which USAID missions will

be closed include: Burkina Faso, Botswana, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Togo, Afghanistan, Thailand, South Pacific Islands, Belize, Chile, Uruguay, Oman, and Tunisia. ☞

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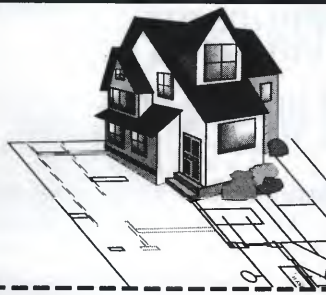
Warren Christopher has promised that political ambassadorial appointees would bring "some real expertise" to the job. *The Washington Post* (November 24) reveals how two Foreign Service groups stalled the nomination of M. Larry Lawrence, a wealthy San Diego developer and hotel owner who had been nominated to be ambassador to Switzerland. After the testimony by Tex Harris, president of AFSA and Dennis Kux, chairman of the Senior Foreign Service Association, three democratic senators voted against Lawrence's confirmation, resulting in a 10 to 10 vote that sent the nomination to the Senate floor without a recommendation.

Reporter Charles Babcock quoted from a letter AFSA sent to committee members, noting AFSA "had not challenged other nominees who gave more in political donations than Lawrence because they appeared to possess some relevant

international experience." . . . Harris said in his testimony that ambassadorships shouldn't be handed out as capstones to successful business careers." ☞

Twisting in the wind

Senator Harlan Mathews (D-TN) was upset at the AFSA testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which opposed one of President Clinton's noncareer ambassadorial picks. As a result of the testimony, the Senate left several political nominees unconfirmed, at least until it returns in January. Sources say that in retaliation for that testimony Mathews put a hold on routine promotions of 26 USAID officials. This has some Hill and Foreign Service types crying "foul," arguing the hold amounts to punishing innocent people for others' exercise of First Amendment rights, according to the December 3 *Washington Post*. ☞



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BY HENRY PRECHT

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Essentially, you must relish guilt. You will feel it quite sharply, especially during the hours 9 am to 5 pm, Monday-Friday (or if you worked in NEA 8 am to 8 pm, and half-days on weekends). If you rely only on *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*, cutting the grass in Florida, or feeding that wood stove in Maine to fill the space, you will, in fact, only prolong the period of arguing with your spouse and advance

the hour for drinking. Strong pangs of guilt, if nourished, will drive you to do something that requires real, continuous hard labor. It can be voluntary, remunerative, or merely wishful, but it has to

engage you physically and mentally.

Write. That skill got you to the high-3, didn't it? So practice it. I once spent months writing a novel of international intrigue designed to make money at



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airports. It was so much fun, however, that I began to feel it wasn't real work. While in progress it brought an important added advantage. It disposed of the question, "What are you doing now?" Like a job in Personnel, there's never a follow-up question.

You can write editorials, letters to the editor, or longer articles on areas of your expertise or ability to fake authoritative opinion. The general rule is: name-writers offer bland wisdom, and unknowns venture wild ideas. Make sure you lard in a few statistics, literary quotations, and opinions from others to convey seriousness and weight. The problem is getting published. It helps if you know some editors. Take them to lunch; start an expense account.

Speak. In this case, don't write. Or, if you must, at least don't read it. Every community has dozens of groups looking for weekly speakers. They are delighted to have one called "ambassador." Borrow the title if you were only a consul general or political counselor, you are, after all, an emissary to the provinces. But even the most desperate program chairperson will wipe your name off the list he or she shares with colleagues if you read your remarks. You, of course, need to prepare, so think and doodle.

Out here in the backwoods, people know the official line well. What they want to know is what it's like to be on the frontlines. Give them the anecdotes, drop big names. Create the sense of what it's like in a Washington bureaucratic struggle or in negotiations with a foreign minister. Above all, be honest even if—terrible to admit—you support official policy. People hate a starchy phony. I once tried to explain the Iranian Revolution in positive terms to the Bedford, Ohio Rotary Club. They had never heard a semi-pro-Khomeini speech and they loved it. "The newspapers never tell us any of these things," they said to me.

Don't expect any pay, although it sometimes happens, and never expect a decent meal.

Teach. The guidance about writing applies here as well, whether you are helping inner city kids or teaching at the university level. At the end of your first-year college term you'll know whether or not you have the touch because

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students complete a lengthy evaluation form. One of my students wrote only one word. To the query, "What did you like about this course?", he replied, "Stories."

Don't be misled though. Teaching is a lot of work. Planning a lecture is something like preparing congressional testimony. You need a basic statement and lots of Qs and As. (You may, in some classes, have to ask and answer the questions yourself, so, as with Congress, watch the level of complexity.) Don't expect big bucks. Unless you have a PhD, you'll probably be an adjunct professor, a modern form of voluntary servitude.

Travel. Start soon if you want to mooch off former colleagues. You'll be surprised how quickly names you know disappear from State, displaced by newcomers. Don't be afraid to go abroad without the services of a travel section. It can be done, especially if you knew how tough you can get with an uncooperative hotel or tourist-agency clerk without risking getting punched in the nose.

Maintain dignity: Look and act at all times like an ambassador. It pays. When our Virgin Atlantic flight was overbooked and we were told to stand aside, wait and hope, I summoned up all those memories of being called "Eccellenze." We crossed the Atlantic in first class.

My wife and I have led groups of 25-30 on tour without disaster. Just think of them as a large CoDel, and project the right mix of old authority and subservience and provide plenty of time for shopping. The ideal form of travel is to lecture on a cruise ship. Hobnobbing with the 70-plus set will help you prepare for the less active years to come.

Travel will reward your trouble and expense with a multiple payout. On returning home, you can devote days to describing your impressions in articles and speeches, and, if you handle it properly, write off the costs on your taxes.

There, that should help your transition. Writing it has nicely filled a morning for me. 

Henry Precht retired from the Foreign Service in 1987 and the Cleveland Council on World Affairs in 1993. He now lives in Maine.


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American Intervention in the



Post- Cold War World

BY LEE H. HAMILTON

It has been my good fortune to serve with ten secretaries of state: Dean Rusk, William Rogers, Henry Kissinger, Cyrus Vance, Edmund Muskie, Alexander Haig, George Shultz, James Baker, Lawrence Eagleburger, and Warren Christopher. They are all men of outstanding ability and dedication to the public interest.

But I think not only of secretaries of state. American diplomats are dedicated, hard-working men and women. Many face danger on the frontlines of U.S. foreign policy. We spend a tiny fraction of the federal budget on the Foreign Service, yet our country is safer and more prosperous, and our understanding of complex events better, because of their work.

I admire U.S. diplomats, and I salute them. They are the eyes and ears of their country. I have learned to listen to them carefully—very carefully. If we do not continue to attract first-rate Foreign Service officers—and if we do not give them the best training—our foreign policy will fail.

We all understand that our nation is redefining its foreign policy. I will not try to articulate an overarching vision of American foreign policy, but instead will concentrate on the question of the use of American military power to support American foreign policy in the post-Cold War world. This is the toughest foreign policy question we face in the 1990s.

I begin with my understanding of where the American people are on this question. Americans are ambivalent about their role in the world. They are proud to be the world's superpower, whose wealth and might and culture are admired the world around. Yet they are reluctant to send their young people into places of danger, or pay the taxes to sustain them. We like the power; we do not always appreciate the responsibility.

I do not sense any desire among Americans for foreign adventure. I see little, if any, support for extended foreign involvements, and very few places where Americans are willing to risk the lives of their sons and daughters. They believe that foreign policy competes with domestic issues for both attention and resources. They do not want to be distracted from pressing domestic concerns. For them, the Cold War is over, and the economy is the problem at hand. They certainly

U.S. DIPLOMATS
ARE THE EYES
AND EARS OF
THEIR COUNTRY.
I HAVE LEARNED
TO LISTEN TO
THEM CAREFULLY.

have no stomach for foreign wars with steady casualties.

To be sure, Americans find the world turbulent, frightening, messy, and dangerous. Television has brought those elements into our living room. But most Americans wonder whether we can or should confront all the suffering, ethnic conflicts, humanitarian disasters, or civil wars. Many believe such missions divert the U.S. military from its central mission and purpose—defending our vital interests.

This desire to disengage is stronger than many might think. If you doubt me, attend some of my public meetings in Indiana, or talk to my colleagues, or examine several of the votes recently cast in the Congress.

According to some voices, at least, we should pull out of Somalia, and stay out of Haiti and Bosnia. But we can no more disengage from the world than dispatch California into the ocean. We are simply too big, too prosperous, too mighty—too engaged. We are the only power that can project and sustain military might more than 100 miles beyond our borders. That may be a slight exaggeration, but not much of one.

Diplomats from around the globe stream into my office every day, sound-

ing a common theme with a hundred variations: please help us. There is constant pressure on the United States to bring its military power to bear in every trouble spot around the globe. This is a heavy burden. We do not want to be the world's policeman, yet we are skeptical of collective action.

CONDITIONS FOR U.S. INTERVENTION

So what do we do? Which conflicts can we safely ignore, or leave to others, and which compel our intervention? In a few cases, the answers are straightforward. We should intervene, with force, if necessary:

- to defend our borders;
- to prevent any single power from gaining control of Europe, Japan, Korea, or the Persian Gulf; and
- to protect ourselves against terrorism or weapons of mass destruction.

Whenever the vital interests of the United States are threatened, we must be prepared to use force, alone, if necessary.

The task of defining a vital interest is tougher today. It was much easier to justify intervention during the struggle against communism.

We should, of course, always try diplomacy first, always seek the support of friends and allies, but we cannot let others veto our efforts to defend and advance our national interests.

On many occasions, we will not intervene. It is consistent with our deepest beliefs to work for a liberal and open international economy, and the promotion of human rights and democracy around the world. But few would suggest we should use force to further these objectives.

Usually, of course, deciding whether to intervene is much tougher. Somalia is a case in point. Ten months after President Bush sent American troops, the debate continues: Should we intervene for humanitarian purposes?

What about civil conflicts—the civil wars in Liberia or Angola, for example, or in the former Yugoslavia or the former Soviet Union—where whole states are breaking up? And what about those cases where peacekeeping falls apart, or won't work? These are much tougher choices, and our first instinct may be to say no. In our complex new world, there is no

simple set of rules for using force. Sometimes, the answer will have to be "yes," even if it is a reluctant "yes."

MAKING COLLECTIVE SECURITY WORK

How do we intervene when important, but not vital U.S. interests are at stake? The answer, I think, lies in an old concept that is taking on new applications: collective security—working together, sometimes as leader, sometimes as partner, with our friends and allies around the world.

Collective security does not mean ceding sovereignty to the United Nations or any other multilateral institution. Far from it. It means a pragmatic approach to advancing U.S. national interests. Working with others, the United States can affect important outcomes at a price American public opinion is prepared to support.

There is no substitute for a hard-headed analysis of American interests and no substitute for a clear cut American policy. What is at issue is whether that policy is executed alone or with others. Collective action is no panacea, as Angola, Somalia, and Bosnia demonstrate. Even the comparative success of Cambodia underscores its difficulties. We must learn from our mistakes.

Collective security will have to be built brick by brick at the UN, at NATO, at CSCE and other international institutions. When healthy, these institutions can help us, and their health depends on international, especially American, support.

Yet the world community has all too often failed to provide the tools to make collective security effective. That's certainly true at the United Nations. We like to complain about the ineffectiveness of the UN—and clearly the UN has not proved itself up to the task in Somalia—yet we deny it the resources to perform its difficult tasks.

At the UN, financial resources are lacking, key nations have been unwilling to contribute troops, and command and control problems persist. The UN is clearly struggling to meet its responsibilities. We are skeptical about its ability to do the job. Internal reforms are badly needed.

CRUCIAL U.S. ROLE

It is in U.S. interests that the UN, NATO, and other organizations succeed at peacekeeping so that we do not have to go it alone in the world. But collective security can only work with the strong backing of the United States. The United States needs both to pay its peacekeeping assessments and arrearages, and demand more equitable sharing of peacekeeping expenses.

We need a higher level of trust and cooperation with our foreign military partners if joint operations are to be effective. The Defense Department needs to integrate peacekeeping support into its planning and budget, and revise and update U.S. military doctrine.

We should help the UN improve its military capabilities through better planning, operations, intelligence, logistics, and communications. But even with these improvements, Congress and public opinion are clear on one important point: U.S. combat troops in places of danger should serve only under U.S. command.

GAINING PUBLIC SUPPORT

No intervention, whether collective or unilateral, can succeed in the absence of public support. The president must provide leadership to generate that public support. Many of us can help in our modest ways—but he must lead.

He must lead at home. Unless domestic problems are addressed, the public will have little patience for foreign affairs. When the president turns to foreign policy, he faces a challenge. There is a gap between leaders and the public on foreign policy. Americans understand very little about collective action.

Those of us who work on foreign policy spend too much time talking to each other, and not enough time talking to the American people. We must be clear about what we seek to accomplish and how we will proceed. Once we know the goals, and the means, we need to explain and defend our policy. We must articulate to the American people why their interests are at stake. We should not wait for a crisis. Judging the mood of the country today, we still have some explaining to do.

THE ROLE OF CONGRESS

Let me turn to the role of Congress. No policy can be sustained unless Congress supports it, and that support has to be based on consent. Getting consent is easier said than done. The War Powers Resolution has not worked well. But we need to get beyond our disappointment and devise a system that works.

To improve consultation, I and others have proposed establishing a standing consultative group, comprised of the House and Senate leadership and key committee chairmen and ranking members. We propose that the president meet with this group regularly on national security issues, especially before committing troops abroad. I will soon introduce legislation establishing this mechanism.

But consultation is not the whole of it. Congress should also act. Congress is often willing to let the president deploy troops abroad. Then, if things go wrong, Congress criticizes—on two fronts: not only has the president mismanaged foreign policy, he has ignored Congress by not seeking an authorization. It's a clever approach, but not a responsible one.

That's essentially what we saw in Somalia. Many in Congress, reacting to the mounting casualties, and to the ugly pictures on television, withdrew their support for a mission they had endorsed—but not authorized in legislation—months earlier.

Congress should step up to its responsibilities and authorize at the outset the deployment of U.S. combat troops into situations where hostilities are imminent. Congress has a constitutional role to play in setting out the purposes of a deployment, and its limits in scope, cost, and duration.

By sharing responsibility, the president and Congress share the blame if things go wrong. But the purpose of this exercise is not to win the blame game. When Congress and the president work together to make the toughest decisions—sending troops abroad—a wiser, more durable U.S. foreign policy will emerge.

The popular pastime in Washington today is to set out tough conditions that must be met before we intervene abroad. I sometimes wonder if we could ever meet

them. Limits on intervention make sense, of course, but we must be careful not to raise the hurdles so high that we cannot clear them.

The highest hurdle may be that set by the American public. It has little interest in intervention today. When U.S. vital interests are at stake, the president will act and Congress will support him. But most cases in the real world won't be that straightforward.

Through his leadership, the president must persuade the American people to undertake missions and responsibilities they are reluctant to accept. With our help, he must try to close the gulf that exists between the foreign policy establishment and the American people on questions of collective security and America's role in the world.

The consequences of failing to win public support are stark. Without support based on a clear understanding of our mission and our role, the United States cannot remain engaged. If we are not engaged, we cannot protect our interests. The United States will have to shoulder undue burdens for some time to come. The end of the Cold War does not mean we can declare victory and go home.

We must not lose confidence in our ability to lead. We are a nation of enormous strength, and not just because of our military might or economic clout. Our strength derives from our democratic convictions, our optimism, and our willingness to accept challenges, even those far from our shores. We must draw upon that strength as we undertake the new challenges before us. ■

Congressman Lee H. Hamilton (D-IN) is chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. This article is excerpted from a speech given at the opening of the new National Foreign Affairs Training Center on October 13, 1993.

WE CAN
NO MORE
DISENGAGE
FROM THE
WORLD THAN
DISPATCH
CALIFORNIA
INTO THE
OCEAN.

