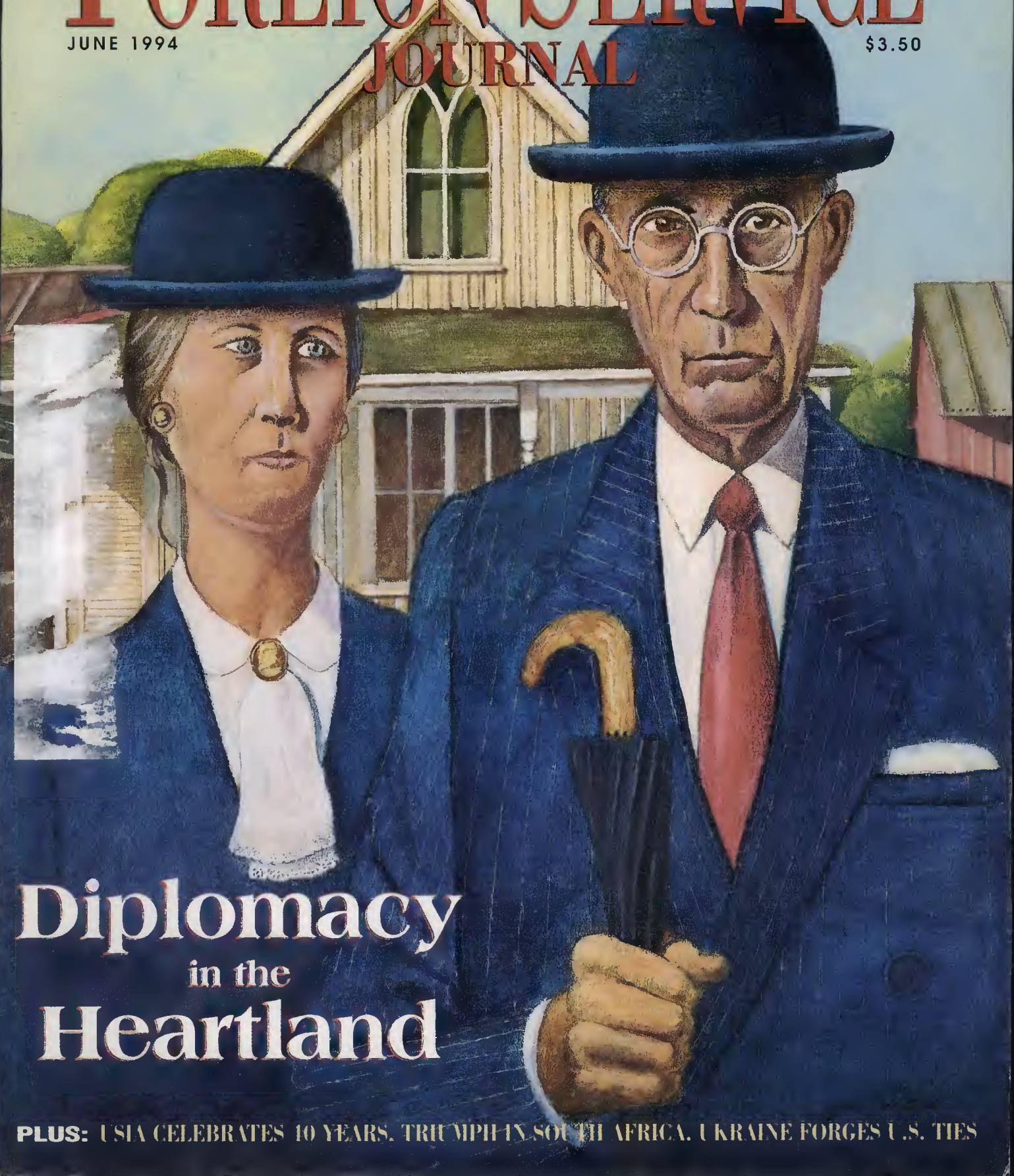


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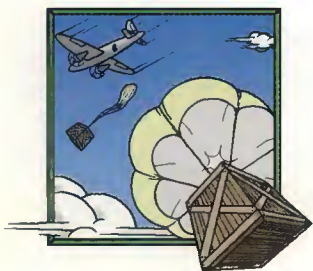


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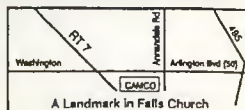
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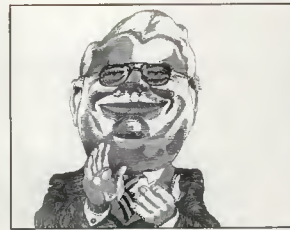
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JUNE 1994

VOL. 71, NO. 6



Ukraine.....18



USIA.....32

FOCUS: Diplomacy in the Heartland

Diplomacy in the Heartland.....24

Foreign Policymaking Grounded in Small-Town Values, Ideals

BY DON TERPSTRA

An Iowa Boy Makes Good.....27

BY ROBERT G. MORRIS

FEATURES

New Era Beckons for Ukraine.....18

After Elections, Reformers Reap \$700 Million Aid Package

BY ROMAN POPADIUK

Witness to a Nation's Rebirth.....28

BY GILBERT O. KULICK

Spreading the Word.....32

USIA Celebrates 40th Year of Telling the World America's Story

BY HANS N. TUCH

A Glimpse Into the Past.....34

Passing on the Lessons of One Career

BY MCKINNEY H. RUSSELL

A Glimpse Into the Future.....36

USIA Revamps Its Image in the Post-Cold War Era

BY STANLEY A. ZUCKERMAN

COLUMNS

President's Views.....4

Message to Congress: Match Resources to Policy

BY TEX HARRIS

Speaking Out.....16

Who Will Tend the Caravanserai?

BY DANIEL O. NEWBERRY

Postcard From Abroad.....60

You Can Go Home Again

BY EILEEN KELLY

DEPARTMENTS

Letters.....6	In Memory.....46
Clippings and Comment.....12	School Advertising Section.....48
AFSA News.....Pull-Out Section	Index to Advertisers.....59
Books.....40	

PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Message to Congress: Match Resources to Policy

On April 28, I testified about the foreign affairs budget on AFSA's behalf before the House Appropriations Subcommittee. This was a first for our association. The Governing Board decided to take this unprecedented step out of growing concern that the foreign policies and programs proclaimed by America's elected leadership don't match the resources available. My message to Congress was twofold:

Part One: Don't reduce the administration's bare-bones request any further. Although I believe that in some places we already have crossed a line beyond which we can't meet our responsibilities, the board concluded that the more realistic approach — given the climate of fiscal austerity — was to try to hold the line.

Part Two: Mandate a field survey of selected posts where **all** the resources of **all** agencies, including the intelligence agencies, would be put on the table and matched against policy priorities.

Former Secretary of State James Baker's decision not to seek adequate funding to open and staff 29 new embassies was hailed as an example of responsible belt-tightening, but the consequences, such as reducing the intake of junior officers this year from 200 to 130, will ripple through the institution for years to come.

Much of our money woes also result from the State Department's failure to respond quickly enough to changing international conditions. For example, we still must buy emanation-proof computers, at quadruple the normal cost, have redundant communications systems costing millions each year, etc., etc.

Seeking supplemental appropriations — the old and now nearly impossible answer — or raiding salaries and expenses — the favorite new answer — should not have to be the choice. Until more resources are found, a better job than we're doing now of matching personnel and programs to policy priorities has got to be the answer.

That our highest priority is promoting America's economic security has become Secretary of State Warren Christopher's mantra, and he has told the Foreign Service, at home and abroad, that promoting U.S. business must drive their undertakings. At the same time, there is greater emphasis on building democracy and meeting threats posed by arms proliferation, environmental degradation, population growth, narcotics and terrorism. Nice ideas, but unmatched by resource deeds.

I agree with Under Secretary of State Richard Moose that it is self-defeating to pretend any longer that we can do more with less. I believe it is time to put **all** the resources on the table and assess how American national interests are being served in a particular country or region. This would be a revolution, as it would require breaching the sacrosanct "firewalls" put up during the Cold War by competing bureaucracies in the executive branch and in Congress.

I propose a key first step: Undertake a survey of the fit between American policies and resources overseas, starting with a half dozen selected posts in which some work already has been undertaken by inspectors.

Clarifying the role of the agencies constituting the official U.S. government presence abroad — **all** of them — would help ensure that funding for overseas activities is commensurate with changing U.S. policy priorities. To be specific, the CIA should **not** be in the business of overt information intelligence collection, a regrettable trend fed by the State Department's inability to fund many overseas reporting positions.

I recognize that there is no guarantee that one or another of the agencies whose employees we represent might not end up with less resources in one or another country if such a review is undertaken. But we all must be involved in a common enterprise — advancing the national interests of the United States. Innovation is in; tradition is out. Managerial efficiency, policy integrity, and avoiding program duplication must be the new path to achieving our national goals. We need an entrepreneurial revolution — now.

— TEX HARRIS



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LETTERS

Remembering FSO Schell

To the Editor:

My family and I were close friends of Barbara Schell, the FSO killed in the accidental shutdown on April 14. Barbara and I took Farsi language training together in 1974-75, served in Iran together, and our paths crossed several times in the intervening years.

Our oldest daughter, Amy, is teaching school at Kodiakanal International School, at Kodiakanal in the Nilgiri Hills of South India, about 250 miles southwest of Madras. When she heard of Barbara's death, she sent this fax to us in Kentucky:

Dear Dad:

For many reasons I am distraught about Barbara Schell. I remember her vividly and, as young as I was in Iran, I was both baffled by her and admired her for (what was then to me) the different way she led her life. To think it was friendly fire makes it that much more difficult to swallow. Even so, I cannot blame those who pushed the button, as tensions are high and human failings are immense. Also, in many ways we all hope to die as we live, perhaps not being shot out of the sky, but in service to a world that is certainly taking a battering these days.

And as I sat in the staff lounge in tears, I realized that these vague but intense feelings of helplessness for humanity are all working together in me at the moment. Third culture has reared its ugly head. I am lost. We are all lost. Where do we belong in a world blown clear of love? Doors to my past are being slammed shut as one and another country goes up in flames. Will I ever see Burundi? Iran?

While American in the sense that I believe passionately in the American ideal, I also have connections to places far away and unfathomable. But they are connections, and as hard as it may be for others not in my position to realize, I cannot help but feel those connections painfully at times like this. How many people we have known and laughed with are dead? I know death is a part of living, but it is the violent and gratuitous death that tortures me. Somehow being a teacher at this time seems so useless. As one UNICEF physician who escaped Rwanda said,

"What's the use of immunizing children only to have them hacked to pieces?"

In my heart I know that there is no grand gesture I can make that will help on a large scale. I suppose it is the daily work of many people to try and help in whatever way their conscience dictates. We all need to remember that what we do helps in small ways and if it doesn't, to make sure it does.

Love, Amy

John D. Stempel
Retired FSO
Lexington, Ky.

Bruce Laingen
President
The American Academy of Diplomacy
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor:

I write to join with the many others in the Foreign Service who grieve the loss of Barbara Schell in the tragic shooting down of the two American helicopters over northern Iraq.

I came to know Barbara at AmEmbassy Tehran when I arrived in June 1979. She was nearing the end of her tour, as commercial attache at that point, having served with distinction and with courage during the difficult months that culminated in the revolution that overthrew the regime of the Shah.

I remember her many qualities of service, but I remember her best for her blithe and adventurous spirit, evident to

all of us that summer when she departed post by means of an Iranian bus, heading across the desert beyond Tehran toward Zahedan far to the east and into Pakistan — going eventually to her next assignment in Oran, Algeria.

She was joyous and open hearted in all that she did, and always doing it well. The Service has lost a good and gracious public servant.

Tiptoeing Around the Facts

To the Editor:

May I suggest, with some trepidation, that Jim Anderson and David D. Pearce, in their thoughtful and intelligent comments on reporters and diplomats, did not go quite to the bottom of the barrel (FSJ, April 1994). As is so often the case in any discussion of the press, the grittier, but vital, facts of life have again been tiptoed around.

Mr. Anderson, for the reporters, and with some justification, argues that the government is spending millions of dollars on a "public affairs juggernaut," designed to play with the truth and to thwart or



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LETTERS

manipulate the honest efforts of reporters to uncover the facts....

Mr. Pearce, for the diplomats, deals with the various pieces of department public affairs lore, which I think we could summarize as: Be prepared, know your business, and treat 'em (the press) right — best-friend basis, if possible. The diplomat's job, he says, is to get the story of policy and action out, without, in Stan Zuckerman's words, "having the press turn an issue upside down." Excellent advice.

Neither Mr. Anderson nor Mr. Pearce focuses on the real nature of the press and the real motivations of reporters: what they want, and why they want it. ... To begin with, we too often forget that the press is not a part of government, and a number of quasi-religious slogans and epigrams, which all of us learn in school, give the press the noble glow which it partly deserves: "The people's right to know," or Jefferson's comment on government with or without press. So we blush when we say out loud that people own or invest in newspapers, magazines and broadcast stations for two reasons, and two reasons only: They intend to make money, and/or they intend to influence opinion, by and large according to their own agendas.

The people who work for the owners — the reporters, editors, printers, secretaries, etc. — are not volunteers, either,

nor are they public servants. Profit and self-interest will compete vigorously with patriotism every time.

The press sells a commodity — news — that is highly perishable, and subject to tremendous competitive pressure; the reporter who is too often a day, or even hours, sometimes minutes, behind his competitors soon must turn to magazine writing or advertising copy writing to keep eating. This journalism "law of the jungle," which is not negotiable or subject to change in our news-hungry society, is completely antithetical to the theory and practice of diplomacy, where change and resolution, even in an age of instant communication, are slow and highly dependent on privacy and discretion.

Aside from accuracy, extremely difficult in itself for conscientious reporters to achieve, the essence of a news story, one which will attract and interest readers or listeners, is also at odds with diplomacy. "Good copy," as we called it in my ancient reporter days, must be built on such elements as conflict, controversy, irony, tragedy, mystery, violence, dishonesty, cruelty, compassion.

American diplomats, charged with dealing with other diplomats who represent other countries with different national objectives and interests, know that heated press stories about a delicate negotia-

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LETTERS

tion can irreparably harm or kill a favorable impending result.

If American diplomats work within the rules and traditions of the press, they can sometimes influence the press to the advantage of government policy; I believe this is one of Mr. Pearce's main points. Should we condemn, as Mr. Anderson already has, the activities of a Henry Kissinger or others who are canny enough to use those rules and traditions — with the acquiescence of that same press — to finagle a legitimate point in order to advance the interests of the United States?

Shall the press, whose interests are primarily in monetary profit, set the agenda and ground rules for disseminating information about the government? Or shall government officials, pursuing the policies of a popularly elected president, be allowed to control what is said publicly about their operations?

But in the end, if reporters can recognize and respect the objectives and responsibilities of government officials, and if

officials can understand and appreciate the commercial as well as the public-service requirements and pressures incumbent on reporters, we may be able to maintain the marvelous adversarial relationship which now exists and which protects us all from the excesses of either side.

*John Hols
Retired FSO
Spokane, Wash.*

The 'Pale Male' Stereotype

To the Editor:

I read Mr. Morley's letter (FSJ, April 1994) with much interest and concur that affirmative action movements must be ongoing and continually emphasized. I do, however, take umbrage with this new term "pale male." His article made me think it is something dirty or I should somehow be ashamed to be a Caucasian male in today's society.