Haiti:



A Wary Bureaucracy Confronts Clinton's Policy

BY GEORGE GEDDA

Among the brighter days of the Clinton presidency was the one last July when exiled Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide agreed to a UN-brokered deal that would return him to Haiti by October 30. The agreement was worked out at Governors' Island in New York City by the special envoy to the United Nations and Organization of American States, Dante Caputo, and special envoy to Haiti, Ambassador Lawrence Pezzullo. President Clinton had been monitoring the negotiations closely, sensing this was a potential turning point in the drawn-out effort to reinstate Aristide.

His attentiveness was based in large measure on domestic political considerations. The restoration of democracy in Haiti was a high priority of the 38-member congressional Black Caucus, and Clinton was eager to please. He had promised the caucus he would help Aristide regain the presidency. Clinton knew the caucus was downcast by his decision a month earlier to withdraw the nomination of Lani Guinier to head the civil rights division of the Justice Department. So Clinton had been working closely with the Black Caucus on the Haiti situation, a point candidly underscored by Congressman Donald M. Payne (D.-NJ), a key caucus member. "There's no question the Haitian policy has been driven by the Black Caucus," he says.

After Aristide signed the accord late on the night of July 3, Clinton was elated. He was so concerned about the fate of the talks that he was unable to sleep until he was informed late that night that Haitian Army Chief Raoul Cedras had indeed agreed to step down along with police commander Joseph Michel Francois, and that Aristide would be allowed to complete the remainder of his term. The next day Clinton said it was a historic moment for the Haitian people. Never before had a regime which had ousted an elected government been forced to surrender power as a result of international pressure.

PREMATURE ELATION

Clinton's ebullience was understandable but, of course, premature. October 30 came and went, and Aristide was still Haiti's exiled president, still playing the waiting game

in his modest one-bedroom apartment in Georgetown, far away from his luckless homeland. The Governors' Island accord was just the latest in a series of missteps and miscalculations in the whole Haiti saga that dated back to Aristide's ouster in the fall of 1991.

Haiti is not a country where U.S. national interests have been at stake historically. A largely unnoticed resolution approved by the Organization of American States (OAS) General Assembly in the summer of 1991 secured the United States in-

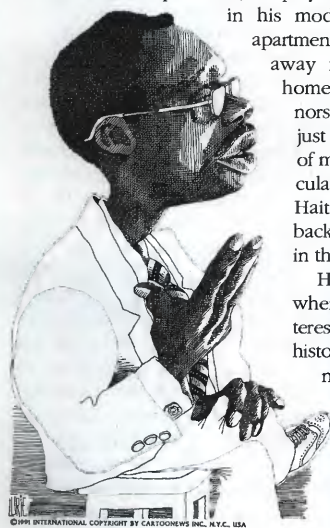
volvement in the Haiti crisis in the first place. The resolution authorized the OAS to "adopt any measures deemed appropriate" to reinstate democracy in countries where a military rebellion has occurred. If not for that resolution, it seems highly unlikely that Haiti would have become a front-burner issue for the hemisphere and the United States. The Haiti coup occurred just three months after the resolution was adopted, and failure by the OAS to act would

have sent a clear signal to military establishments everywhere in the hemisphere: OAS resolutions are meaningless. Thus, within days after the coup, OAS trade sanctions were imposed against Haiti.

The issue has been a headache for U.S. policymakers ever since. Clinton took office determined to do what his predecessor couldn't—get Aristide back in power. At the same time, his administration has made clear that Haiti is not a country where American national security interests are at stake. When Secretary of State Warren Christopher listed six priority foreign policy areas for the United States during congressional testimony in November, Haiti was not among them. Clinton, though, has been zeroing in on Haiti all the while, seeing a big political payoff at home if he succeeded.

However, Clinton's efforts on behalf of Aristide have been weakened by internecine fighting between the Aristide camp and U.S. officials. There were bitter arguments at Governors' Island, with Aristide and his people contending that the U.S. officials, along with Caputo, were being too generous toward Cedras on such issues as the timing of the departure of Cedras and Francois. They also were extremely reluctant to submit to demands for amnesty for those in the Haitian hierarchy who not only scuttled democracy but also inflicted untold abuse on the Haitian people. Lacking leverage, Aristide finally yielded. His supporters have been griping ever since that flaws in the Governors' Island agreement contributed to the subsequent chaos, and the failure to meet the October 30 deadline. Indeed, politically motivated violence in Haiti escalated shortly after the Governors' Island accord was signed and increased further after the prime minister chosen by Aristide, Robert Malval, was installed.

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Island accord
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Overthrown President Jean-Bertrand Aristide of Haiti

The recriminations between the Aristide camp and U.S. officials date back almost from the time that Aristide was forced from office two years ago. U.S. officials reacted bitterly when Aristide said the Bush administration was responsible for the coup. Later some reports suggested that a few of those responsible for the coup were on the CIA payroll during the 1980s. It is not unusual for the CIA to establish links with influential players in a foreign government, but some Aristide aides felt the disclosure confirmed their worst suspicions about the country that supposedly is their principal ally.

When U.S. officials pressed for a "broadening" of the Malval government two weeks before the October 30 deadline, some Aristide backers interpreted that as a bid to incorporate representatives of the coup regime in the Malval government. The administration disposed of that allegation convincingly, saying a broadening of the government referred not to the inclusion of thugs but of democrats not allied with Aristide's party. But the suspicions of Aristide's followers, relayed to reporters, further soured the atmosphere between the two camps. These suspicions were fed further by news reports that U.S. law enforcement agencies provided the Haitian military with intelligence on narcotics smuggling despite charges that top commanders are tied to or are protecting drug traffickers.

TEPID U.S. SUPPORT

Beyond Clinton, the Black Caucus, and a smattering of other groups in the United States, the attitude towards reinstating Aristide seems to have ranged from tepid support to extreme wariness about the potential for high-cost involvement. The warier power center of all has been the Pentagon, where some officials seem to think Haiti is spelled q-u-a-g-m-i-r-e.

Part of the Governors' Island accord called for retraining the Haitian military and separating the military from the police. There also were provisions for U.S. military help in supervising construction projects. These were laudable objectives, but the time frame allocated to carry them out was inad-



Haiti's Prime Minister designate, Robert Malval

equat. Even under the best of circumstances, the 120 days between the July 3 signing and the October 30 target date for Aristide's return seemed too short, particularly when the accords called for a reshaping of the entire military and police. And the circumstances were hardly ideal. With the Haitian military profiting off drug smuggling and other corrupt enterprises, there were serious questions as to whether they wanted to be retrained in the first place, a fear that was borne out less than three weeks before the date of Aristide's scheduled return.

AN ABORTIVE LANDING

More than 200 U.S. and Canadian military trainers and military construction experts tried to land in Haiti on October 11, but their vessel, the *USS Harlan County*, was forced into a humiliating retreat by a gang of armed demonstrators bought and paid for by the army and police. Clinton ordered the vessel to redeploy at the nearby Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba, overruling some in the administration who felt that an attempt to negotiate the docking of the vessel should have been made. Cedras, after all, had seemed receptive to the idea of training for his forces. (Aristide had been opposed, on grounds that there was no justification for any dealings at all with his military tormenters; eventually he yielded.)

But Clinton decided to withdraw the vessel anyway, his thinking probably shaped by events thousands of miles away. Just a week earlier, a ferocious battle had taken place in Mogadishu between U.S. troops and forces loyal to Somali militia leader Mohamed Farah Aideed. Eighteen Americans were killed and 78 were wounded, producing shock and outrage in the United States, and demands for a U.S. withdrawal from Somalia. Eight days later, with a potential confrontation with U.S. troops looming on the shores of Haiti, Clinton ordered a retreat; politically, he simply could not afford the spilling of any more American blood for yet another cause that many Americans found dubious to begin with. It was apparent that day more than any other that the October 30 goal would not be met, that the promises Cedras made back in July were a sham.

The attitude towards reinstating Aristide seems to have ranged from tepid support to extreme wariness.

Top Defense officials were opposed to sending the military trainers and engineers because of concern over their safety. And there was an I-told-you-so mood at the Pentagon after the mission ended in disaster. The episode pointed up a dichotomy in the administration. On the one hand, Clinton put the prestige of his office in returning Aristide to power. On the other, there was a palpable reluctance within the bureaucracy and the public at large to pay a price to achieve that objective, especially if that price included the blood of American soldiers. Senator Bob Dole, (R-KS), spoke for many this past fall when he said, "I don't think Haiti is worth a single American life."

Dole even led a move to require Clinton to win congressional approval before sending troops to Haiti. That bid failed on constitutional grounds, not because of a burning desire among lawmakers to dispatch the Marines to Haiti.

WHY INTERVENE?

Several African-American leaders support military intervention. The Reverend Jesse Jackson said the longer the Haitian military "stands in defiance of the U.S. and the UN, they weaken the U.S., they weaken the UN, they destroy our ability to be a force for good around the world." He believes there is a better case for invading Haiti than there was for invading Panama in 1989 and Grenada in 1983. Jackson said also, "There is a moral burden to back up our diplomatic strength when we've exhausted all of our other routes with our military resolve." Randall Robinson, executive director of the lobbying group TransAfrica, said military force is the only way to neutralize the armed thugs who terrorize Haiti's streets. Among the public, however, these arguments have carried little weight.

Controversy has also swirled around the administration's effort to prevent another mass exodus of Haitian boat people. Ignoring objections from human rights groups, the administration has assiduously stuck to the Bush policy of returning all boat people—without screening out political refugees. To do otherwise would simply encourage countless Haitians to take the high-risk, 600-mile trek to south Florida. A by-product of this policy



Haiti's Strongman Gen. Raoul Cedras

is the relative silence of the administration about the abuses committed by the coup regime. If the administration highlighted these abuses, pressure would be created for reinstituting temporary asylum to boat people with a genuine fear of persecution at the hands of the regime. Thus the administration has been in the anomalous, yet understandable, position of routinely sending back boat people to a country deemed unsafe for the U.S. military.

The reservations at the Pentagon about involvement in Haiti are mirrored elsewhere in the administration. Critics of Aristide dredged up a CIA

profile suggesting the defrocked Roman Catholic priest has suffered from a series of mental disorders for which he has required treatment. Aristide issued angry denials that he had ever suffered from such problems, and Clinton raised doubts about the authenticity of the CIA's information. But the net effect of the episode was further dilution of support for Clinton's policies.

Clinton's Haiti problem all along has been that the means available to him have been inadequate to achieve his goals. As of this writing, the trade embargo and other economic pressures the United States has used in cooperation with other countries have not sufficed. The military no doubt has paid an economic price, but the steepest cost has been borne by the Haitian people, who are far poorer now even than they were when Aristide left in 1991.

During his first year in office, Clinton found the Haiti nut much tougher to crack than he had thought. The minimalist policies he pursued fell short, an outcome that Latin America expert Douglas Payne felt was predictable. "Half-way measures do not work in this kind of society," Payne says. In any case, Clinton is a lot wiser now than he was a year ago about the perils and pitfalls of trying to make a difference in what for years has been one of the world's most spectacularly misruled countries. ■

George Gedda is a State Department correspondent for the Associated Press.

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Tribute

by Stacy Rhodes

Guy Malary, minister of Justice, under the government of President Aristide, was assassinated October 14, 1993. In this tribute, Stacy Rhodes, a former colleague in Haiti, recalls Malary's contributions to the rebuilding of his country. A group of Foreign Service officers have formed a memorial fund to further Guy's efforts at promoting human rights.

We met in Port-au-Prince in 1978. Like many Haitians, Guy was a self-made man. He was proud of his modest origins in Hinche, in the central plateau of rural Haiti. When I visited Hinche with Guy, he pointed out the statue in the central square of Charlemagne Peralte, its best known son and Haitian patriot, who led the armed opposition to the U.S. Marine occupation of Haiti.

Guy, too, was a Haitian patriot. After working his way through the law faculty in Haiti he came to the United States and completed his legal studies at Howard University and George Washington University. He was then recruited by the general counsel's office of the World Bank, where he worked for a brief period. But Guy, anxious to return to Haiti to make a contribution to his country, left the bank and returned to serve as general counsel to the Haitian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Highly frustrated by his initial experience in the Haitian government, Guy resigned after a brief period and began to build his own private law practice, which has grown to a major firm. Guy and his firm have represented a wide variety of clients, including individuals from all sectors of society, Haitian and foreign businesses and, periodically, the U.S. Embassy and USAID. Guy was the consummate professional, widely respected as a highly capable and honest lawyer. He remained active in the bar association, did a substantial amount of free legal work for individuals and groups unable to pay, and participated in a number of international conferences on human rights and international law issues.

Guy's hard-earned reputation for competence, integrity, energy, and professionalism was brought to the attention of President Aristide during his exile following the September 1991 *coup d'état*. In seeking to establish a highly able group of trusted respected professionals with broad working relationships throughout Haitian society to serve under Prime Minister Malval, the president asked Guy to become his new minister of justice. Guy was recognized as capable of building the bridges needed to achieve true national reconciliation and respect for the rule of law.

Guy had avoided politics for years after suffering a capricious arrest and solitary confinement during the Duvalier era. With trepidation, but with even greater anticipation of the possibilities for building a better future for his country, Guy decided to take the president's challenge. In a few short weeks, Guy worked closely with the USAID mission in Haiti and U.S. Department of Justice

experts to draft and submit legislation separating the police from the army and establishing a new civilian police force under the Ministry of Justice. Guy also negotiated and signed an agreement with USAID providing for support to the broad reform of the Haitian justice system. These reforms anticipated the re-training of judges, prosecutors, and court administrators.

Guy thus quickly became the *avant-garde* of President Aristide's and Prime Minister Malval's efforts to restore democracy in Haiti, a democracy desired by the vast majority of its poverty-stricken people but feared by those who have monopolized political and economic power in the past. Guy provided a threat to the lawless thuggery by which a tiny minority oppresses Haiti, a direct head-on challenge to a tradition of rule by fear and intimidation. They couldn't buy him off and they couldn't scare him off; they tried both and failed. Then they became more afraid of Guy than he was of them and this left them only one option.

As Guy said shortly before he was gunned down, he did not accept the failed system of justice which he faced on entering office. Rather he took this challenge to establish a new system of justice for Haiti. He said, "I've come with the intention of building something new that this country can be proud of." This statement reminds me, as Guy himself did in many ways, of Robert Kennedy, who frequently paraphrased George Bernard Shaw's famous words, "Some men see things as they are and say why, I dream things that never were and say why not?"

Guy was a colleague, a confidant, and a gentleman who was also a very gentle man. He was a loving father.

We must not let his dream, that courageous, bold initiative die with the terrible, violent painful death that Guy himself suffered in the streets of Port-au-Prince. We must find a way to continue and advance his brave efforts to create in Haiti a new system of justice and the rule of law which protects and defends the legal rights of individuals and the human rights on which a true democracy must be founded. That struggle must continue until it succeeds, until Haiti can join the community of democratic nations and the Haitian people can, at long last, live in the peace and freedom that they so strongly desire and so richly deserve. ■

Stacy Rhodes has been acting assistant administrator for the Latin American Bureau in USAID and, soon will be USAID mission director in Guatemala.