Mr. Morley talked about his many ARA and other staff meetings: "Most of the participants, after years of efforts to

introduce diversity, were still 'pale males.'" My interpretation is that this majority was not qualified to be there and should be ashamed to have earned the same right he did to attend these meetings. ...

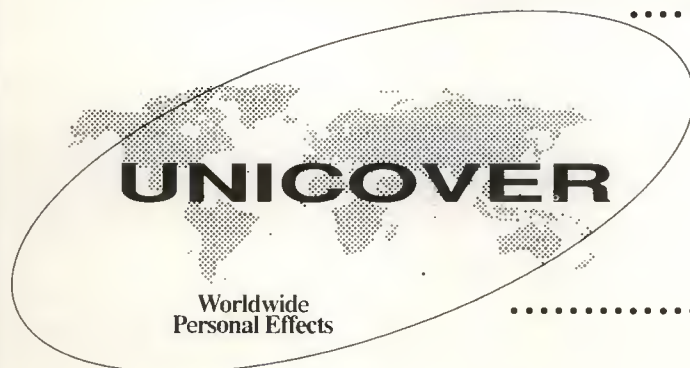
I feel that the issue of disparity is changing. I also feel it will take time and continuous efforts of all of us. It has not, and will not, happen overnight, or possibly even in this decade. I hope history proves me wrong. However, please do not shut me out or condemn me in an effort to make things "equal" because I am a white male. I had nothing to do with either condition and offer no apologies for either; I do strive to make the system work for all hands regardless of gender or color.

It will take all of us working every day, to rid our society of bigotry and sexism. Let us work at that rather than create a new stereotyped category such as "pale male."

*Richard E. McCormick
American Embassy
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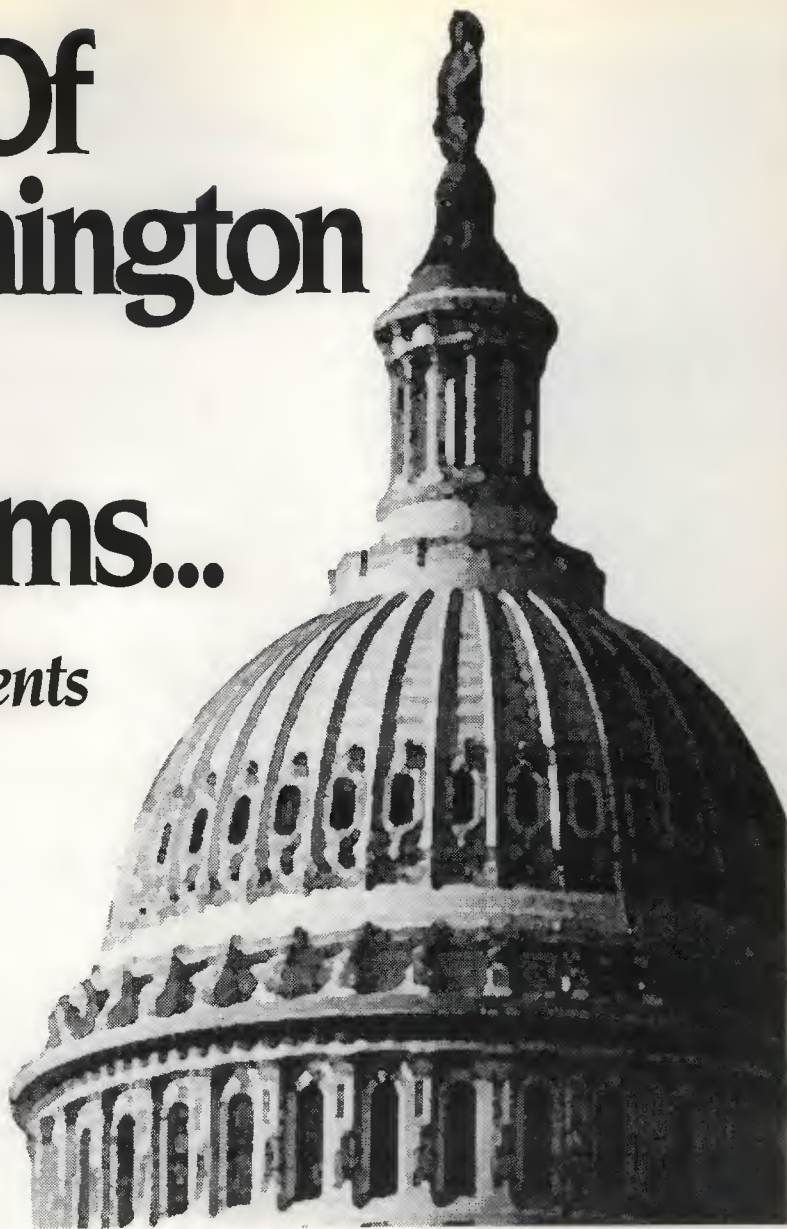
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Diplomat's Talk Stirs Tempest Outside Berlin

An unusually frank speech by the head of the Berlin Consulate about right-wing extremism in Germany has caused an uproar in Germany, reports Stephen Kinzer in *The New York Times* (April 19).

Consul Douglas H. Jones told a human rights audience that many foreigners believe Germany "lacks the will

not reflect U.S. policy.

The points Jones made had been discussed repeatedly in the media. *The Times* reported that it was not the speech's content, but the identity of its author that attracted attention. Jones, a Foreign Service officer for 21 years, had previously announced

he will retire this

spring.

The

Bonn

Embassy subsequently

issued a statement saying "it

was inappropriate for him to make remarks

so at variance with U.S. policy while working as an

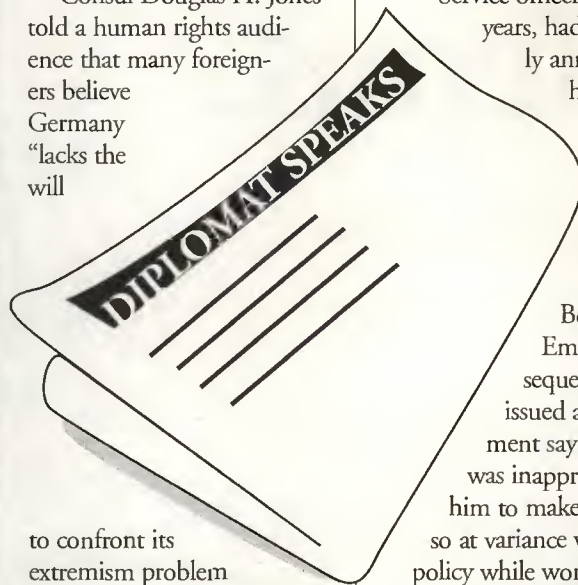
American official." The embassy also sent a written apology to the chancellery.

When diplomats speak clearly to Americans, foreigners can get confused, or

as an article in *The New York Times* states, "In diplomacy, plain talk is often just plain wrong." In an April 10 article, reporter Elaine Sciolino explains how Defense Secretary William Perry's frank remarks backfired. In an interview show, Perry — perhaps trying to reassure his American audience — told his host that the United States was not about to use military force to save Gorazde in besieged Bosnia.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher and the State Department then spent half the week reassuring Bosnia and NATO that America was still ready to use force to save Gorazde.

"The Serbs are regular CNN watchers. Public diplomacy is global. You cannot use one message to calm the home front and expect your friends and enemies not to notice," said Johanna Neuman, an expert on the impact of media technology on foreign affairs. ☞



to confront its extremism problem pragmatically." Jones, who also criticized German citizenship laws and commented that Germany "is not an immigration country," made clear that his views did

Does the Media Influence Foreign Policy?

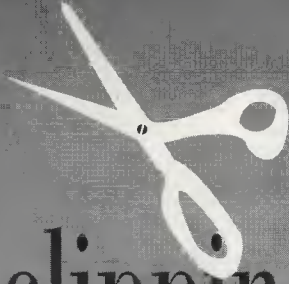
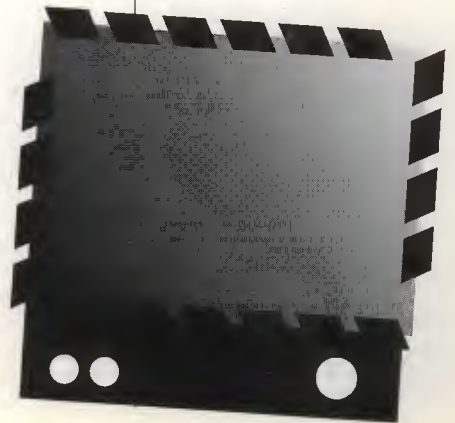
Former Under Secretary of State David D. Newsom, writing in *The Christian Science Monitor* on April 13 about the influence of the media on foreign policy, says the vivid images of TV in Somalia and Bosnia, augmented by fuller accounts in the written press, undoubtedly influences foreign policy.

Newsom points out that such accounts show only what the camera or the reporter sees and truly balanced accounts may be hard to find. He concedes

that the "free American society is awash with information and opinion, [but interviewers] may fail to draw out what the experts do know."

"A picture of reasonable breadth does emerge, despite the limitations imposed by commercial considerations, access, space and time. Even given failures

and distortions, it is hard to conceive of an alternative that would better serve a free people." ☞



clippings
and
comment

The Painful Passage to Looking More Like America

The Washington Post's John M. Goshko chronicles "The Foreign Service's Painful Passage To Looking More Like America," in the paper's April 21 section, "The Federal Page."

The call for diversity is "causing controversy in the Foreign Service, with some white males charging that they are victims of reverse discrimination and women and minorities countering that the service's dominant character remains fundamentally unchanged," says Goshko.

The article details the complaints against the Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs for allegedly setting aside several positions in

Washington and overseas embassies for minorities and points out that the controversy has affected employee morale to the point that the diversity issue was the focus of a recent director general's message, complete with charts and graphs on promotions and senior assignments for men, women, non-minorities and minorities.

Goshko reports that the controversy is not new, pointing out that what became a class-action lawsuit on behalf of women officers was instituted against then-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in 1976. "The federal courts eventually ruled that discrimination against

women did exist, but 18 years later ... the State Department and women plaintiffs [fail] to agree on ... adequate remedies," says Goshko.

The article quotes the March *Foreign Service Journal* editorial by Tex Harris on the quandary of promoting fairness for all Foreign Service officers and says that Harris has written to Christopher asking for a dialogue on the issue.

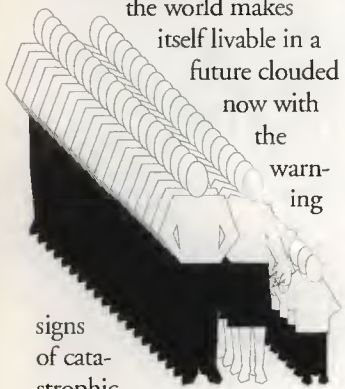
Goshko also points out that the number of senior positions has been reduced by reorganization and by the number of ambassadorships and policy-making positions that have gone to political

appointees. The problem is most acute at the senior levels, where no job openings exist for 50 or more senior members.

Under Secretary of State for Management Richard Moose acknowledged that "it's probably fair to say that some white guys have been treated unfairly, largely by promotion boards or personnel officers who have mistakenly interpreted calls for diversity as an order to give preferential treatment." But most complaints about diversity "are based more on perception than reality," he says, insisting "there is no sub rosa plan to have an elaborate system of quotas." ❧

Paving the Way for the Cairo Forum

"The U.S. State Department is listening and ... taking a leadership role as the world makes itself livable in a future clouded now with the warning



signs of catastrophic overpopulation," Glenda Holste reports from a Minneapolis town meeting

on population control led by Under Secretary of State Timothy Wirth.

She said, "Wirth will change hearts and minds with the passion he brings to statecraft for the half of the world that is born female."

Reporting in the Feb. 11 *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Holste continued: "There is a gloriously forthright course of action coming from Wirth's shop and headed for the U.N. summit in Cairo. ... Connections between real people and the power to make life better. This is ... politics at its best." ❧

50 years ago

Transportation Trials During WWII

The June 1944 *Journal* presented a vivid description of travel during wartime. The "Editors' Column" begins: "When the history of wartime bottlenecks comes to be written, there will loom large in the record the difficulties which the Foreign Service has experienced in transportation. Intelligence reporting, diplomatic consultation, and negotiations of the utmost importance ... have been jeopardized by the inability of the Foreign Service to proceed expeditiously to new destinations.

"Highly trained and experienced diplomats, trade experts and technicians have cooled their heels, sometimes for weeks, in overcrowded Washington awaiting the magic word that a bucket seat in a cargo plane or an upper bunk in a bouncing freighter has been found.

"It is beyond question ... that nothing should delay the transportation of fighting men to and from the zone of battle. It is no less true that rapid intercourse must be maintained with our Foreign Service posts abroad and that key Foreign Service personnel must be quickly moved to critical areas in the arenas of diplomacy.

A useful approach to the problem might be control by the Department of State of a periodic service on certain major air routes for the transportation of all civilian officials whose services are essential to the war effort." ❧

"We've done quite well. We are being sued by women charging discrimination, we are being sued by blacks charging discrimination, and now we are on the verge of being sued by a white male for reverse discrimination."

— Richard Moose, under secretary for management, *The Washington Post*, April 21

AID Head Directs Agency's Revamping

The Agency for International Development (AID) is given an upbeat prognosis in a focus article in the April *Government Executive* magazine. The article claims Administrator Brian Atwood's shake-up of AID and its "conceptual facelift — a grand new theme of promoting sustainable development worldwide" — have won praise from employees and contractors.

Atwood's efforts also have won plaudits from Congress and the media, reports Jerry Hagstrom. "Even a habitual critic, John A. 'Pat' Patterson, vice president for AID at the American Foreign Service Association, lauds Atwood for his efforts in updating AID's

direction and improving its image on Capitol Hill."

AID has come out better than expected in the budget wars: It has been allotted \$59 million more in 1995 than in the current fiscal year.

Atwood now faces tough internal challenges, according to Hagstrom, winning the confidence of AID's employees who have faced years of public opprobrium and are now subject to reorganization and a 5.5 percent staff cut within the next two years. Atwood also wants to gain more control over AID's huge contractor work force, a key congressional support group.

Larry E. Byrne, newly appointed head of the new Management Bureau, is seen

by some critics, including Patterson, as a "hatchet man."

Atwood acknowledges the doubts about his team and intentions, but says, "We're going to reinvent this agency."

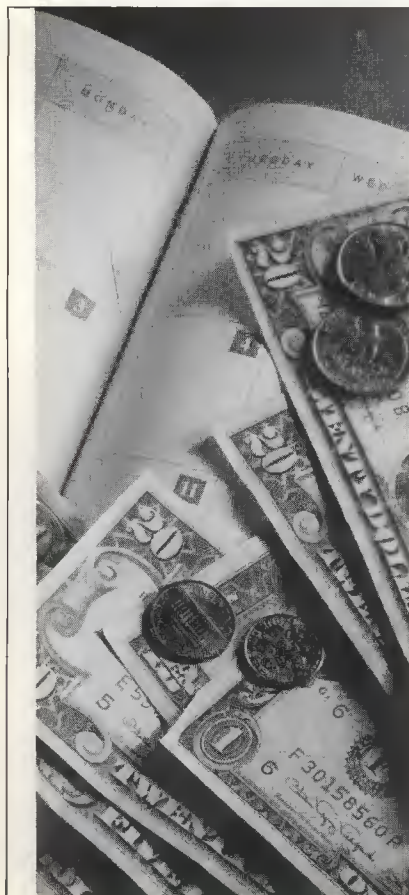
Hagstrom points out that reductions in AID's staff and increasing use of contractors have reduced accountability. Today some 10,000 people do AID's work around the world, but only 3,095 are American AID employees and only 1,600 of those are Foreign Service officers. A 1993 General Accounting Office study noted, "U.S. Foreign



Service staff are recruited for their technical skills, but, once hired, spend a significant portion of their time overseeing third parties — a respon-

sibility for which they have limited skills or training."