AFSAnews



New Year's Resolutions 1994

by Tex Harris

(A list in progress)

- Be thankful for AFSA's growing strength and the incredible contributions of its many members worldwide to improve their profession and their careers.
- Remember the core objectives: **Protection** of the Foreign Service and its members, *** Professionalism**, *** Pride**, *** Participation**, *** Communications**, *** Clout**, and "It's the Congress, stupid."
- Protect retired members' vested interests in the retirement- and health-care systems.
- Bring the entire Foreign Service together by gaining bargaining rights for FAS and FCS Foreign Service members and pushing to revitalize the Board of the Foreign Service.
- Accept the president's challenge to change the "we/them" workplace to one of "partnership." First, convince agency leaderships that management by options is out and participatory decision-making is in; second, energize Foreign Service members to actively participate in partnership councils at all levels, and jointly identify problems, alternatives, and solutions to improve job performance and satisfaction.
- Forge new partnership-links with Civil Service employees and unions.
- Open up information and communications channels to allow employees and managers to view their decisions globally; (e.g. link the adding of "special" ambassadorial assistants abroad and cutting new junior officers).
- Resolve the conflicting demands of diversity and merit through an open process based on fairness and equity.
- Work to reverse the growing disconnect between America's presence and policies abroad and the concerns of Main Street.
- Represent the Foreign Service special needs in the health-care legislative debate.
- Ensure that employees truly participate in the dramatic reshaping of the five Foreign Affairs agencies.
- Expand communications.
- *And finally, be of good cheer, tell each other more and better jokes.*

MED backs away

Medical Services appears to have backed away from its intention, reported in last month's "AFSA News," to limit the department's responsibility for hospitalization and related outpatient treatment to reimbursement of the co-payments required by the employee's personal health insurance policy. It seems, therefore, that the department will continue to pay all costs which have been covered under 3 FAM 685.2 except those paid by the employee's health insurance carrier. Responses from AFSA members have been very helpful in demonstrating that this broad coverage has indeed been the department's past practice.

Personal insurance questioned

However, State continues to insist that it has not paid, and will not pay, for hospitalization and related outpatient benefits if an employee does not have personal health insurance. AFSA is maintaining its grievance on this issue, for when 3 FAM 680 was negotiated, the department stated in writing that these benefits would be available to uninsured employees and their families.

AFSA maintains its willingness to discuss the medical program with the department in the spirit of partnership. AFSA continues to recommend that all members carry personal health insurance for themselves and their families.

Calendar

- **January 13:** Speaker Lunch: State Inspector General Sherman Funk
- **January 20:** Diversity Day, including a conference in Loy Henderson from 1-5, on diversity sponsored by the State Department's Equal Employment Opportunity Advisory Council, cosponsored by AFSA.
- **January 21:** Lunch for Retiring Career Ambassador Herman J. Cohen.
- **January 25:** Speaker Lunch: AID Deputy Administrator Carol Lancaster

from the USAID vice president

Breaking Covenants

By Pat Patterson

From all over the world, AFSA is receiving E-mail, FAXes and telephone calls about USAID changes. What's the status of new legislation? What do the new strategies mean and when and how will they be implemented? What does reinventing government mean for USAID? Why were assignments frozen? When can we expect a bid list? Why the surge in selection-outs? Will there be a RIF? Why? Why? Why haven't we been consulted and informed?

Repeatedly, we have stressed to USAID's leaders that staff communications are poor. We have urged that direct communications commence with employees concerning all these issues. The administrator has agreed to step up his contacts with the staff.

We have noted the frustration of posts that were not consulted before being identified for closing. The administrator felt that he had to follow the course he chose in order to obtain State Department agreement on the closeout list. That does not lessen the pain in the affected posts—employees should have been consulted.

The following summary of the more important issues is not a happy picture and, in our view, shows the administration breaking a number of covenants with employees.

Reinventing government

When President Clinton issued his executive order concerning labor-management partnerships, AFSA had every right to expect that USAID, like other agencies, would enter into a new partnership and work openly in collaboration with AFSA and AFGE. We expected full consultation on such major issues as reorganization, assignments and new directions in foreign assistance. Instead, we were told that management isn't sure that AFSA is the appropriate organization to work with under the order and that we should hold on this matter until the assistant administrator for management was confirmed.

Assignments

The agency has continued to unilaterally carry out the broad reorganization plan announced at the beginning of October. "Rightsizing" teams have been formed which are made up of GS and FS career employees. No one is yet clear what the outcome of these exercises will be. Management contends that certain segments of USAID will grow while others will shrink. For many, the perception is the latter.

As management unilaterally froze assignments, HRDM asked AFSA to approve "emergency" ad-hoc assignments for over ten positions, including several highly sought-after jobs. We responded by asking the agency to lift its self-imposed freeze and get bid list "Update 10" out immediately so that everyone could be treated equally and fairly.

We have repeatedly asked management to issue a message to the staff about the overall bid-list situation. We wanted to be sure that a bid list was not issued until post closures were finalized, so that bogus jobs would not be included. We also wanted to ensure that staffers at closing posts would be eligible bidders.

The LCE issue and selection out

There is an enormous amount of frustration over the surge in selections-out and the Limited Career Extension (LCE) issue this year. As most employees know, out of 55 Senior Foreign Service members who applied for LCEs only five were granted. On the GS side, five Senior Executive Service staffers were given RIF letters. These two actions mean that 20 percent of our total senior staff will leave at the time of wrenching change when they are most needed. Is this an honorable way to treat devoted employees? The manner in which this issue was handled has left many departees embittered, and it is a sad way to see careers end.

It is true that the final say in these matters is the administrator's. But AFSA believes that covenants are being broken as the agency violates

its own rules. Due process is being denied to a large number of AFSA's members and USAID employees as a whole.

What is to follow?

The administrator and management have repeatedly stated that they have no plans for a reduction-in-force. Management is dealing with the looming personnel problems brought on by the budget crisis by freezing assignments, denying LCEs, and examining both OE and program-funded PSCs. What the bottom line is, no one knows.

Conclusion

In its rush to make changes, agency programs and employees have been criticized and too often ignored. At times, it has appeared as though we were considered part of the problem rather than potentially part of the solution.

Regrettably we can only conclude that the administration does not realize that covenants are being broken over the mission, role, and conduct of our foreign assistance programs. Employees, the agency's greatest asset, are not adequately taken into account.

No one is claiming that change is not in order. But AFSA must insist that as changes take place, they must be done fairly and by the rules. The administration must not forget that covenants **do** exist. In a recent address the administrator spoke of a partnership with the PVO/NGO community. He has never spoken of a partnership with agency employees.

We all want the administrator to succeed in his efforts to "save" USAID. Give us your ideas. Let us know when the agency is breaking any "rules" so we can take appropriate action. AFSA is consulting on the Hill about the new legislation, the reorganization, and the staffing changes. We have also begun to brief the media regarding the same issues. Let us know how you feel about what is happening.

Diversity, Merit, and Fairness at State

A Special Section

by Todd Stewart
State Vice President

Diversity, merit, fairness: three goals that all Foreign Service members can endorse. But can we pursue these goals simultaneously? Can we develop personnel policies to serve all three objectives? These are questions that AFSA members must face as AFSA joins the department, as outlined in the secretary's memorandum and cable of November 27, in attempting to settle the women and African-American officers' discrimination suits and to reform the Foreign Service personnel system.

Work is already underway. With guidance from the State Standing Committee, General Counsel Sharon Papp and I represent AFSA in negotiations to settle the discrimination suits. Since the issues addressed in these suits will reappear in the discussion of general personnel reform, "AFSA News" is devoting considerable space this month to an explanation of U.S. civil rights law, a history of the women's class action suit, and some initial thoughts for the future.

Promotion list questions

The senior promotion list has sparked renewed interest in these issues among AFSA members. Rumors suggested that pro-diversity measures were responsible for the high proportion of women on the list (women accounted for a percentage of generalist promotions from classes 0-1 and OC about double their share of the generalist officers in those classes). However, the director general affirmed in an ALDAC cable (93 State 339300) that the list resulted solely from application of the exclusively merit-based process and precepts negotiated with AFSA. My communications with the selection board chairs confirmed this assurance.

Ad hoc pro-diversity measures are being employed in the assignment process, however. AFSA is attempting to determine just what is being

done before passing any judgment on the acceptability of these measures. Then, assuming legal requirements have been satisfied, we will face the difficult task of reconciling the three goals of diversity, merit and fairness. Let me offer some initial thoughts on how to proceed, beginning with definitions.

Three goals

To me, **diversity** is best reflected in President Clinton's desire to have a government which "looks like America." More female and ethnic representation will help the Foreign Service speak for America as well, for, as Secretary Christopher observed, these other voices cannot be adequately represented by white males. Left unaddressed, however, are the extent of diversity and the pace of diversification. Should the proportions of women and minorities in the Foreign Service, and in each class and cone, approximate their shares of the U.S. population? What is an acceptable rate of progress?

Merit is a basic value of the Foreign Service, most recently expressed in the Foreign Service Act of 1980, which provides that "all personnel actions . . . shall be made in accordance with merit principles." Merit is central to our conception of ourselves as an elite corps, the "most professional body of diplomats in the world," as James Reston recently wrote.

Far harder to define is **fairness**, which is a very visceral concept, a sort of schoolyard approximation of justice. Our earliest memories of the word probably involve shouting "That's not fair!" at some sandbox playmate. Yet, its very visceralness makes fairness so powerful that no accommodation between diversity and merit is likely to be accepted unless it is generally considered to be fair. Some of the department's pro-diversity measures have not met this test, perhaps because they have been inadequately explained.

A search for three-way accommodation must begin with general acceptance of the elements for an approach. Here I offer the following principles:

- First, there must be **openness**. All pertinent elements of the *status quo* must be explained to Foreign Service employees, including the complicated legal situation, relevant statistics and the department's current pro-diversity policies. The discussions for change and the relevant operations of the new personnel system must also be open. The information in this "AFSA News" is a first step in this direction, and we trust the department will follow our lead.

- Second, FS employees must be **involved** through AFSA in the search for accommodation, from initial discussions of the problem to signature of an agreement incorporating the new policies. Such a collaborative approach has been sadly lacking in the department's past attempts to deal with these sensitive issues.

Admittedly, such general principles are easy to accept compared to the hard decisions required to reconcile diversity and merit. Yet, I have faith in the power of fairness to bring about this reconciliation, for I believe that Foreign Service employees are exceptionally fair people. For example, an appeal to fairness suffuses the thoughtful message, reproduced in this section, which Lew Amselem sent to the director general in response to her ALDAC cable refuting rumors about the senior promotion list.

Lew has begun the discussion with this valuable contribution. The State Standing Committee would welcome your thoughts for its consideration and (with your permission) publication in "AFSA News."

U.S. Civil Rights Law

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended, prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, and national origin. Title VII cases consist of two types—those which involve "disparate treatment" and those which involve "disparate impact." In both cases, the plaintiff must bear the burden of establishing discrimination by a preponderance of the evidence (a showing that the employment practice at issue was, more likely than not, the product of unlawful discrimination).

Disparate treatment is the intentional treatment of some people less favorably than others because of their race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. In a disparate treatment case, proof of an unlawful bias against members of the disadvantaged group is essential. However, especially in cases involving class-wide discrimination (such as the Women's Class Action Lawsuit), proof of unlaw-

ful bias need not be direct. Instead, the court may infer a discriminatory motive from circumstantial evidence. And, circumstantial evidence may itself be entirely statistical in nature.

Plaintiffs can establish an inference of discriminatory motive through statistics by showing a significant disparity in the selection rates of the plaintiff class and comparable qualified members of the majority group. If the disparity is sufficiently large so that the probability that it resulted from chance is sufficiently small, a court will infer that, more likely than not, the disparity was a product of unlawful discrimination. The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit has stated a disparity greater than 5 percent is sufficient to support an inference of discrimination.

Once the plaintiffs have established an inference of discrimination, the defendant must present evidence showing a legitimate, non-dis-

criminatory reason for its actions. Although the defendant must offer evidence to rebut an inference of discrimination, the ultimate burden of persuading the court that the defendant intentionally discriminated against the plaintiffs remains at all times with the plaintiffs.

The second type of Title VII case, the disparate impact case, involves employment practices that are "facially neutral" in their treatment of different groups but that in fact fall more harshly on one group than another. Proof of discriminatory motive is not required in a disparate impact case. Once the plaintiffs have established that an employment practice has a disparate impact on them, the defendant must rebut this showing by producing evidence which shows the employment practice bears a demonstrable relationship to successful job performance or is otherwise "job related" or justified by "business necessity."

Women's Class Action Lawsuit: A History

In 1976 and 1977, two groups of female FSOs filed lawsuits in the U.S. district court against the department alleging discrimination on the basis of sex in hiring and the subsequent employment of female officers. The two lawsuits were consolidated for all purposes. In June 1979, the court ruled that the cases could proceed as a class action on behalf of all female FSOs employed by the department at any time since February 4, 1976, and all female applicants to become FSOs since February 4, 1976. In compliance with the court's order, in June 1989 State issued a department notice advising class members, as defined above, that they could affirmatively "opt out" of the lawsuit or be represented by their own counsel by so notifying the court within a specified time period. Those members who elected not to opt out would be bound by the terms of any settlement or court order.

Most of the suit was tried under the disparate treatment theory. The plaintiffs relied heavily on statistical

evidence to prove their claims of disparate treatment. They also offered testimonial and documentary evidence pertaining generally to the existence of prejudicial attitudes towards women in the Foreign Service during the period 1976 to 1983. The plaintiffs' disparate impact claim concerned discrimination in the initial cone assignment.

Hiring

In 1983, prior to a trial, the department settled that portion of the class action relating to initial hiring. Although State did not admit that it violated Title VII, it formally agreed to permit plaintiffs who had unsuccessfully applied to become FSOs between 1976 and 1983 to compete for 75 priority appointments to the Foreign Service. The department also agreed that it would not discriminate against future female applicants. Four years later, however, the plaintiffs sought a ruling from the court that the department had not complied with the settlement agree-

ment. The court subsequently found that the 1985-87 written exams had had an adverse impact on women applicants, which was not justified by business necessity and therefore violated Title VII. (The court defined "disparate impact" as a discrepancy in male and female pass rates of more than 5 percentage points.)

As a remedy, the court ordered State not to count the scores in the discriminatory sections (general background and functional field) in determining an applicant's final score and rank and to submit for the court's approval a new methodology for ranking applicants. State was also ordered to submit for court approval a method for scoring future exams until a new, non-discriminatory exam was approved. The department recently designed a new written examination designed to eliminate any disparate impact on women. However, according to an expert hired by the plaintiffs, this new exam is also not free from bias. The parties are still discussing the issue.

Coning, assignments, evaluations, awards, promotions

Following a trial on the merits, the District Court found that the plaintiffs had failed to prove discrimination in the above-listed areas. The plaintiffs appealed and in 1987, the court of appeals reversed the lower court and remanded the case, holding that the district court's decision was premised on errors of law and that several of its critical findings of fact were erroneous. Upon remand, the district court held that the department had discriminated on the basis of sex in that:

- the political function field segment of the written FS exam had a disparate impact on women resulting in disproportionately more women being assigned to the consular cone and disproportionately fewer women being assigned to the political cone;
- in (old) classes 4, 5, and 7, disproportionately fewer women had been assigned to stretch assignments, and disproportionately more women had been assigned to downstretch assignments between 1976-81;
- disproportionately more women in the political, economic, and administrative cones had been given out-of-cone assignments to the consular cone;
- disproportionately fewer women had received program-direction assignments;
- disproportionately fewer women had received DCM assignments;
- in (old) classes 5 and 6 women were undervalued on their

potential ratings in 1977 EERs as compared to men; and

- disproportionately fewer women in (old) classes 1 to 5 received Superior Honor Awards between 1976-83.

Following a second reversal and remand by the court of appeals, the district court also found discrimination in promotions from (old) class 5 to 4.

FYI

Representatives are elected to represent AFSA membership at post. However, in some large posts, an AFSA rep from one agency may not fully understand and communicate the views of other agency constituents. It is at the post's discretion to elect an AFSA post rep for each of the bargaining units, i.e., one rep each for State, USAID, and USIA.

If the post decides to elect separate reps, members may only vote in their constituency election. AFSA still needs to certify all post reps, and newly elected reps should cable or fax (202-338-6820) the results of their election to AFSA's Member Services Department. Post reps serve one year terms.

As a result of these findings, the parties entered into a court-approved consent decree in May 1990, which determined that class members would be compensated for the discriminatory treatment they had suffered.

Remedies include permanent cone transfers for 23 applicants, priority at-grade assignments, and priority stretch assignments, and retroactive promotions. No class member is entitled to more than two assignment remedies under the decree. Negotiations on the individual remedies are continuing.