Will Atwood will be too successful? "Success in government often breeds offers of higher office, but if Atwood is lured away before finishing his daunting policy and management task, it could be back to business as usual at AID," the article ends. ☞



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SPEAKING OUT

BY DANIEL O. NEWBERRY

Who Will Tend the Caravanserai?

How the Foreign Service considers its Foreign Service nationals (FSNs) — those locals hired in various professional and support roles at U.S. embassies around the world — deserves more serious consideration. Indeed the very notion of FSNs as “colleagues” is in doubt as we look at how our non-American fellow workers fare in the competitive atmosphere of budget reductions and efforts at “re-inventing” the conduct of foreign affairs operations around the world. It looks more and more as though our FSN employees are thought of essentially as hired help, very much in the mode that office temporaries are taken on and laid off in corporate America, with little concern for sustaining institutional loyalties or for any institutional obligations to them.

One would get little argument from anyone in the field that Foreign Service nationals should be viewed as the backbone of our embassy and consulate operations abroad. By contrast, the Washington bureaucracies assign the lowest of priorities — if any at all — to FSN concerns. In the field, the Foreign Service national is there to greet newly arrived Foreign Service officers and to show them the ropes. The FSN is there to say goodbye and to assure the interim until the next American arrives and gets his bearings. Moreover, the FSN is the reservoir of the “tribal memory” of problems and practices that have evolved at the post during successive waves of embassy supervisors.

But this has not always been true. FSNs have not always been considered mere hired help. A cursory scan of the early years of the *Foreign Service Journal* indicates that officers in the 1920s looked on FSNs not only as friends but as essential components to daily embassy work. The April 1923 edition,

for example, carries a gripping photograph of Wong Soong Dong, who had served under 16 consuls general at Shanghai for 52 years, since 1871. The June 1933 *Journal* features a formal studio portrait of Japanese FSN Masataro Ozakawa, which accompanies an appreciation by the American consul detailing his 25 years of service. In May 1928 the photograph of FSN Dominic Cariciopoulo appears for no other reason than that he had just completed 20 years of service at Constantinople. More strikingly, a full page in the October 1927 *Journal* was given to an account of the 29 years of service of messenger E.T. Pombo in Rio de Janeiro.

Today FSNs need more than a photo and a verbal pat on the back to underscore their value to carrying out American foreign policy. They need job security and respect. There are sound, unsentimental, professional reasons why the care and feeding of FSNs need to be looked at more comprehensively. Consider this metaphor, provided years ago by an FSN colleague in a Middle East post, when asked how he felt toward the passing parade of U.S. Foreign Service people who came and went every few years:

One thousand years or so ago, the famous trade route of the East, the Silk Road, was notoriously perilous for merchants, pilgrims or adventurers, and the logistics were uncertain even in the best of times. To cope with some of the problems, caravanserai, or travelers' outposts, evolved to provide food and shelter to groups and their camels. They also provided information on the neighborhood — where ambushes were likely hidden, where sandstorms required changes in the travel route, and where to offer bribes before arriving at the next *caravanserai*.

The operators of the *caravanserai*, were called, in Ottoman times at least, the *handji*. The travelers who relied on them were called *yoldjou*. “You see,” my friend explained, “we FSNs are the *handji* and you Americans are the *yoldjou*.” This is as succinct a defense as I have heard for the importance of nourishing a competent and reliable FSN corps.

When it comes to recognizing heroism or self-sacrifice or long and devoted service, many posts do the right thing, sincerely and sometimes with great affection for the FSN being recognized. But there is little if any significant disposition in Washington to consider FSN achievements or sufferings as qualitatively in the same universe as similar performances by Americans in the Foreign Service. For instance, except for USIA in Washington, where is there a set of memorial plaques for FSNs even remotely comparable to the handsome ones in the State Department lobby honoring Americans who have died in heroic or tragic circumstances in the service of the U.S. government? FSN Banha Southivong's experiences in the gulags of Laos, as detailed in the April issue of the *Journal*, have been replicated many times. Southivong survived but others have not.

There is a potentially threatening element in the 1993 Rockefeller Amendment, which focuses on providing preferential treatment in the hiring of Americans to work in U.S. embassies, and consulates as well. Providing employment for spouses of Americans is a legitimate and highly commendable concern, but before rushing to judgment, one should remember that hiring new staff happens within budget constraints.

Whether hiring spouses or voluntary expatriates, the money has to come from somewhere. How often is there a new hire at the expense of a FSN staff job?

Before I retired eight years ago, I reluctantly agreed to the firing of FSNs to make way for spouses and dependent temporary appointments (PIT). I need not elaborate on the blow to the morale of surviving FSN staffers still on the payroll, or to mention the sense of inequity felt by terminated employees. No doubt some militants will jump to the judgment that I am opposed to making room for spouses' employment; not at all. However, equity in law calls for a resort to general principles of fairness and justice, and FSNs all too often are not dealt with fairly.

Here is one illustrative episode: A few years ago at a post in southern Europe, when the local inflation rate had raged at 65 percent-plus for the preceding year, the wage-and-price survey team recommended a mere 3 percent across-the-board FSN wage

increase. The acting principal officer, in breaking the news to the FSN staff, congratulated workers on their pay raise, pointing out that Americans, by contrast, had been denied a cost of living increase that year. The insensitivity of the comparison stunned many of the disappointed FSNs; within three weeks, at least three veteran white-collar FSNs resigned.

Another angle that should be considered in the status of FSNs is what might be considered discrimination. Some invidious distinctions certainly need to be made. For example, FSNs are, and should be, denied easy access to restricted areas in embassy or consulate offices. At representational functions, a blanket inclusion of white-collar FSNs is tricky because of the snobbishness of host-country elites in some posts. This snobbishness sometimes infects Americans as well and some FSNs are made to feel, not as second-class citizens, but as third-class retainers.

The current and future status of FSNs should be looked on as a serious

professional issue impinging on the effective conduct of diplomacy. True, there was one comprehensive article treating the problem of equity for FSNs in a 1985 *Journal*, written by an embassy labor counselor.

It is no longer relevant or prudent to continue thinking of FSNs the way the British Army — and later the Indian Army — have thought about their Gurkhas — as unfailingly brave and loyal, ready to go anywhere and face any danger for the sake of the foreign sovereign. The embassies depend on FSNs for much more than bravery and reliability. Let's not waste these important assets. Those on active duty should stop the further devaluation of what is expected and deserved from FSNs. ■

Daniel O. Newberry, a Foreign Service officer who has served several times on the AFSA Board of Governors, is now on the Journal's Editorial Board. He has served in Jerusalem, Istanbul, Vientiane, Tehran, Tangier, Dhaka, and Ankara.

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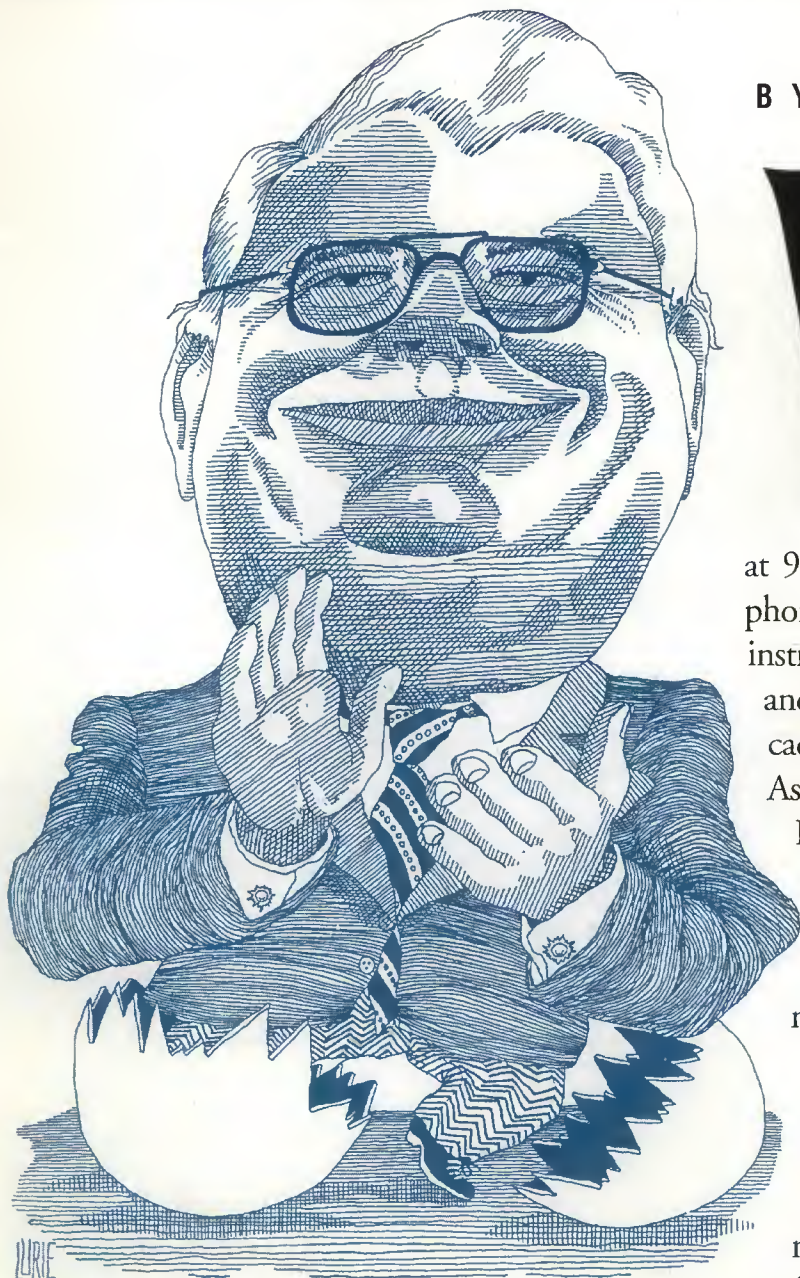
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New Era Beckons for Ukraine

After Elections, Reformers Reap \$700 Million Aid Package

BY ROMAN POPADIUK



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President Leonid M. Kravchuk

When Leonid Kravchuk was head of ideology in Soviet Ukraine, he would arrive at his office at 9 a.m. At 9:30 a.m. he would receive a phone call from Moscow with the day's instructions. After the call, he would pick up another phone, pass the orders to the party cadres, and his work for the day was done. As president of an independent Ukraine, Kravchuk laments that the problem with Ukraine is that the phone from Moscow no longer rings. This story, while apocryphal, does underscore the many challenges Ukraine faces. It is a new country devoid of much of the infrastructure necessary for organizing and leading a country. Its leadership, products of the Moscow-centered decision making of the Soviet era, is more comfortable with carrying out rather than creating ideas and goals.

In the days of the Soviet Union, Moscow attracted all the talent from the republics, so that once independence came to Ukraine and the other republics, Ukrainians were left with the problems, but not the talent to solve them. In addition, in the days of the Soviet Union, it was Moscow that won the world's attention, and it was to Moscow that business owners, scholars and students journeyed to invest, write and study. Moscow, therefore, entered the post-Soviet world with the diplomatic, business and informational skills that the other republics could only aspire to.

This dilemma was underscored by former Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, who remarked that, as a former communist, he knew that communism does not work and that Ukraine needed to move forward. The problem, he emphasized, much like Kravchuk allegedly did, lies in what direction to take and what moving forward really means. This frustration has been reinforced by the failure to quickly realize the potential that Ukrainian leaders had foreseen for their country.

Ukraine is a country of 52 million people, with a large Russian minority of 22 percent, in a territory about the size of France. It borders seven other countries, most notably Russia. Long known as the breadbasket of Europe, Ukraine had been an economic mainstay of its colonial rulers, most recently the Soviet Union. Many believed its size, its location and its agricultural and mineral resources destined it to be a leading regional actor. Thus, as Ukraine moved towards independence, there were high expectations that its leaders would quickly take advantage of its potential and blossom politically and economically.

The December 1991 independence referendum was supported by 91 percent of the electorate. Majorities in each of Ukraine's oblasts, including Crimea, which has a majority Russian population, voted for independence. This push was based mostly on the expectation that Ukraine's economic prospects were better than those of other former Soviet republics, based in part on a Deutsche Bank analysis.

But as Ukraine moves well into its third year of independence, it has fallen short of that realization, due to trying to overcome the challenges in the nation-state building process, including the creation of a professional bureaucracy, as well as numerous internal political hurdles.

The March 4 White House meeting between Presidents Clinton and Kravchuk, in which Clinton announced a \$700 million economic and security aid package, may be the beginning of a new, more active relationship. Ukraine's industrial and agricultural potential, once realized, will be a major plus to the economic stability and trade of the region as well as to U.S. trade. As a multi-ethnic state, Ukraine's success in



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Former Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma

this area gives it credibility in dealing with Eastern Europe's ethnic problems. Furthermore, an independent, economically strong Ukraine would serve as an incentive to continued reform in Russia, since it could help undermine those elements that seek to re-establish the old Soviet political and economic ties.

While Ukraine had an independence revolution, it did not establish a mandate that could clearly map out a direction for itself. The old Communist Party apparatus continued and was referred to simply as "the party in power." Its leader, Kravchuk, elected president in the 1991 referendum vote, was slow in seizing the momentum for independence in the wake of the failed Moscow coup of August 1991. This political foot dragging was the best indication that an independent Ukraine was entering a world where the past would be more influential than the future.

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The need for a mandate is clear from the debate on the economic program. On the one hand, there are those who want to move toward Western economic structures while maintaining economic links with Russia; and on the other hand, there are those who want to solely strengthen economic and political ties with Russia. How Ukraine eventually answers this question will not only affect its economic future, but may also determine its very status as an independent state.

In this debate, the realities of economic life are playing an important part. The end of the Soviet Union brought Ukraine its independence, but it also dislocated its economic relations with the former republics and, in particular, with Russia. Ukraine is now realizing the difficulty in severing economic ties and in instituting its own currency.

Indeed, Ukraine's entire domestic political situation is marked by a delicate balancing act of competing forces which, while forestalling short-term political problems, leads to inertia and gridlock. The central government not only needs to balance the conservative and reform pressures regarding economic reform, but also the conflict between Orthodox and Catholics, the issue of a central vs. a federal structure, the issue of pursuing Ukrainization in the face of a large Russian minority and the need to balance the language and economic interests of this minority with the goal of creating a viable independent state on the Russian border. Each of these competing forces eats away at political cohesion and makes decision-making and leadership difficult.

But there are also long-existing social forces that support the current economic inertia. As a former communist state, Ukraine also has an elaborate social safety net, including medicine, education, and job security. The population as a whole, irrespective of the influence of the conservative forces, thus has a stake in maintaining the current economic and social structures. There is, therefore, the political reality of the central government not wanting to move quickly on economic reform for fear of creating social dislocations that may lead to political turmoil. There is a particular concern that rapid reform could create unemployment among the Russian minority and create political problems

domestically and, as a consequence, with Russia.

Nonetheless, some economic reform has been taking place, however slowly. Presently, 2 percent of Ukraine's economy is privately held, though a recent program passed by the parliament proposes increasing that to 28 percent by the end of the year. Given past performance records, this may be an overly optimistic goal.