The consent decree also prohibited the department from discriminating in the future against women in the employment practices listed above. To measure its performance, State was required to file semi-annual reports containing statistical information relating to the areas of discrimination identified in the consent decree. A variance between men and women of more than 5 percentage points triggers suspicion of unjustifiable discriminatory practices.

In June 1993, the plaintiffs moved in district court for an order holding Secretary Christopher in contempt for the department's failure to meet this 5 percent standard in the areas of EER potential ratings, superior honor awards, and out-of-cone assignments to the consular cone. This motion was suspended when State signalled its intention to negotiate a settlement of charges and, if possible, of the entire Women's Class Action Suit, along with a parallel suit brought more recently by African-American officers.

These negotiations have begun with the participation of AFSA as representative of all employees in the Foreign Service.

Foreign Service bias, just rumors?

A cable (slightly edited) to the office of the director general from W. Lewis Amselem, November 18, 1993.

As a 15-year veteran of the Foreign Service I was pleased to see the director general's cable (93 State 339300) addressing an issue that threatens the morale and efficiency of the career Foreign Service: The perception that factors other than professional performance help determine promotions. The director general's

cable is absolutely correct that such a perception left unchallenged corrodes confidence in the selection process. The cable is a good start in sparking a debate over whether there is gender-based favoritism in promotion: this is a topic discussed in whispers in hallways and behind closed doors. It is time to face it openly, learn the facts, and do away with misinformation.

While applauding the director

general for having the courage to take this issue on, I must also note that her cable suffers serious flaws which undermine its credibility and cause it to fail in its goal, to restore confidence in the personnel system.

While the director general's cable seems convincingly to refute allegations that senior promotion lists were altered at the request of the White House, it does not deal convincingly with the fundamental issue concern-

ing seemingly large numbers of officers: does an officer's sex and/or race affect his or her chances to be recommended for and receive promotion and other sought-after recognition?

It deals only with one issue: alleged gender-based favoritism in determining senior promotions. The concerns I have detected go much beyond that.

In addition, quite frankly, even if the intention was only to assure us that gender does not enter into determining senior promotions, the cable does not do that. The statistics provided are incomplete and seem to support the argument that gender does affect promotion possibilities—particularly when read with the report (93 State 340838) on an Open Forum dealing with the Women's Class Action Suit.

The cable tells us that female officers comprised nearly 41 percent of the total number of FS-1 generalists recommended for promotion into the senior service. That leads to an obvious question: What percent of FS-1s eligible for promotion were female?

As I see it, statistics alone do not "prove" discrimination for or against any group. But as I recall, the legal argument against the department was that it discriminated against women with the "evidence" consisting largely of statistics showing apparent underrepresentation. In order to refute claims that men are now deliberately underrepresented on senior promotion lists, the department must show complete stats on such promotions over, say, the past two years, including data on time in class of male vs. female officers. [Note: AFSA has requested these statistics.]

As stated at the outset, however, the unease within the ranks I detect is caused by more than just promotion into and within the senior service. There is a strong perception that race and gender affect entry into the service, promotion throughout the ranks, time-in-class, and assignments, and

the "Open Forum" discussion seems to substantiate the reasons for that perception. Relying on the apparent logic of the original lawsuit, solid and convincing evidence, statistical and other, must be produced showing these concerns have no basis. The cable does not do that.

Frankly, my view (subject to correction) is that the department will not be able to produce convincing evidence that race and gender biases do not exist—if for no other reason than the department and AFSA have as a goal to promote "diversity" within its ranks. Whatever its "merits," diversity, by definition, involves taking into account factors such as sex, race, nationality, regardless of individual merit. There is no way around that.

During this current assignment process and a previous one, I was told point-blank by honest folks in personnel and regional bureaus that three jobs in which I was interested—

"The only thing as destructive to cohesion and morale as appearing to deny jobs because of race or sex is to appear to give them because of race or sex."

DCM slots and a principal officer job—were, ahem, "reserved" for a woman or a member of a minority group. I doubt if I am unique in that experience. As ambassadors can tell you, the department requires them to justify why they have not selected a woman or a minority for a DCM job.

In other words, the growing perception is that white males or those belonging to minority groups not recognized as such (e.g. Jews and Mormons), get what's left over. As we all know, certain assignments are critical for promotion, particularly into the senior service, and it would seem white men are at a relative disadvantage in competing for them.

I say the above as a political officer classified by the department as "Hispanic." I certainly do not want to see the Foreign Service return to the "old days" of the "old boys." There is no doubt the Foreign Service has had to struggle against a tradition of sickening and blatant racism, anti-semitism, and sexism. In my view, the struggle has been successful: I certainly have never suffered what I felt to be discrimination or disdain because of my "classification" or my religion (Jewish). I have found the vast, overwhelming majority of my colleagues to be intelligent, hard-working, and fair individuals who do not judge each other's worth on the basis of race, sex, religion, etc.

My worry is that in an eagerness to correct injustice, the Service is inflicting injustice on persons whose only "flaw" is not to be in the "right" ethnic or gender group. As budget cuts and restructuring limit the number of good jobs, and political appointees continue to take over 30 percent of senior slots, the perception that a chunk of remaining jobs and promotions is "set aside" for certain groups is very destructive to the morale of the career Service. I certainly hope I have not gotten jobs, awards, and promotions just because somebody decided that this is the year for an Hispanic to get the job, award or promotion. But given the apparent "diversity" policy, that suspicion will always remain in the minds of others as well as (every so often) in my own.

I am concerned that the apparent policy of playing gender and racial favorites poisons the atmosphere and greatly complicates working and inter-personal relations among colleagues. All of us have heard comments that so-and-so got this or that job because of the officer's race and/or sex. The only thing as destructive to cohesion and morale as appearing to deny jobs because of race or sex is to appear to give them because of race or sex.

Colleagues of mine, upon learning I was sending this message, told me I was "committing suicide." I don't believe that. Whatever its flaws, the Service still remains an organization where we can discuss ideas and policies in a collegial manner. I look forward to an open and honest debate on these issues.

from the USIA vice president

Just Do It, Part II: We Did It!

by Raz Bazala

On December 2, 1993, AFSA signed a resolution establishing a Partnership Council between USIA management and its labor unions as mandated by the president's executive order. While AFSA and AFGE called on management immediately after the order was signed to discuss a partnership resolution, there was little progress during October.

Conclusion of such a resolution became imperative when on November 5 Director Duffey established four working groups to review proposals for restructuring USIA. Those proposals, presented to OMB director Panetta on October 6, were contained in the director's concept paper "U.S. Foreign Policy in an Information Age," and were not widely considered in the agency, nor was there consultation with the unions. In November, with management proposals for agency restructuring already tabled at OMB, and with management-appointed working groups beginning to review (rubber-stamp?) them, it was clear that the train had left the station and the unions were not on board.

Faced with the reality of the December 10 deadline for the review, both unions ultimately accepted management's invitation to the unions to participate in reorganization only after overcoming considerable concern expressed by our members.

On November 22, both unions authorized representatives to join the four working groups, which were renamed Partnership Teams at our

suggestion. We did so only after receiving assurances that they would not be bound by the director's October 6 proposals. We also agreed to continue efforts toward conclusion of a partnership resolution before the team's reports were due.

Both unions worked hard to sell partnership to an initially reluctant management.

But why should I quibble? Just two months into the partnership era, USIA has become one of the first ex-

unions and management "jointly resolve to seek a new professional relationship as partners in transforming USIA into an agency that is more efficient than ever before."

A long road lies ahead of us. Partnership was intended to ensure the survivability of the administration's National Performance Review objectives of "reinventing" the federal government. At the same time, partnership will also establish frameworks throughout the government for the process of downsizing the federal budget and workforce. It is a mixed blessing, but through partnership all federal employees will have a voice in decisions that may substantially reshape the federal workplace and the jobs they perform. At USIA, AFSA is committed to participation in the agency's Partnership Council over the long term.

The next major task in the partnership agenda will be to address a broad range of issues raised by the "Just Workplace" task force, which submitted a 106-recommendation report to the director at the end of September. In consultations with management, AFSA and AFGE have agreed to the establishment of seven sub-partnership councils to review the report and develop consensus-based approaches to their effective implementation. They will begin working early in January. AFSA will require volunteers to serve on them. Please let me know if you are interested in this effort to sustain partnership as a way of substantively involving employees in reshaping the agency.



From left to right: President of AFGE Local 1812 Stacey Rose-Blass, Director of USIA Dr. Joseph Duffey, and AFSA USIA Vice President Razvigor Bazala sign the Labor-Management Partnership Resolution in the director's office.

ecutive agencies to have complied with the president's partnership directive. Director Duffey and Deputy Director Penn Kemble appear to appreciate that partnership, and the information sharing, transparency, and openness that undergird it, will serve USIA well in a period of transition, uncertainty, downsizing, and beyond.

In the language of the resolution, partnership for USIA means that "the managers, the employees, and their unions will work together to identify problems facing the agency in the workplace. . . seek solutions to those problems. . . and implement [them]." The Partnership Council will also "seek consensus on matters concerning strategic decisions affecting the agency's work." Finally, both the

GW TO HOST ALL-SPORTS SUMMER CAMP

The George Washington University Dept. of Athletics & Recreation will host a summer sports camp for girls and boys, ages 7-12. These four, one-week sessions will begin on Tues., July 5 at the GW Smith Center on the corner of 22nd and G Streets, just two blocks from State. These multi-sport camps will permit each camper to participate in a variety of sports activities daily. The camp hours are 8:30a.m.-5:30p.m., Monday through Friday. To register or for more information, contact Aubre Jones—Recreational Sports Director at (202) 994-7546.

from the retiree vice president

by Don Norland

One of the more challenging tasks here at AFSA is to convey to others the new sense of urgency that surrounds much of the current AFSA agenda. In less than six months, Tex Harris' leadership has, with the Governing Board's full endorsement and approval, heightened AFSA's visibility and has given it a new profile. This new public image is an essential step in our drive to gain greater recognition at a time of tremendous budget constraints and bureaucratic competition.

We believe that with an organized attempt we can convince people and the media that AFSA can be rightly seen as an ally in the struggle against inefficiency, waste and mismanagement. AFSA's opposition to unqualified ambassadorial nominations should be seen in that light.

As you are aware by now, AFSA's principled, forthright stand has met with almost universal approval. Reaction to the impact of Tex Harris' November 10 testimony includes retaliation by one senator who put a "hold" on 27 pending senior USAID promotions (it was the shortest Foreign Service list) until the candidate AFSA testified against was confirmed.

In responding to this action, we turned to the retiree constituency for assistance, especially to retirees willing to contact senatorial offices in their home state.

This call on retirees can be seen as recognition of the unique role they can play in the political arena: first, because Foreign Service experience

endows them with the added authority that comes from familiarity with both the legal and political aspects of ambassadorial appointments, and second, because their status as articulate (and potentially) activist voters gives them disproportionate influence.

At a time when critical resource and foreign policy issues are being debated anew, there is no viable alternative to committing AFSA's energies in an effort to influence the outcome. We're convinced that AFSA's message is of critical importance and interest to the nation. It follows that we must seek to mobilize influence in each of the 50 states and 435 congressional districts.

One concrete result: beginning in mid-January 1994, the AFSA staff will be expanded to include the services of a former USIA officer, Bob Chaten. His mandate, *inter alia*, will be to identify retiree participants throughout the country to serve in a new AFSA "Legislative Alert Network."

You can accelerate the success of this process by calling AFSA's 800 number (1-800-704-2372) and volunteering to help be a critical part of this Retiree Legislative Network.

Report on Retiree Standing Committee Meeting

The 20-member Retiree Standing Committee met December 7 to consider priority issues of interest to members. Following is a summary of the principal agenda items:

- **The Legislative Action Fund (LAF) drive and survey.** Nearly 1000 responses have brought in over \$50,000 and a strong recommendation that AFSA work to maintain retirement benefits and strengthen the State Department in foreign policy deliberations.
- **Health Care Reform.** A consensus emerged that our basic objective should be to assure that any future system will retain the present level of benefits.
- **World Issues Forum (WIF).** All present were urged to make a special effort to generate requests for WIF speakers to interested audiences throughout the country. AFSA retirees offer a special dimension of credibility as the public debate becomes increasingly negative and contentious.
- **Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps.** Discussion focused on identifying the sources of resistance and how to overcome them—in the interests of economy and efficiency.
- **Economic Sanctions Conference.** AFSA's next major foreign policy conference is scheduled for March 29, 1994, and will focus on "Economic Sanctions and Trade Policy Controls."
- **AFSA Speaker Lunches.** Plans call for a series of luncheon speakers including members of Congress and key officials of other foreign affairs agencies addressing the new challenges in foreign affairs.

Health Care Reform Update

Despite the tabling of President Clinton's new health care reform bill there is continued doubt about the final scope of coverage and impact on Foreign Service employees and retirees. The new bill will make possible, but does not mandate, a supplemental health-benefits level, which can be contributed to by the federal government and the employee.

Present retirees are treated differently than future retirees and present employees regarding guaranteed benefits. Other features of the plan include:

- 1) Payments of 80 percent for the employer, rather than the 72-75 percent on average now paid by the federal government.
- 2) 100 days of long-term care that is not now covered by the existing

FEHBP.

3) Coverage of grown children of employees and retirees who are not now covered.

4) Different dental and eyeglass benefits, with emphasis on children's needs and prevention.

5) Coverage of retired members under 65. Those over 65 would largely be part of Medicare coverage with the option of supplemental

coverage.

6) For those who opt for the fee-for-service option, hospital coverage is planned for only 80 percent, rather than the 100 percent now paid by the standard option Blue Cross/Blue Shield plan. The latter provision may be the most serious and costly gap between what we have now and would be getting under the proposed Clinton Plan.

These and other aspects of the reform are up for debate and change in the congressional process. Already there have been hearings by the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service led by its Chairman William L. Clay (D-MO). The first two hearings were the opening guns of a long debate over the relationship between the existing system and the reform package. Chairman Clay and other members of Congress have voiced their skepticism about abolishing the existing federal program, but most also support the goal of universal health care for all Americans.

At the first hearing, the administration sent Office of Personnel Management Director James B. King, whose main point was that the existing program would continue until 1997, and afterwards it would be part of the regional alliances set up by the Health Security Act. If individuals were no longer employed by the federal government, they would still have health insurance for themselves and their families.

For retirees, King said "The act

would require [OPM] to develop plans, with appropriate government contribution, to preserve the level of benefits that such individuals previously had available under FEHBP or under combined medicare and FEHBP coverage. The act would further permit OPM to offer one or more

AFSA Awards:

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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 awards are given for achievement in the study of hard languages.

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

supplemental health plans to current employees and future retirees (with or without medicare eligibility) on the same basis. Both current and future medicare eligible retirees would have the choice of receiving benefits either

through wrap-around policies or through managed care plans with medicare risk contacts."

Needless to say, more was left out of this brief statement than was included. At this moment how exactly the system would work and what supplemental benefits might be available and at what terms and costs have not been fully considered or worked out.

For FEHBP enrollees abroad, the bill mandates that they would be eligible for health insurance as equal as possible to domestic coverage. The program is to be established by OPM, by regulation. How this is to be done is not clear.

The largest federal employee group (AFGE) supports the idea of a national health program which can include federal employees, if the benefits are no less than under FEHBP. Some other groups still hope it is possible to maintain a totally separate federal program. Opinion polls show strong support for a national health program and it is likely we will see it enacted within the next year or so. There is still a long way to go from the initial proposal to the final legislation.

AFSA will work for the protection of our interests in any health care program that might develop and will shortly be examining a policy position on this issue to enable its representatives to work effectively in assuring good health coverage.

Congressional update

by Rick Weiss

As the legislative branch returns for the second session of the 103rd Congress on January 25, the agenda will focus on health care reform, balanced budget and deficit reduction proposals and re-election campaigns.