The March 27 election to the 450-member unicameral parliament could have served as the "political revolution" or turning point for Ukraine. The old parliament, elected in March 1990, reflected the power of the old nomenclature. Unfortunately, Ukrainian voters had to overcome not only their own political and social inhibitions, but also the continued strength of the former communist apparatus and the election law that favored those in power. Ukrainian voters, despite high turnouts in both the election and the April 10 runoff, were not able to send a clear and decisive message for the political direction of Ukraine.

Of the 339 deputies elected, the conservative grouping of Communists, Socialists and their agrarian allies emerged as the largest political party bloc with about 30 percent of the seats, with the Communist Party capturing the vast majority of these. Independents won some 50 percent of the seats and the reformers and nationalists of all shades took the remainder. The 100-plus unfilled seats will be contested in new elections, though enough deputies have been elected to seat a new parliament.

Many of the independents are enterprise directors who will likely ally themselves with the conservative deputies and reinforce the latter's opposition to economic reform and support of economic association with Russia. As a result, one can expect shifting numbers not only for the conservatives but also for the reformers and nationalists once the parliament is seated and political alliances are formed. This can only add more instability to an already fragmented parliament.

The new parliament appears destined to be without direction or resolve in making the hard decisions and thus will con-

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tinue the country's political and economic drift. Equally significant, conservative forces gained their strength in Eastern Ukraine while reformist and nationalist forces received their support from Western Ukraine. This, coupled with the opinion polls conducted in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine during the election that showed heavily Russian populated areas supporting stronger economic ties with Russia, only serves to intensify the division between Western Ukraine and Eastern Ukraine. The former was taken over by the Soviets only after World War II and, historically, has had more Western influences and thus is the base for a strong Ukrainian nationalism. One of the first controversies that the new parliament may have to tackle is the question of closer economic links with Russia, thus highlighting the split between Western Ukraine and Eastern Ukraine.

In addition to domestic economic and political problems, there is the reality of Ukraine's continued economic dependence on Russia. Former Soviet figures show that in 1987 trade with Russia amounted to 60 percent of Ukraine's total trade. And, just prior to the breakup, 20 percent of Ukraine's national income was spent on Russian imports. This is most evident in regard to Ukraine's energy needs, namely oil and gas; nearly all of Ukraine's oil and about 70 percent of its natural gas come from Russia. And this is the crux of the Ukrainian problem — security and the Ukrainian-Russian relationship. How this relationship unfolds also will have a bearing on the stability of Europe.

Located at the crossroads between Europe and Asia, defended by no natural borders and blessed with rich agricultural soil, Ukraine has historically been the target of aggression or the site of empires fighting out colonial drives. None of the occupations have been conducive to Ukraine's development. Indeed, they have aimed at destroying Ukrainian identity, such as the Czars' barring the use of the Ukrainian language in the 19th century, as well as the

Soviets' forced migrations to Siberia and the Soviet-induced famine of the 1930s. Given this historical background, Ukraine's concern regarding Russian intentions is understandable.

But there is another dimension. Pressed from various sides, Ukraine has historically sought to maintain its security by appealing to or allying itself with outside forces, since it never has had the internal experience or resources to maintain its own security.

Compounding this security dilemma is the fact that Ukraine's contemporary borders were artificially created. While encompassing much of the ethnic and historical territory conceived of as Ukraine, the borders were drawn by the Soviet regime through a combination of readjusting the borders with Ukraine's neighbors and, in a most glaring example, by bequeathing Crimea to Ukraine in 1954. Under these circumstances, Ukraine sees its security threatened on many fronts.

Ukraine's inordinate emphasis on nuclear weapons, therefore, should have come as no surprise.

Recent U.S. administrations have worked closely with Ukraine to allay its security concerns. On Jan. 14, in a trilateral ceremony in Moscow, U.S. President Clinton, President Kravchuk and Soviet President Boris Yeltsin signed an agreement whereby Ukraine pledged to give up its nuclear weapons and the United States and Russia pledged security assurances for Ukraine. These assurances include the pledge not to use nuclear or other weapons against Ukraine, except in self defense, as well as not to use economic coercion. These pledges are to come into effect once the START I Treaty enters into force and Ukraine becomes a party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The Ukrainian parliament has now removed the reservations voted in November 1993 regarding the START Treaty but has delayed acting on the NPT.

Ukraine, however, will always judge its security by the actions of Moscow rather than by the pledges it receives. In

*The end of the
Soviet Union
brought Ukraine its
independence, but it
also dislocated its
economic relations
with the former
republics and, in
particular, with
Russia.*

this regard, Ukraine's continued commitment to the pace and scope of nuclear dismantlement can also be affected. The rise of the Russian nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and Russia's reaction to any pro-Moscow activities in Crimea will play heavily in Kiev's assessment of its security. An added pressure point is the Black Sea Fleet, based in Crimea, whose romantic legacy in Russian history dates back centuries.

Eventual disposition of the fleet remains a major issue in the bilateral relationship. In April, one of the ships, under Russian control, departed Odessa for Sevastopol without allowing inspection by Ukrainian customs officials. In response, Ukraine temporarily seized three Russian officers at the Russian-controlled fleet facility in Odessa, and ordered the officers' fleet division into the Ukrainian Navy. A few days later, Yeltsin and Kravchuk reached yet another agreement for dividing the fleet, but both leaders face the same domestic political pressures that have led to previous failures to resolve the issue, thus casting doubts on this current accord.


Over the past two years, Ukraine has exhibited a false sense of security based on the presence of 176 nuclear missiles and about 1,700 nuclear weapons on its territory. Ukraine does not control these missiles. In addition, the danger of the missiles leaking and spreading radioactivity was increasing. In this situation, Ukraine, which experienced the nuclear disaster of Chernobyl, was risking its future with these missiles. With the nuclear weapons removed from center stage, Ukraine will have one less layer obscuring the real basis of its security, namely political and economic reform. Indeed, Ukraine has been lax in understanding that security involves not only an external factor but an internal one as well.

A strong domestic economy and political structures are important elements of national cohesion and defense. Already there is a spreading sentiment that life was better off under the old Soviet regime. Such sentiment grows only in an economy with an inflation rate of more than 50 percent per month and no prospects of an economic turnaround. A brain drain is occurring among the educated and skilled work

force, thus further depleting the ranks of the cadres needed for Ukraine's development. In 1993, for example, 400 specialists — citing poor working conditions and wages — left the Zaporozhye nuclear power station and immigrated to Russia, the Foreign Broadcast Information Service reported.

Ukraine has a long way to go before attaining a high level of economic and political well being, but officials can accomplish those objectives only with international assistance and understanding, particularly from the United States. At the time of diplomatic recognition in December 1991, Ukrainians had an optimistic perception that the West, and the United States in particular, would provide major assistance and that Ukraine would be treated as an important regional actor. With these high expectations, Ukraine moved in early 1992 to fulfill its pledge on tactical nuclear weapons and held a highly successful presidential summit in May of 1992 in Washington and ratified the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty in June of that year.

However, Ukraine had not yet received the economic nor the political support that it had hoped from the West. Another problem is that nuclear weapons became an irritant in Ukraine's relations with the outside world and reinforced for Kiev the view that once it gives up the weapons the United States and the West would lose interest. Due to its continued failure to institute economic reforms, Ukraine previously had not been able to gain the confidence of Western investors or to attract economic aid.

Ultimately the future of Ukraine lies in its own hands. However, the United States can help shape events by supporting a strong and responsible Ukraine that can influence reform in Russia and strengthen security in the region. 

Roman Popadiuk, a Foreign Service officer, served as ambassador to Ukraine from 1992-93. He is currently on the staff of the School of Area Studies of the Foreign Service Institute at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center in Washington. The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect U.S. policy.