Immediate concerns confronting the Foreign Service as Congress returns are:

- Re-write of the Foreign Assistance Act "rightsizing" and redirecting USAID.
- Senate floor debate on the State Department Authorization Bill for FY94 and 95 limiting the number of Senior Foreign Service officers.
- Reorganizing International Broadcasting (Biden Amendment) impacting USIA, VOA, RFE/RF, Radio

Free Asia, TV Marti and Radio Marti.

- Senate consideration of the president's rescission proposal with cuts recommended in the Kerrey Alternative. The Nebraska Senator is recommending that Federal retirees receive a 1.3 percent COLA, rather than the 2.6 percent with the three-month delay. A deeper deficit reduction package, the Penny-Kasich proposals, lost in the House by a vote of 213-219 before Thanksgiving. AFSA wrote 180 members of the House strongly opposing the harmful amendment.
- Downsizing the Federal work force. What is the "share" for the international affairs agencies of the 250,000 civilian personnel reduction agreed to by the administration and the House?

In Memory of Perry Shankle

In his modesty as in so many other ways Perry Shankle was the paradigm of a Foreign Service officer. Committed to the meaning of the title, he took on difficult and often thankless assignments because he was asked to do so. He performed them with talent and vigor because Perry, a superb officer, never did anything halfway.

Perry's commitment to AFSA was an integral element of his commitment to the Foreign Service. Long active in the association, he accepted the urging of colleagues to run for the presidency in 1987 with some trepidation. What convinced him to run, I believe, was the belief that the association needed to move in new directions, and others felt that he was the one to lead the way. His presidency was marked by the same virtues Perry showed throughout his career: style, love of life, and love of our profession, and a firm conviction that we as individuals and as an association can make a difference.

The problems Perry confronted in AFSA are still with us today: budget cuts, unqualified ambassadorial nominations, concerns about the future of the Service. Then they were new. Secretary Shultz's proposed budget reductions and the first round of the Bush Administration ambassadorial nominations bracketed Perry's tenure. He and others had the vision that in order to deal with these challenges AFSA had to go beyond its traditional activities and become an effective advocate for the Service. He led efforts to improve AFSA's advocacy effort on the Hill and to reach out to our "constituencies," the public affairs and business communities interested in foreign affairs, expanding AFSA's professional activities.

The presidency of AFSA is a mixed blessing for most incumbents as advocacy of Foreign Service professional interests inevitably puts one on a conflict course with department management. Perry made the tough personal decision to pursue our common interests, perhaps at the expense of his own.

Yet like the absolute professional he was, after leaving

the AFSA presidency, Perry continued to devote his talents toward making the system work better, both in his tour with OIG and in his last assignment as director of recruitment for the department.

I was fortunate to have the opportunity to work with Perry both overseas in Bolivia, and on the AFSA Board. He was my professional mentor and a personal friend. I will miss him more than words can say, and I only hope that in these few lines I can help my colleagues understand how much he meant to the Foreign Service and to AFSA and how much we all will miss his good humor and wise counsel.

—Michael Cotter

Arthur Perry Shankle Jr., 63, who served in the Foreign Service for 37 years before retiring in October with the rank of minister counselor, died of lung cancer November 27 at his home in Bethesda.



His first post after joining the Foreign Service in 1956 was as an economic officer in Ecuador. Later assignments took him to Spain and Latin America. In 1968, while serving on the Chile desk, he traveled to Antarctica. He was chief of mission in the Bahamas from 1978-81, and then spent four years in Mexico City, where he was deputy chief of the political section. In Washington, his assignments included director of the Office of Mexican Affairs, senior inspector in the Office of the Inspector General, and director of the Office of Recruitment, Examination and Employment.

He received both the Presidential Meritorious Service Award and State's John J. Rogers Award.

Mr. Shankle, who has lived in Washington, D.C. since 1956, was born in Worcester, MA. He was a graduate of Texas Christian University and had attended the National War College. He was an Air Force veteran.

Survivors include his wife of 39 years, JoAnne Shankle, his daughter, Susan Gordon, both of Bethesda; his two sons, Steve, of Kennewick, WA., and Joe, of Bethesda; his mother, Dorothy Shankle, and a sister; and three grandchildren.

Helping hand

I want to let you know how much I appreciate the help given me in a recent security clearance case. . . My clearance will be restored. . . I am elated. To say that [Colleen Fallon of AFSA] just helped me is an understatement. She accompanied me to one of the most important meetings I had with DS. She kept the meeting respectful on both sides and I feel because of her I have come out a winner in the case. The free advice she gave me would have cost me thousands of dollars outside of AFSA. She never quit on me and I am most appreciative of her efforts. I would recommend AFSA's legal services to anyone.

Applying for Federal and School Financial Aid?

1994-95 tips

by Theresa Auricchio

1. Know which forms to file. If applying for federal financial aid or AFSA scholarships, you **MUST** complete a Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA). A Financial Aid Form must also be completed if you are applying for an AFSA scholarship or a school that requires one. Check with your school Financial Aid Office for their requirements. **NOTE:** There are several versions of the Financial Aid Form out there. You application will be processed much faster if you file the College Scholarship Services (CSS) version of the form. This can be identified by the "CCCC" across the top of the form.

2. When completing the FAF and FAFSA, be sure that names, social security numbers and dates of birth are exactly the same on both forms. These fields are used to match and process the separate forms. If they are not able to be matched, your institution will receive a blank information sheet.

3. Complete and return the FAFSA and FAF at the same time. This will ensure consistency and expedite processing.

4. Return FAFSA and FAF in provided preaddressed envelope. DO NOT return these forms together in the same envelope! The FAF and the FAFSA are processed in different locations. Failure to send forms to the correct location will cause great delay in processing.

5. If you are a New York State resident, you should complete a New York Financial Aid Form. This form includes application for the Tuition Assistance Program (TAP), assistance exclusive to New York State.

6. Some people may receive FAFSA and/or FAF renewal forms in the mail. If you complete a renewal form, DO NOT complete a new FAF or FAFSA.

AVOID ERRORS DO NOT:

- write in margins, in spaces or outside boxes.

- cross out or write over information
- abbreviate or use symbols.
- leave blanks. If an answer is zero, enter 0.
- forget to sign your materials!
- mail materials before January 1, 1994.
- send damaged forms or photocopies of forms. Only originals will be accepted.
- send additional materials such as letters and tax forms.

DO:

- Follow instructions exactly; take time to read the form.
- Ask your financial aid counselor if you have a question about completing your forms.
- Include correct school codes listed in FAF instructions. (AFSA scholarships code is 0540)
- Complete forms with a sharp No. 2 pencil. Forms completed in pen are not processed.
- Round financial figures to the nearest dollar. Do not use cents.
- Enclose correct fees.
- Use an eraser (gently).
- Do not use white out.

AFSA Legislative Action Fund Contributors

I want to thank each of you who contributed to AFSA's 1993 Legislative Action Appeal. Clearly, the legislative issues we faced in the autumn and anticipate in the coming Congressional session are of critical importance to you.

AFSA is committed to representing your concerns and interests on the Hill with every resource we can muster. Your contributions have strengthened our efforts immeasurably. We shall be working for you--and we'll keep you informed of our progress, and our successes!

Again, my thanks to each of you,

Tex Harris

Aandahl, Frederick
Abidian, John
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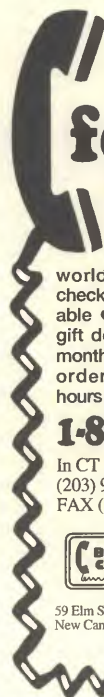
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IN SEARCH OF A

Foreign

BY ROBERT C. TOTH

The United States faces an identity crisis in its foreign policy for the post-Communist world. A new survey of opinion leaders and the general public by the Times Mirror Center has found a division of opinion on what America's role should be in the new world. The opinion leaders' ("the elites") views are fragmented on what foreign policy initiatives America should pursue and where our national interests lie. The general public is more focused but also more isolationist; its top foreign policy goal is protecting U.S. jobs. The Clinton administration, for its part, reflects the common focus of strengthening the domestic economy, but beyond that reflects neither the elites' nor the public's agenda. Historically, American elites have been more internationally minded than the public. For a half century or more, they have molded and led public attitudes in support of internationalist policies. Whether elites enjoy the same degree of influence today is debatable. But the splintered opinion of the U.S. elites found by the survey will clearly not help the administration rally the public behind any new policies.

In the largest survey of its kind since the Soviet Union collapsed, nine groups of 649 opinion leaders from outside the federal government were polled in July and August 1993 by the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press. The results were published as a report, "America's Place in the World."

Members of the nine groups were chosen in different ways: The foreign affairs group consisted of a random sample of members of the Council on Foreign Relations, and the security-defense group consisted of a sample of American members of the International Institute of Strategic Studies. Other groups, with respondents of comparable stature, came from the business community (industrial and financial CEOs), the media, government (state and local), religion, science, culture, and academia and think tanks. Respondents were overwhelmingly white males with an average age of 57; 70 percent had advanced degrees, 40 percent of them doctorates.

In addition, two similar nationwide polls of the public were conducted of 2,000 adults in early September and 1,200 adults in late October (the second to determine any opinion changes in the wake of the traumatic American deaths in Somalia and the confrontation with the Haitian military). All polls were conducted by telephone. The margin of error is plus or minus 3 percent.

KEY GROUP SCHISM

Developing and implementing a new U.S. foreign policy may be particularly difficult, in fact, because two key groups—foreign affairs and security-defense—have parted company on such issues as whether Japan and Germany should play a larger military role in the world (foreign affairs said yes, security, no) and on the relative importance of Asia and Europe to the United States (foreign affairs said Asia, security said Europe). Overall, these former bedfellows, traditionally the most internationalist oriented, differed significantly on six of the 13 foreign policy problems, as well as seven of the 11 foreign policy goals in the questionnaire.

The most disturbing finding of the survey was that the

nation's opinion leaders are dubious about whether many of the ideals that have guided U.S. foreign policy for half a century can still do so today. Fewer than half the groups believe America should promote democracy if this goal risked electing a totalitarian, anti-American government. Fewer than one in three would promote human rights abroad if such support risked antagonizing friendly nations with different traditions. Support for promoting free market economics was even less, and the least backing came for promoting self-determination of ethnic groups if the consequences risked the break-up of established nations.

Even when the questions about promoting democracy and human rights were asked in the abstract, i.e., without mention of the undesirable consequences, support for these principles was lukewarm at best. Of 11 possible foreign policy goals offered to them, the elites put promoting human rights seventh, and promoting democracy ninth.

The public was even more opposed to promoting most of these values except, curiously perhaps, ethnic self-determination. Significantly more non-whites than whites in the general populace (23 percent to 14 percent) were willing to risk this goal, although the public, like the elites, were still hugely opposed to pushing self-determination abroad.

In this new reluctance to stand behind its long-standing ideals, ideals that underlaid the claim to "exceptionalism" in its foreign policy, America emerges much like the Europe described by Czech President Vaclav Havel in a recent speech: "Many of the great supranational empires or alliances in history . . . not only had strong guiding ideas and were centers of intellectual and spiritual advancement," he said, "they were also remarkably determined to stand behind these ideas and willing to make great sacrifices to bring them to fruition, since it was clear to everyone that those sacrifices were worth it. It was more than just a belief in certain values; it was a deep and generally shared feeling that those values carried with them moral obligations. This, I fear, is precisely what is critically lacking in the Europe of today."

In today's world, respondents implicitly said, American foreign policy should serve the U.S. domestic agenda rather

INFLUENTIALS FORECAST WORLD EVENTS (Top 5 "Certain" + "Probable" Mentions)

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Media	China emerges	Germany Dominates	Int'l terrorism in US rises	Western Europe unifies	Jap. economic power wanes
Business	China emerges	Germany Dominates	Jap. economic power wanes*	Iran-Iraq war resumes	Israeli-Arab war reoccurs
Foreign Affairs	China emerges	Germany Dominates	N. Korean communism ends	Int'l terrorism in US rises*	Iran-Iraq war resumes
Defense/Security	China emerges	Germany Dominates	N. Korean communism ends	China uses force*	Russia retakes empire
Government	China emerges	Int'l terrorism in US rises	Western Europe unifies	Germany dominates*	Iran-Iraq war resumes
Religion	China emerges	Int'l terrorism in US rises	Germany Dominates*	Jap. economic power wanes	Iran-Iraq war resumes

*indicates this item is tied with the following item for this particular group.

TOP FIVE FOREIGN POLICY GOALS

News Media

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Improving global environment
Protecting jobs of American workers
Reducing trade deficit

Business/Finance

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Reducing trade deficit
Aiding interest of U.S. business abroad
Protecting jobs of American workers

Cultural

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Improving Global environment
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Protecting jobs of American workers
Strengthening the U.N.

Foreign Affairs

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Strengthening the U.N.
Improving Global environment
Reducing trade deficit

Security

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Strengthening the U.N.
Promoting democracy
Improving Global environment

State/Local Government

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Reducing trade deficit
Protecting jobs of American workers
Improving global environment

Think Tanks/Academics

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Improving Global environment
Reducing trade deficit
Strengthening the U.N.

Religion

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Promoting/defending human rights
Protecting jobs of American workers
Reducing trade deficit

Science/Engineering

Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Improving global environment
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Reducing trade deficit
Strengthening the U.N.

General Public

Protecting jobs of American workers
Preventing spread of nuclear weapons
Insuring adequate energy supplies
Improving global environment
Reducing trade deficit

goal. The elite group whose views coincided most often with the general public was that of state and local government officials.

SHARED LEADERSHIP

At least one-third of the opinion leaders in eight of the nine groups believe the United States is less important today than a decade ago. Feeling the U.S. decline most clearly were the foreign affairs, security, media, and business groups. More of the general public believes the United States plays a more important and powerful role today than do the elites.

Fewer than one in ten of all elites said the United States should be the single leader of the new world. Most favor a shared leadership role for the country, but at the same time, they want America to be the most assertive of the nations at the top table. Overall, more than two-thirds of the elites want America to be either the world's single leader or its most assertive nation, a role that Paul Nitze once termed its "preponderant power." They seem reluctant to concede the passing of U.S. dominance, or more concretely, refuse to believe that leadership role can be shed as long as America remains the sole military super power.

The public again has another view. It would have America withdraw even further from world leadership. Of those supporting a shared leadership role for the nation, two out of three said the United States should be "no more or less active" than other countries. And the public was equally divided as to whether America should play any leadership role at all—or be the single leader.

THE WORLD IN 2000

Asked about the most likely developments affecting world peace and stability by the year 2000, the elites were most united on expecting China's emergence as an assertive world power; majorities in every group said this development was certain or probable. Next most likely was that Germany will dominate the political and economic life of Europe. But it appears that the elites do not particularly fear that China will use force to win disputed territory (such as the oil-rich Spratly

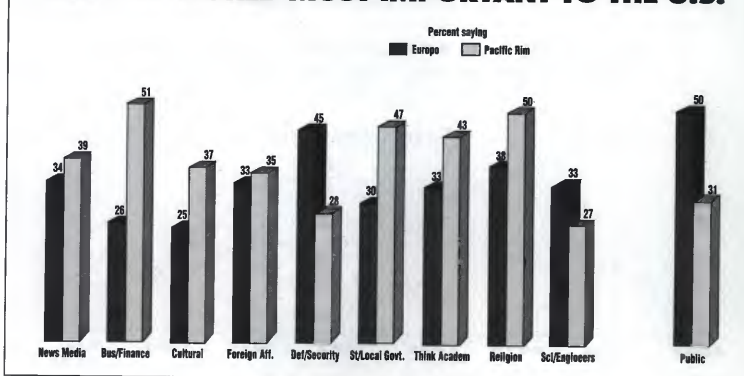
than attend to traditional internationalist problems. Asked specifically which foreign policy problem should get top priority, both the elites and the general populace responded with a domestic issue: strengthening the U.S. economy.

A DIFFUSE SET OF INTERESTS

Beyond this goal, the opinion leaders put forward, in effect, a new and diffuse set of national interests as the foundation for a cautious and minimalist U.S. foreign policy. Halting nuclear proliferation received the most top priority votes among all groups, and insuring energy supplies for the country was next for seven of the groups. But after that, priorities were widely scattered. In fact, the science and culture groups felt that protecting the global environment was more important than insuring energy supplies. Strengthening the United Nations was emphasized by the foreign affairs and security groups. Reducing the trade deficit was high among the business and government groups.

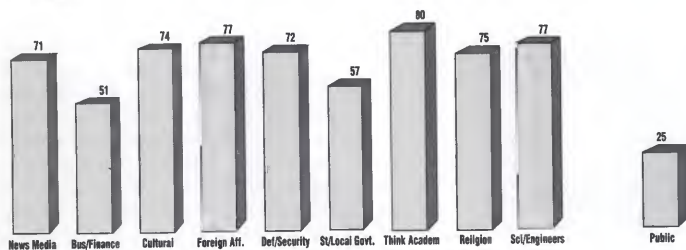
The general public gives even higher priority for strictly domestic concerns: Protecting jobs of American workers was the number one foreign policy

PART OF WORLD MOST IMPORTANT TO THE U.S.



SUPPORT FOR AMERICAN FORCES SERVING UNDER UN COMMAND

Percent who agree



Islands); they gave only modest priority to vigilance toward Beijing. Even lower priority was given to guarding against a resurgent Germany.

Asia has replaced Europe as the most important region to the United States, the elites said, by a narrow plurality, as well as the source of high concern. This was a choice between hearts and wallets. Of those choosing Asia, three-fourths cited economic reasons directly or indirectly. Of those choosing Europe, a variety of ethnic and cultural, as well as political and military reasons, were given.

For the public, however, Europe remains the most important region. Fully half selected the Old World, while fewer than one-third chose Asia. Even in the western part of the United States, a plurality chose Europe over Asia.

No single nation has replaced the former Soviet Union as the greatest danger to the United States, although Iran and Iraq were most often cited by the opinion leaders. When aggregated by region, the Mideast nations constituted the area of greatest concern, with those of East Asia—China, Japan, Korea—a close second. If Russia is considered a Pacific power to any extent, and the Kurile Island dispute between Moscow and Tokyo suggests it must be, then the Asian region becomes the most threatening overall. Even

cause of proliferation of knowledge and materiel to Third World nations and terrorist groups.

On foreign economic aid, the elites were most supportive of increased help for the former Communist states—Russia, Eastern Europe, and other former Soviet republics. Somewhat less support was given to more assistance to the underdeveloped nations of Latin America and Africa, and least for increased aid to the underdeveloped nations of Asia. Opinion leaders called for less foreign aid for Egypt and Israel. The security group was most emphatic in this respect, with two out of three respondents favoring cuts, followed by majorities among the foreign affairs, academic, and business respondents.

UN DISENCHANTMENT

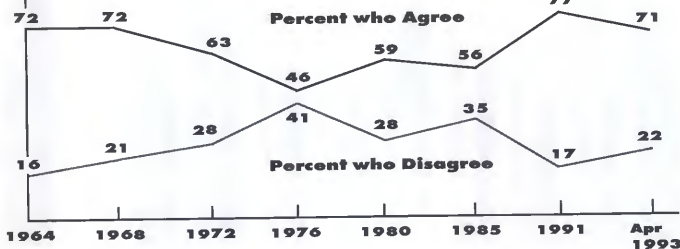
The public's neo-isolationism is addressed in a final group of survey results. The public is again growing disenchanted with the United Nations. Reversing a trend since the Gulf War, in October only 64 percent thought that the United States should cooperate fully with the UN, down from 77 percent in 1991.

Additionally, putting American forces under UN command is not supported—in September, before the tragedy in Somalia, the public overwhelmingly *opposed* putting American troops under permanent UN command. However, this is the opposite view of the elites—a majority of every elite group (again, before Somalia) were willing to put U.S. troops in a permanent force under UN command.

Nonetheless, after Somalia and despite those American deaths, the public was willing to send U.S. troops to the Third World to prevent mass starvation; 56 percent supported sending U.S. forces to Africa and Asia to prevent famine. But it

THE UNITED STATES SHOULD COOPERATE FULLY WITH THE UNITED NATIONS.

(General Public)



would not send them to police foreign nations where the governments breakdown; only 40 percent would use U.S. forces to restore law and order in Africa and Asia, and 47 percent would use them in Latin America and the Caribbean. But perhaps surprisingly, a large majority (63 percent) approved use of U.S. military force to show dictators that the United States will meet its commitments.

POLICY VS. PEOPLE

The bottom line, however, and one that has been cited by the administration to justify its record, is that the public wants the president to stay focussed on domestic issues. In October, after Somalia, the public agreed that foreign news had been most important. But it was most attentive to domestic news, following health care reform more closely than Somalia, for example. And most specifically, by almost six to one (76 percent to 13 percent), the public said it was more important for the president to concentrate on domestic rather than foreign policy.

However, except for the focus on the U.S. economy, the Clinton administration's foreign policy does not overlap noticeably with the agendas of either the elites or the public. The findings on support for democracy and human rights, in particular, suggest that the administration was misdirected in September when Anthony Lake, national security adviser, proposed a new "strategy of enlargement" to replace the post-World War II policy of "containment." In a speech at Johns Hopkins University, Lake laid out four components of such a strategy. The first three dealt with free market democracies: strengthening those which exist, fostering and consolidating those that are emerging, and protecting all of them against aggression. His fourth item covered humanitarian items. This "enlargement" strategy has largely disappeared from administration statements, much as has the earlier phrase, "assertive multilateralism."

Most recently, Secretary of State Warren Christopher proposed a foreign policy of "active engagement." First among its six "current top priorities," he said, was economic policy. The next four focused on specific geographic areas: Russia, Europe and NATO, Asia and the Pacific, and the Mideast. Last was non-proliferation, as well as the global environment, goals which the elites and the public in the

Times Mirror polls gave much higher prominence.

Former Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger has contended that the fragmentation of attitudes among elites is both inevitable and understandable, and that absent a consensus on fundamental goals, the United States will practice ad hoc foreign policy for the rest of the century. If so, this and subsequent administrations will be forced to build "a new domestic consensus" (in Mr. Christopher's phrase) for each new international venture. More broadly, historians may wonder whether the much heralded American principles—support for democracy and human rights around the world—were really only ploys in the Cold War if they are now put on the shelf in favor of pragmatic economic goals. ■

Bob Toth is a former national security and diplomatic correspondent of the Los Angeles Times, and is now Senior Associate at the Times Mirror Center. He is also a member of the Journal's Editorial Board.

America's Place in the World: An Investigation of the Attitudes of American Opinion Leaders and the American Public about International Affairs is available in limited number from the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press, 1875 I St., NW., Washington DC 20006. November, 1993. 96 pages.

Six Goals of Clinton's Foreign Policy

Economic security through free trade

Reform in Russia

A new framework for NATO

A "new Pacific community" of trade

Mid-East peace

Nuclear non-proliferation

**Statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, November 4, 1993.*

Group Dynamics

Most groups were selected at random, including the business group, from the Fortune 1,000 listing of chief executive officers of industry and of finance; the science group, from the membership of the National Academy of Sciences and National Academy of Engineering; and the government group from among all 50 state governors and a random sample of mayors of cities with populations over 80,000. The foreign affairs group consisted of a random sample of members of the Council on Foreign Relations, and the security-defense group included members of the International Institute of Strategic Studies.

The academic and think-tank group was chosen from among all presidents and academic deans of the "most difficult" schools and of the "very difficult" state universities; and top officials, typically the president, of major think tanks. The religion group came from among the top two officials in each of the Protestant denominations with membership over 700,000; and from the top officials in each of the Roman Catholic Church's archdioceses, the three main Jewish persuasions, and the two largest Muslim organizations.

The media group was a systematic sample of the key editors, Washington bureau chiefs, columnists, anchor persons, and producers in print and broadcast journalism. Finally, the entertainment group was a random sample of artists, writers, critics and musicians outside of Hollywood as listed in *Who's Who in America*.

ROVING

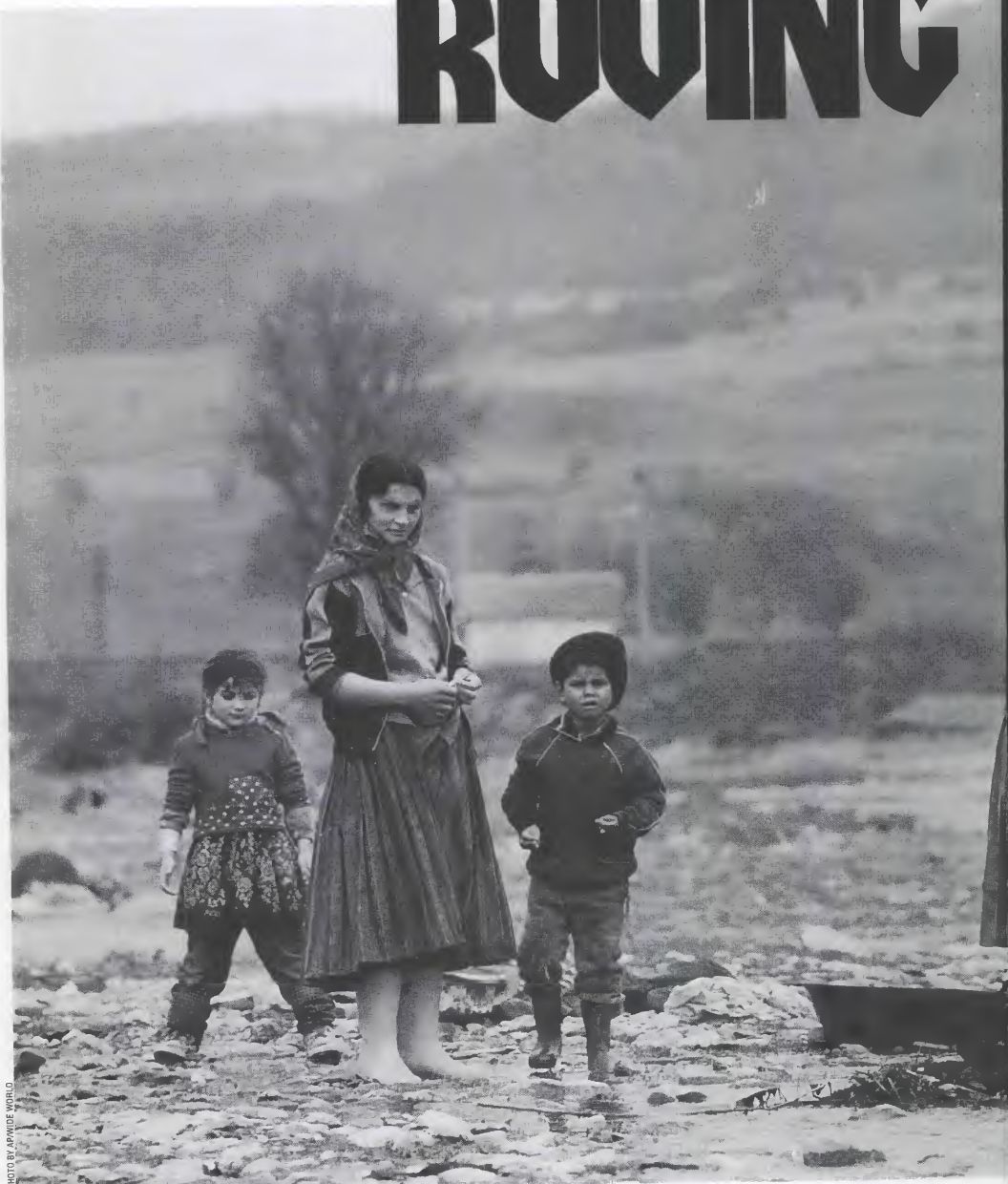


PHOTO BY JAMIE WILCO

Gypsies from the Transylvania village of Porumbac de Jos, Romania wash in a nearby river.

AMBASSADOR

Nicholae Gheorghe works to overcome discrimination for Romania's Gypsies

BY HANK ZIVETZ

Nicholae Gheorghe lives a peripatetic life. One day he is in Warsaw at a human rights conference. The next day he might be in Paris meeting with international scholars, or in New York at the United Nations. Finally, at the end of the week he returns home to Bucharest.

It is a Gypsy existence. And, not surprisingly, Nicholae Gheorghe *is* a Gypsy, or as labeled in Romania, a Tsigani. About 8 percent of the country's population are Gypsies, making the Tsigani one of Romania's two largest minority groups, the other being the Magyars, or ethnic Hungarians.

Gheorghe recently led a demonstration in Bucharest to protest the pogrom-like violence inflicted on his people in retaliation for the murder of a Romanian, allegedly by Gypsies. While some senior Romanian politicians ridiculed the rally's small turnout, none deprecated the power and influence, particularly outside of Romania, of Nicholae Gheorghe.

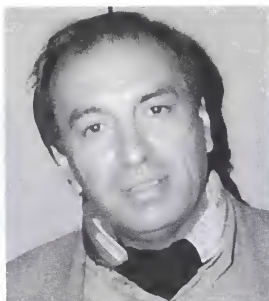


I met Gheorghe soon after arriving in Bucharest in 1977 as the Cultural Attache. My wife Evelyn, a gerontologist, arrived to research Romanian policies and programs for senior citizens. Gheorghe, who held a position with the Romanian Sociology Institute, was assigned by the government to assist Evelyn in her interviews. In reality, he was her "policeman," charged with reporting on whom she saw and what was said.

Gheorghe, a "true believer" in Marxism, was the paradigm of that fanciful Communist goal—the "new socialist man." The son of a poor Gypsy truck driver from Rosiori de Vede, a village southwest of Bucharest, Gheorghe transcended his hated minority status and humble beginnings to complete his studies at the University of Bucharest, first in philosophy and then in a new discipline for Romania, sociology. He was the only one of the three Gheorghe children to receive an education beyond the fifth grade.

FROM BELIEVER TO ADVOCATE

But around 1978, Gheorghe was transformed from party loyalist (he had become a Communist Party member while at the university) to political advocate—largely from



Nicholae Gheorghe, leader of the Ethnic Federation of Romanians.

his continual association with our family, our foreign friends, and American Fulbright scholars. We offered him a window to the world beyond the books he had been borrowing from the American library in Bucharest.

He recalls, with a wry smile, the welcome he received at parties of foreign friends. He was an oddity, a real live *Gypsy*—and a literate one at that. "Today," he laughs, "I have lots of competitors."

These contacts provided a broader, freer intellectual base from which his developing ideas could resonate. Some of these ideas concerned his own roots. Intrigued by America's civil rights movement, Gheorghe couldn't avoid the obvious similarities between the history and current status of America's African-Americans and Romania's Gypsies.

Gheorghe's conversion to a human rights advocate was completed when the American scholar Lawrence Guttman, author of a definitive work on the African-American family, came to Romania as a USIS guest lecturer. Apart from Guttman himself, the star of the program was Gheorghe. His probing questions and critical comments made it apparent that Gheorghe was the only Romanian

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present who had not only read the Guttman book but also a wealth of related material.

The contact with Guttman as well as with other foreign and American scholars led to offers to attend conferences, present papers, and teach courses outside of Romania. As regularly as these invitations were received, Gheorghe's applications to leave the country were rejected. Even after he married, and had two children (providing him with hostages to insure his return) he was refused an exit visa and passport.

Bolstered by the affirmation of the international community, Gheorghe became more aggressive and overt. At cocktail parties he confronted Romanian artists and intellectuals and fellow Gypsies and openly solicited support in his emerging crusade on behalf of the Romany people.

Borrowing from the American civil rights movement, Gheorghe challenged accepted forms of anti-Gypsy discrimination. I vividly remember a conversation in the living room of a ranking Communist Party official during a party given in honor of the participants in a Romanian-American history conference.

Gheorghe had been conspicuously absent from the conference when an American Fulbright scholar read Gheorghe's paper on the problems of Romanian Gypsies. The paper had not been part of the scheduled

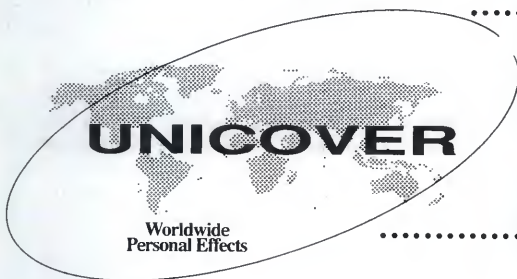
agenda and was received with cold silence by the Romanians.

Gheorghe arrived late to the party and could barely conceal his excitement. I was the first familiar face he saw and without care or caution he began to spill out the triumph of his day. That day he had challenged authority by insisting on equal treatment for Gypsies. In a neighboring town, he and a leader of the Romany community accompanied a small group of colorfully-clad Gypsies into a first-class restaurant. As expected they were refused service because, as the restaurant manager said, Gypsies were not allowed in that kind of establishment. After some argument, Gheorghe went to an authority in municipality headquarters who promptly disputed the account, accusing Gheorghe of exaggerating. Gheorghe then produced a tape of the entire discussion at the restaurant. This evidence embarrassed the city officials and pressed them to promise further discussions on a host of complaints.

In order to be heard over the cacophony of conversations, Gheorghe had to shout out his story. I surreptitiously peeked around the living room to see if anyone was listening. I knew that the ubiquitous security police were never far from any occasion that mixed Romanians with foreigners. As I listened to my friend, I feared for his safety.

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PROGRESS IN INCHES

Today, this 57-year-old crusader is working in the villages as well as in the world's power centers, tilting at the windmills of prejudice and measuring progress in inches.

In Romania, Gheorghe's colleague Gheorghe Raducanu is the sole Gypsy member of Parliament. The government awards this one-seat stipend to each ethnic minority unable to meet the three percent voter requirement necessary for a party to hold seats in the Parliament. To Gheorghe, this "gift" of a single parliamentary seat is a meaningless sop that only reinforces the division between the Romanian ethnic majority and the many other minorities.

Gheorghe uses grass-roots education and recruitment to reach his aim of creating a sense of strength and common cause among disparate Romany groups. He disagrees with the tactic of developing a single Romany political party as has been done in the large Magyar community.

"I wanted to create a power base, as have many Blacks in America," he said. "But instead of trying to accomplish this through a single political party, I decided early on to work from the grassroots by stimulating many local community associations. Once established, these communities become part of our larger federation. It is a slow, laborious process.

"I am by profession and temperament, a social worker. I am project-oriented. I started working in those communities where there was violence, where houses were destroyed, where Gypsies were expelled."

Gheorghe helped these people rebuild their burnt-out homes, rejecting government offers of money and relying instead on international sources such as the World Council of Churches. He also created schools and organized small, profitable businesses where both Romanians and Gypsies might work together.



With a young child in hand, two Gypsy women walk through the streets of the old town of Sibiu in the Transylvania section of Romania.

PHOTO BY AP/WIDE WORLD

Above all, he works to counter racism by holding demonstrations to draw attention to its existence. Despite the small turnout in a recent demonstration in Bucharest, his efforts have gained notice, even among his critics. Some opponents charge that his activities foment racism and are paid for by the Americans. He is now planning another demonstration in Tirgu Muresi where a violent confrontation in 1990 between Romanians and Hungarians resulted in gratuitous violence against Gypsies.

His greatest strength is as a lobbyist for Romany causes in the international arena. Gypsies, he points out, are a transnational minority and not the minority of a single nation. Therefore, Gypsies must be seen in an international context, and not solely as Hungarian or Romanian.

One of his major accomplishments has been the passage of a 1992 resolution by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights for the protection of Gypsies. Through personal representation before international bodies, and through his efforts at organizing conferences and seminars, he has successfully raised the consciousness of many world leaders on the issue of human rights for Gypsies.

Since the collapse of communism, the Romany International Union has been accredited to the UN Economic and Social Council as a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), and in November 1990, the European Parliament of Romanies (EUROM) was established.

AMBASSADOR AND SCHOLAR

These are important steps, says Gheorghe, because they have helped Romany people gain political and social power to move from being considered a despised, marginal people to a recognized status as a genuine ethnic

His greatest strength is as a lobbyist for Romany causes in the international arena. Gypsies, he points out, are a transnational minority and not the minority of a single nation. Therefore, Gypsies must be seen in an international context, and not solely as Hungarian or Romanian.

minority. Despite his current role as an international ambassador for the Romanians, Gheorghe is always the sociological scholar. As a result, Gheorghe has critiqued the evolution of his culture in sociological terms and named the process "ethnogenesis."

Gheorghe believes that the nationalistic basis for all of the new governments in eastern and central Europe precludes any real change in attitudes or behavior vis-à-vis the Romany people. As long as Romania, for example, looks upon all minorities, from the large Magyar population, to the smaller German, and tinier Greek, Armenian, Turkish, and Albanian communities, as distinct ethnic groups, then Romania will continue to be a nation ruled by one favored majority, sometimes tolerating and sometimes intolerant of its various minorities.

The answer he sees is in building a nation-state wherein all peoples are equal citizens, albeit some holding on to their own special ethnic or religious practices. In such a state, it would not be a question of combatting anti-Gypsy behavior, but of enforcing the same civil laws and civil rights that protect all of the nation's citizens. Crime and other wrongdoings would not be an identified Gypsy phenomena but anti-social behavior, punishable by laws that are applicable to everyone.

When Gheorghe recently spurted out these ideas to me, I found it difficult to keep up. The elegance of his prose and his academic references acted as an intellectual bubble, isolating us from the bustle, noise, and smoke in the seedy lobby of Bucharest's Dorobanti Hotel where we were meeting. This time however, neither of us was concerned about who might be listening. Four years earlier, the revolution overthrew the Ceausescu regime. Our hotel meeting was the first time we had a chance to talk at length since the historic event.

I mentioned that in other interviews, some political leaders contended that Gypsies had done quite well under the Communists. Others, mainly opponents of the current government, charged that today Gypsies were benefitting more than ordinary Romanians because President Iliescu had Gypsy parentage.

Gheorghe ignored the contention about Iliescu but acknowledged that under the Communists, Gypsies were integrated (often by force) into the economy and, thus, many benefitted from factory and other jobs which today

were mostly non-existent.

Gypsies have always been in business, said Gheorghe. Under the Communists, this was considered the "grey market." Today, it's legitimized as "capitalism." At the same time, Romania is basically a peasant society. And just as Jews in other peasant cultures were persecuted because they were involved in commerce, so too are Gypsies singled out as evil speculators. For the Romanian, making a profit without back-breaking work is equivalent to stealing. This attitude was reinforced under Communism. And today the Gypsy who increases his wealth through trade is labeled a thief. Romanians say they value decent people who work. There are sizeable numbers of decent Gypsies who work, he said, but these are the people who are not only rejected by the majority Romanians but who have had their homes burned, and have been driven out of their villages because they are Gypsies.

We concluded our conversation on an incongruous, but humorous note, when I elicited the admission that under certain circumstances, Nicolae Gheorghe might even be a monarchist. Using Max Weber's concept of the legitimacy of power, he said that Romanians have three options for leadership: the traditional, the charismatic, or the bureaucratic-rational. The latter is a product of democracy and is obviously not yet adaptive to Romanian political predilections. He sees most of his countrymen more amenable to a Ceausescu-type of charismatic leadership. The other option is the traditional, characterized by the monarchy. If given an option between another charismatic leader and a king, Gheorghe unhesitatingly would choose the king. Actually, he has met the exiled King Michael and most of the royal family in trips abroad and genuinely likes them.

It was late Saturday night, and as we prepared to part, last-minute questions and bits of personal trivia passed between us. The din, the smoke and smell of the tacky hotel lobby reimposed tawdry reality on the previous two hours of passionate discussion. I bade Nicolae farewell assured that this man has still to write the definitive chapter on the fate and future of his people. 

Hank Zivetz was CAO in Romania from 1977 to 1980 and now is an adjunct professor at San Diego State University.

It's Never Been Easy to Serve in Baghdad

Despatches from U.S. Consul in Baghdad, John C. Sundberg



The United States opened its first consulate in Baghdad in January 1889. Consul John Henry Haynes traveled overland by caravan from Constantinople to Alexandretta to reach his post, a journey of over three months. After Haynes resigned to join the University of Pennsylvania's archaeological excavations in the region, he was replaced by John Sundberg, a physician. Sundberg chose the ocean route to Baghdad, traveling by steamer to Hong Kong then to India. From Calcutta, he reported that he would be delayed several weeks because his wife had contracted pneumonia, leading to premature childbirth, while sailing around Singapore and through the Straits. From Calcutta the Sundbergs traversed India by train then took passage on a boat to Basra. Sundberg's official despatches from Baghdad provide a fascinating insight into life in this region a century ago.

Epidemics

Baghdad, June 20, 1894

Sir:

I beg to report that . . . a malignant and very fatal fever has prevailed in the city and suburbs, more especially among the Fellahs (tillers of the soil) down along the river; and these poor people are left to die without the aid of doctor or medicine. Having lost all their crops, I also fear the survivors of the fever will soon be starving. I learned only yesterday of this sad state of affairs, and this morning, before sun rise, I embarked in a kuffah (a circular boat made of wicker work and coated with bitumen) armed with two ounces of quinine, some calomel, Dovers powder and Epsom salts, for a reconnoitering tour among the huts of the Fellahs . . . I salaamed and enquired about their health, and was told they were nearly all sick. I then said that I was a physician. . . . On being told that I would treat them, not for money, but for Allah's sake, the sound of their voices changed to shouts of jubilation. Alas that their momentary hopes and rejoicing should be so groundless! The fever, of paludal origin, as the surroundings fully showed, was mostly of a continued type. As soon as the purpose of my visit was known, crowds began to gather from neighboring huts begging me to come and see their sick, and I continued my visits . . .

I walked home again. . . . A caravan of Persian pilgrims bound for Kerbelah and Nedjef, holy shrines venerated by the Shiah sect of Mohammedans, was just arriving, and many of the mules were loaded with coffins containing corpses that had been dead for months, some perhaps for years. The immigration of defunct Persians having just been reopened, many thousand corpses will pass through Baghdad this summer for their final resting place. It is a source of both revenue and pestilence.

During the feast of the sacrifice, probably not less than 20,000 sheep were sacrificed, besides buffaloes and camels. This wholesale slaughter which is done with barbarous cruelty, will not improve the sanitary condition. Last year it was followed by an epidemic of homicides which preceded the outbreak of cholera.

Great floods, such as we have witnessed this year, are usually . . . followed by the plague, and a visitation of this dreaded scourge is expected next winter.

If I had a large supply of quinine and other remedies, I might be able to save the lives of some of the fever sufferers; but with no salary and but a trifling income from fees, what can I do? Shall we shut our eyes and ears and hearts, and let our fellow beings perish without an effort to save?

. . . Your obedient servant,

—John C. Sundberg

Persian Rugs: A Health Hazard Baghdad, October 25, 1894 Sir:

With regard to invoice No. 181 of 15 bales of old and new Persian rugs, shipped to New York, it was found impossible to particularize contents of each bale as required. As the goods, however, were packed in the custom house, it is not probable that other and more valuable goods could be secreted in the bales—at least not without bribing the custom house officers who, by the way, are not incorruptible in this city.

I desire to point out—nay, I consider it my duty to do so—that Persian rugs, whether old or new—and in this shipment are both—are a menace to public health.

Even new rugs may have lain years in dwellings so filthy that no American who has not resided in the Orient and associated intimately with the natives, can form any idea thereof. There they receive bacteria-laden dust many of which possess great vitality. On the journey from Persia to Baghdad they have also in all probability been exposed to the exhalations of putrid corpses, as all caravans from Persia bring defunct immigrants for interment at the sacred shrines of Kerbelah and Nedjef.

I would not have a Persian carpet in my house except after the most thorough disinfection by hot steam and SO₂, or chlorine gas which no doubt would destroy the color. I regard them as very dangerous and I doubt not but the surgeon general of the Marine Hospital Service as well as Surgeon General Sternberg . . . or anyone else who has devoted his life to sanitary science, will agree with me.

I have sounded the warning note and with that done my duty. . . . Your obedient servant,

—John C. Sundberg

Peter D. Eicher, political counselor in Geneva, has generously contributed these histories.

CHOOSING A BOARDING SCHOOL

The following checklist on choosing a school has been made available to the *Foreign Service Journal* through the Family Liaison Office (FLO) at the Department of State. If you would like additional information on the application process, please contact the FLO office at (202) 647-1076.

✓ PICKING A SCHOOL

- Geographic distribution of students?
- International student program? What countries?
- Any Foreign Service students? Who/where from?
- Special programs for those coming from abroad?
- How is level or placement determined?
- Weekend activities?
- Leave policy? Open/closed weekends?
- Saturday classes?
- Extra tutorial help/study skills/reading development available? Fees?
- Is discipline done by faculty/staff or in conjunction with students?
- Profile of faculty: qualifications, length of tenure?
- Special programs? Emphasis?
- What makes school different from others?
- Why would a F.S. student want to come to this school?
- How is communication maintained with parents? Special efforts to maintain quick communications (FAX, longdistance calls)?
- Uniforms or dress code?

📖 CURRICULUM

- Range of courses?
- Track system?
- Special or unique courses?
- Class size?
- Honors classes offered?
- Fine arts offerings?
- Semester(s) abroad programs?
- Study policy?

△ RESIDENTIAL

- Rooms: Shared or single?
- Faculty in dorm?
- Meals?
- Telephone policy?
- School observed holidays?
- Policy if F.S. student can't go home?

🎵 EXTRA—CURRICULAR

- Weekend activities?
- Types of clubs available?
- Drama/musical productions?
- Sports offered?

— Kay Branaman Eakin
Education Counselor, FLO

SCHOOL ADVERTISING SECTION

Army and Navy Academy	Pg. 49	Northfield Mt. Hermon	Pg. 47
Blue Ridge School	Pg. 45	Pennington School, The	Pg. 49
Calvert School	Pg. 50	Phillips Exeter School	Pg. 48
Christchurch School	Pg. 49	Pine Crest School	Pg. 46
Fay School	Pg. 44	Salem Academy	Pg. 46
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Leyssin	Pg. 45	St. John's Preparatory	Pg. 43
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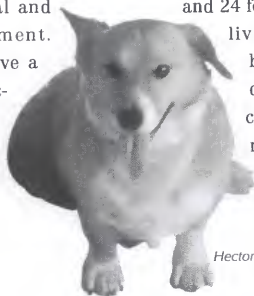
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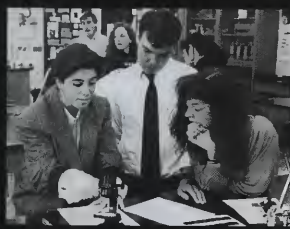
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BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Peace Corps Writers

by John Coyne

Once asked a New York book editor out and she replied, "I'll have dinner with you, but I won't read your Peace Corps novel." Such was the fear and loathing that the publishing world had for Peace Corps books. That editor is my wife now, but she still refuses to read my Peace Corps novel.

While my wife hasn't changed, I am happy to say the publishing world has. In the last few years, a dozen books have been published about the Peace Corps experience, all written by former volunteers.

Richard Wiley, author of *Soldier In Hiding*, winner of the 1986 Pen/Faulkner Award, was a volunteer in Korea. Of his Peace Corps experience he has said; "It was the single most important 'event' of my life. It saved me, teaching me that all reality is not English-language based and that the world isn't America. I'm sure that my belief that fiction ought to be global came directly from my Peace Corps experience."

P.F. Kluge, author of five books, among them *The Edge of Paradise*, nominated for a 1992 Robert F. Kennedy Award, was a volunteer in Micronesia. He, too, was influenced by his time in the Peace Corps. "It took me to a place I'd never been, islands I've kept returning to. My life was changed. And the Peace Corps was my ticket to ride."

Peace Corps writer Bob Shachochis, a volunteer in Barbados, won the American Book Award a few years ago for his first collection of stories, *Easy in the Islands*. Recently, his novel *Swimming in the Volcano*, also set in the Caribbean, was nominated for the 1993 National Book Award. Norm Rush, author of a collection of stories, *Whites*, and the 1991 National Book Award winner, *Mating*, used Botswana, the country of his Peace Corps assignment, as his

Yoknapatawpha County.

Paul Theroux, the most famous Peace Corps writer, used his African experience, first as a volunteer in Malawi and later as a contract teacher at the university in Kampala, Uganda, as the source material for his early novels, *Waldo*, *Fong and The Indians*, *Girls at Play*, and later in *My Secret History*.

The gifted writer, Maria Thomas, who was tragically killed in August 1989 in a plane crash when she and

**In the last few years, a dozen
books have been published
about the Peace Corps
experience, all written by
former volunteers.**

other government officials were visiting Ethiopian refugee camps, set her books, *Antonia Saw the Oryx First*, *Come to Africa and Save Your Marriage*, and the posthumously published *African Visas*, in Africa, where she spent the last 18 years of her life.

Many other Peace Corps writers have called upon their volunteer experience for inspiration or setting. Mary-Ann Tirone Smith, author of *Lament for a Silver-Eyed Woman*, wrote a story that is partially set in the Cameroon. Lauri Anderson's *Hunting Hemingway's Trout* includes stories about a Peace Corps volunteer in Biafra, and Karin McQuillan has written two mysteries set in Africa. Ron Arias used his Peruvian experience in *The Road to Tamazunchale*, which was nominated for the 1975 National Book Award. Eileen Drew's stories, *Blue Taxis*, set in West Africa, won the

Milkweed National Fiction Prize in 1989. Science fiction writer Carol Severance served in Micronesia and placed her science fiction novel, *Reefsong*, on a Pacific coral atoll. Kathleen Coskran, a volunteer in Ethiopia, won the Minnesota Book Award in 1988 for her collection, *The High Price of Everything*, which included several stories set in East Africa.

Several other Peace Corps writers have published literary non-fiction accounts of their Peace Corps experience. The best of these are: Leonard Levitt's *An African Season*, about his time in Tanzania; Mortiz Thomson's *Living Poor: A Peace Corps Chronicle*, his account of Peace Corps farming in Ecuador; Mike Tidwell's *The Ponds of Kalambayi—An African Sojourn*, reporting his service as a fish culture extension agent in central Zaire; and George Packer's *The Village of Waiting*, the story of his year in the Togolese highlands.

Several years ago, Bob Shachochis summed up what we can expect from Peace Corps writers: "We are torch bearers of a vital tradition, that of shedding light in the mythical heart of darkness. We are descendants of Joseph Conrad, Mark Twain, George Orwell, Graham Greene, Somerset Maugham, Ernest Hemingway, and scores of other men and women, expatriates and travel writers and wanderers, who have enriched our domestic literature with the spices of Cathay, who have tried to communicate the 'exotic' as a relative, rather than an absolute quality of humanity."

All of the current Peace Corps writers were too young to have been in Paris during the 1920s or to have written the great World War II novel. But now, three decades after the Peace Corps began, they are creating a body of writing that has been shaped by their overseas experience. Having lived and worked at the edges of the

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BOOKS AND THE ARTS

earth and on top of the world, their service provided them with fascinating experiences and wonderful tales. These stories are now being retold in their novels, and, in time, this body of work will find its rightful place on the bookshelf of American literature.

Novelist John Coyne is editor of RPCV Writers & Readers, a non-profit newsletter of book reviews, essays, and interviews by and about returned Peace Corps volunteer writers. For information about these Peace Corps books or the newsletter write Marian Haley Beil, 4 Lodge Pole Road, Pittsford, New York 14534-4550.

South Africa: The Struggle for a New Order

by Marina Ottaway, *The Brookings Institution*, 1993, \$14.95, paperback, 250 pages.

Reviewed by Andrew L. Steigman

Apartheid may be a thing of the past, but the shape of a post-apartheid South Africa is still far from clear. Marina Ottaway's new book will be a godsend for anyone attempting to understand the complexities of the South African situation. In just over 200 pages, she identifies the actors in the drama that began with the release of Nelson Mandela in early 1990, the arenas in which they meet, and the issues they seek to address. Equally important, Ottaway presents her material with exceptional clarity, giving each chapter a road map at its beginning and a crisp, no-nonsense conclusion at its end.

Ottaway, who has just joined the faculty at Georgetown University, was in residence at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg during the three years covered in her book. While only published sources are cited in the footnotes, her front-row seat on this critical period presumably allowed her to discuss developments with many of the leading players, adding further weight to her conclusions.

The author is under no illusions about the problems which lie ahead for South Africa. She avoids predicting any specific outcome, beyond noting that

the transition will be "different and difficult"—different because this is, in effect, the first post-Cold War decolonization; difficult because the problems are so intractable, and none of the players has any real experience of a democratic system. "No African liberation movement," she argues, "ever successfully turned into a political party." Can the ANC succeed where others have failed? As for the National Party, the ANC's principal interlocutor, Ottaway contends that party and government have become so intertwined over the past four decades that the NP is no better prepared for democratic rule than is the ANC. Other disparate contenders, from Inkatha to AZAPO and from the Conservative Party and the AWB to the Pan-African Congress, further complicate the task of reaching consensus on South Africa's future.

Much has happened in South Africa even in the few short months since Ottaway's book went to press—most dramatically the assassination of Chris Hani and the recent agreement to hold the country's first "democratic" elections next April. Nonetheless, the fundamental elements affecting future progress remain unchanged, and they are nowhere set forth more clearly than in Marina Ottaway's book. If you only have time for one work on the current situation in South Africa, this is it.

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

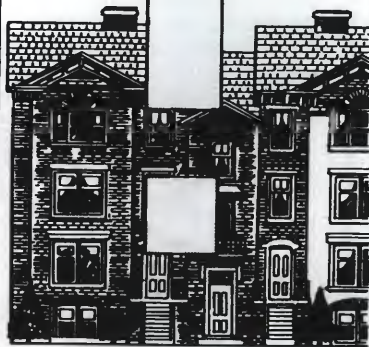
Acheson Country

by David C. Acheson, W.W. Norton, 1993, \$23.00, hardcover, 219 pages.

Reviewed by Charles Maechling Jr.

Dean Acheson, assistant and under secretary of state during President Truman's first years in office, and secretary of state throughout Truman's second term, was both admired and regarded as controversial. Whether he was, to quote David McCullough's introduction, "this century's outstanding secretary of state," may be debatable, but he was the most outstanding per-

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BOOKS AND THE ARTS

sonality to hold the office in this century. This slim volume tells us why, and brings Acheson's spirited and imposing figure to life.

As under secretary to George C. Marshall, Acheson was a driving force in creating both the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. As secretary from 1949-1953, he was largely responsible for creating the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance and orchestrating U.S. entry into the Korean War under the UN umbrella. However, for the complete story of Acheson's diplomatic service during this period one must look to his own memoir, *Present at the Creation*. *Acheson Country*, written by his son David, is a tribute to Acheson the parent, the weekend farmer, the writer, and the exemplar of that almost extinct species, the cultivated American patrician. It is a fascinating portrait.

A product of Groton, Yale, and the Harvard School of Law, son of an Episcopal bishop, Acheson combined a striking and elegant presence with an incisive mind and an impressive command of substance. The personnel of the State Department were immensely proud to have the United States represented by such a distinguished figure. But Acheson's principles sometimes got him into trouble—the most notable instance being his refusal to “turn his back” on his friend Alger Hiss, accused of being a Communist agent. His superior manner and dismissal of opposing views as ignorant and parochial went over with Congress and the media only as long as the underlying policy remained uncontroversial.

In most respects, Acheson was traditionalist to the core. Tall, ramrod straight, with handsome features and a guardsman mustache angled slightly upwards, he was a model of sartorial perfection. In fact, his son referred to him as “an unreconstructed dude.” Beneath the conventional exterior lay high spirits, a strong rebellious streak, and an uninhibited vocabulary. His taste in books ran to Anglo-American history, biography, and memoirs. However, for a variety of reasons—Anthony Eden was one—Acheson's innate Anglophilia gradually wore off and he ended up

having closer relations with Chancellor Adenauer than with any British statesman. In modern academic jargon, Acheson was “Eurocentric,” but until Korea erupted this coincided with the power realities of the day.

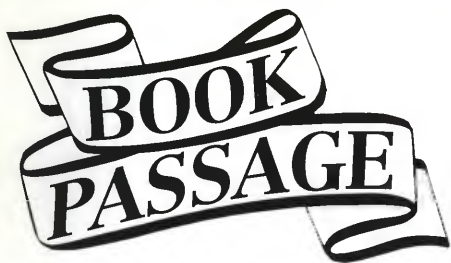
Like many other secretaries of state, Acheson was a lawyer, a partner in the Washington law firm of Covington & Burling. The author is candidly factual about his father's earnings—\$80,000 a year before World War II—and reminds us what this level of professional pre-inflation earnings bought—a handsome house in Georgetown and a farm in Sandy Spring, several servants, horses, new automobiles, and the best boarding schools for his three children. The author is equally frank that when his father left office in 1953 and rejoined his law firm, the clients failed to show up. In those days an ex-secretary of state did not consider himself a marketable commodity and did not trade on his contacts and engage in self-promotion. Acheson turned to writing as much for financial reasons as to keep occupied.

Dean Acheson's record as a diplomat is not easy to assess. His term of office ran through a period of overwhelming U.S. military superiority, monopoly of deliverable nuclear weapons, and the almost total economic and military dependence of Europe and Japan on the United States. There was no contact with China, and summits and arms control negotiations were with his own Congress. Until the end of his tenure, he was bedeviled by allegations that a speech he gave which seemed to place the Korean peninsula outside the boundary of U.S. strategic interests led directly to the North Korean invasion of South Korea.

After leaving office, Acheson became a hard-nosed hawk, advocating selective bombing in the Cuban Missile Crisis and all-out bombing in Vietnam. Today, none of this should detract from Dean Acheson's reputation as a public servant of the highest quality. This tasteful and elegantly written memoir will help to keep his memory alive.

Charles Maechling Jr. is an international lawyer who writes frequently on diplomacy.

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- 7:30 A.M.** Woke up in a luxurious
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turned on Cable TV for
the weather.
- 7:45 A.M.** Nice day. Took breakfast
and the Washington Post
onto the balcony.
- 8:20 A.M.** Tossed linens in
washer and dryer.
Left note for maid to
set dinner table.
Petted the cat.
- 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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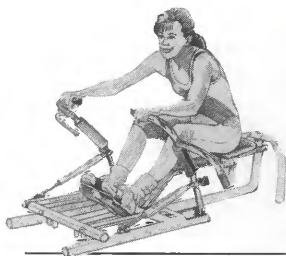
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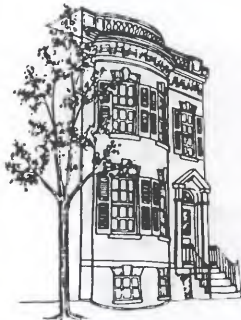
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Communications: Kirkuk

By LEE DINSMORE

The year was 1957. Kirkuk's communications reflected the area's history. The first language of the city was Turkish. Our landlord was a Turkish citizen who also owned and farmed land nearby. Municipal records were traditionally in Turkish, changing to Arabic and written in Arabic script. Turkish was spoken exclusively by the old families, a dwindling local social and political elite. The second language was Kurdish, the tongue of the street. Arabic, the language of the country, was known and spoken and taught in the schools, but it was not the language of choice. When one would join a late afternoon gathering in any one of dozens of gardens, the language of one's nearest seated neighbors would switch from Turkish to Arabic in deference to the foreigner.

Kirkuk was a long and dusty train ride from Baghdad. Much of our communications with the embassy was through the local mail system. One morning I was in the Kirkuk post office waiting to collect our consulate mail, when the postmaster suggested that maybe I would like to join him in sorting. It might be quicker for us, he said amiably. From then on our local assistant was in the postoffice early each day, sorting through the pile of mail for mail to the consulate.

Earlier in Kirkuk, we had established another communications innovation when we opened our USIS regional library in 1953. Much of the program activity involved the presentation and distribution of publications, announcements or film showings, VOA schedules, and the like. Although we went to Sulaimaniya, Erbil, Mosul, and surrounding villages often, it would be unreason-

able to send a driver and vehicle of our own every time we had a bundle of material for distribution in the hinterlands. A simple solution was found with the drivers of the local taxis and buses.

Periodically, we assembled packages of printed material, addressed them to libraries, newspapers, schools, and individuals in a variety of northern Iraqi towns. We took them to a bus or taxi driver, and made the simplest of financial deals for the delivery service. Abundant evidence filtered back to us that the recipients received the information.

The consulate was connected to the



outside world with a radio, a "single-side band type," a designation without meaning for any of us. It was heavy, with a metallic housing and tubes, and needed an aerial. We erected one, drawing intense curiosity from the Iraqis who watched us, the intelligence network, who were convinced that the aerial was conclusive evidence we were up to no good.

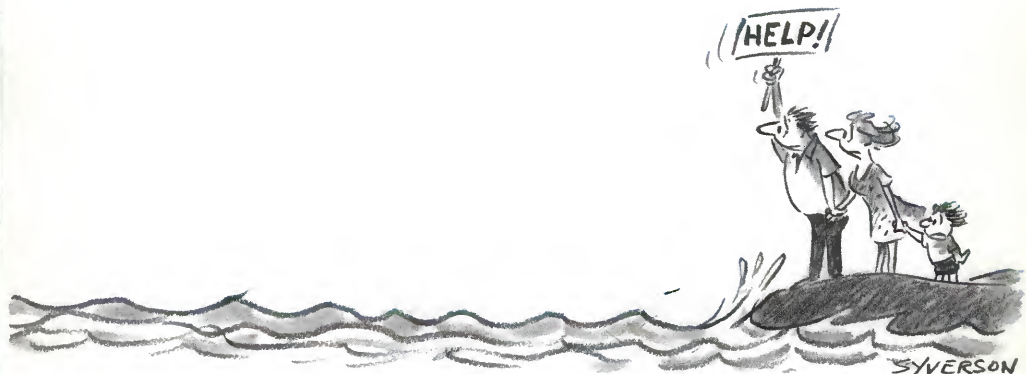
It was to have been the lifeline in case of riot, flood, or locusts. We were given instructions that seemed simple enough, and we awaited the date of the next test, eager to try out the wonders of the wireless. But tests occurred too

infrequently for us to ever get the hang of the device. In the short year-and-a-half the single-side band was in operation, our only successful contact was made with a U.S. Navy ship somewhere in the Mediterranean. We never did hear Embassy Baghdad, not they us, and when we had to close the post in November 1958, the iron radio had to be crushed into a small enough dimension to fit in the mail pouch.

Telegrams were another matter. While the embassy in Baghdad sent us pouches of unclassified paper, since we had no radio for other official correspondence, the occasional coded telegram was decoded by one-time pad. It would too often reveal itself, letter by letter, to be one of those multi-departmental instructions—advice announcing an arcane change in procedures or a bulletin regarding the handling of visa requests by astro-physicists—matters of undoubted urgency to some office in Washington, but foreign to preoccupations in Kirkuk. We also sent infrequent messages by way of the pad. The messages, in five-letter groups, were taken to the local telegraph office, which was prepared to accept telegrams in the evenings. We sent them for overnight transmission—a cheaper rate. We came to know the telegrapher, who would shake his head in pained amazement at the work represented by several pages of type he was going to have to send Morse Code. Our coding had taken several hours, first by pencil, then copied on the typewriter. 

Lee Dinsmore, a retired FSO, served as regional PAO in Kirkuk from 1952-54. He returned as consul in 1957.

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