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Diplomacy in

Foreign Policymaking Grounded in Small-Town Values, Ideals

By Don Terpstra

In the popular conception, diplomats are urbane and sophisticated, and carry out their profession in the great cities of the world. Yet since the time of Thomas Jefferson, a farmer at heart, the United States has been represented abroad by many Foreign Service officers of rural and small-town origins.

Overseas wars exposed early generations of American farm boys to the world, and some moved from that experience into diplomatic and other international careers. After World War II overseas travel and educational opportunities increased even for rural Americans. Now technology and the information revolution bring world affairs to the remotest corners of America, capturing the interest of future Foreign Service officers.

Despite population shifts away from rural America, the agricultural heartland continues to be well represented in the nation's Foreign Service, due in large part to a recruitment process that actively pursues a Service broadly representative of America. North Dakota produces as many Foreign Service officers per capita as New Jersey. Small liberal arts colleges, many in the heartland, grant only 2 percent of undergraduate degrees in America each year, but graduate some 10 percent of America's diplomats.

What are the real roots of American culture? "Individual freedom, religious tolerance, the separation of powers, equality before the law, and economic opportunity through a competitive economy," *Reader's Digest* Editor-in-Chief Kenneth Tomlinson has written.

One may suspect that small-town people join the Foreign Service to escape provincial confines, but individual reasons are far more varied. Whatever the motivation, officers from rural backgrounds bring to American diplomacy particular

attitudes and outlooks that influence the way they represent this nation.

"The basic consistency we have in our foreign relations is the basic grassroots standards of the Americans who are recruited for



GARY EHLERS

"When I live here in the East and read what goes on in Washington, New York, and what is decided in these places, I am not very optimistic. When I go to my native Middle West, I find a much more cheerful atmosphere and I have more confidence in the country.

If they are able to make their energies, their honesty, their courage felt in the government, then I'm not pessimistic."

— Statesman and diplomat
George Kennan, National Public
Radio interview, Feb. 7, 1993

it," noted former ambassador Robert Woodward in a 1987 interview for Georgetown University's diplomatic oral history project. "I think that taking them from the heart of Iowa or Nebraska or Minnesota, and taking people often from humble origins, they turn out generally to be people of homespun principles such as honesty and

fairness. I always dreamed that the United States in its foreign relations should be known for reliability and the ability to keep commitments — being fair and considerate, and having a certain sympathy with those who are less fortunate than we are.

"Also, people from these humble backgrounds are quite often likely to be those who take a direct approach to the solving of problems. I think if I can attribute any one thing to my own progress in the Foreign Service, it's that I was always trying to solve the problem that was given to me."

When I joined the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) in 1983, I was surprised that many of my junior officer classmates had small-town backgrounds similar to my own, and I have since met many more. Rural America traditionally is seen as a primary source of the values that define the nation, and I wondered how those values, attitudes and experiences led people to the Foreign Service, and how that background shapes performance.

The Una Chapman Cox Foundation judged this question worth answering and I spent 10 months driving 40,000 miles through 30 states, from New England to the deep South to the Pacific Northwest. I recorded interviews with 175 people and talked informally with hundreds more, including mayors, chamber of commerce directors, Rotarians, teachers, students, clergy, journalists, business owners and farmers. I talked with retired FSOs and returned Peace Corps volunteers, and with others who rarely traveled outside their towns.

Many were willing to share their thoughts. While disappointed with government in general, rural Americans hold the State Department and the American Foreign Service in high esteem. Though most had little understanding of Foreign

the Heartland

Service work, they said they believed that strong overseas representation was more important than ever.

They talked about the collapse of the Soviet Union and the post-Cold War world, about America's role and image in the new world, and the meaning of leadership in international affairs; they spoke about isolationism, foreign aid, NAFTA, CNN and immigration. They recognized, and to a surprising degree, welcomed increasing international interdependence, often seeing its impact in their communities. Many were articulate in their observations:

Midwest farm wife: "Rural life is a struggle for survival on a basic scale. Everyone faces the need to solve problems with the resources at hand. Successful people take that approach to all situations, regardless of their environment, rural or urban."

Southwestern professor of communications: "Early studies of returned Peace Corps volunteers indicate that the most successful, in terms of staying on [overseas], of being wanted by locals, are those volunteers of small town origins."

New England university drama professor: "Here, you're called to task for what you do. You are much closer to the people that you influence. If Fred Smith down the way who owns the little cattle feed store is displeased with [our congressional representative], he'll know about it, much more so than in some other states where the voices are so great in number that it's much more difficult for a Fred Smith and his feed store to impact on his federal government level legislator. And I think that sense of needing to respond to real people certainly influenced leaders like Margaret Chase Smith, and has influenced everybody else."

New England clergyman: "Historically what small towns give to children is self-confidence. There's no better basis for being able to articulate yourself than to be confident that you matter. That's the gift that little communities give to kids. Ethnic communities in big cities could do

the same thing, if people knew who you were and it mattered that you were there. My own sense of what really makes education work is when kids know that the teacher cares what happens to them, and the subject matter is second to caring. And small towns have always been good at that.

Another piece of it is that small towns traditionally are such a haven for the work ethic. If there's a job to be done, you do it. People presume they have to lead."

Western journalist: "Item: All but three of our presidents — and this applies equally to vice presidents and other high-ranking officials — were born or raised in small towns or farms. I once asked a professor of political science at James Madison University why this should be and he opined that in a small town a person sees that one individual can get things done."

New England author and retired university president: "We don't have group meetings on international problems and affairs. We do believe in the person-to-person thing, and this is why that little girl [Samantha Smith] made a hit and came out of Maine. That's the kind of small-town faith that you will find anywhere in America, I think, don't you?"

Southern state representative: "It takes more than one or two parents to raise a child; it's the community, it's the village, it's the culture of the community. ... In my economic interests I have to learn [the urban] way of life, their way of thinking. My world view is going to be broadened. But they are not going to learn what I learn in rural Texas because when their world view is broadened it's just the difference between Dallas and New York City. All those intangibles that I learned growing up in a rural environment, they will never learn. The real people are people who live in rural areas because they have those real values. ... I can't say [urbanites] care less, but the final result is different. It's not that they care less; it's that we care more."

Midwest newspaper editor: "For those of us who have had the opportunity

to grow up in this type of surrounding — I should say the privilege of doing so — we've had to learn from an early age many facets of life that kids in the big cities never have an opportunity to learn. Seeing a calf born, growing radishes and taking a car apart — though I understand they're pretty good at that in big cities."

Southern clergyman: "Out on the farm, family was important. My parents were very concerned with what was happening in school and what was happening in church, what was happening in the community. You can have community among 100,000 or you can have community among 50 people. I think as long as a generic area has a community feeling and spirit and agenda about it, the young people will do well."

Midwestern college administrator: "And if you come from a small-town environment, if you come from rural America, if you come from the Midwest, you're much more likely to have a friendly approach to others in the world than if you come from a large city, inner city, from the coasts, those areas. And the reason for that is the fact that you grow up with experiences knowing that you can trust people, and that you can rely on each other, and that people have things to offer each other. My wife's cousin married a fellow in Brooklyn. And about five years ago they decided to come out here to North Dakota. So they moved back to a little town of about 500 people. And a bunch of his friends came out to visit him. They were driving around all these little country roads, and everybody would wave at them. This went on for a while, and they said, "My God, do you know everybody in North Dakota?" And they missed the point. The values are different between those two cultures and two environments. Even in America, we have huge differences."

New England mayor: "If I were living in Boston, there is no way in heck I could do anything, in my opinion. To get to that upper level, you have to be rich, famous or born to somebody. The barriers to leader-

ship are greater in the city. The barriers in a small city are less because quite often it is just encouragement."

Midwestern clergyman: "Martin Marty, a Lutheran theologian at the University of Chicago, gave a talk some years ago about a little town called West Point, Nebraska. They had produced four or more truly great people. His point was that in this little town Ms. McCarthy taught English, and she loved students. Ms. McCarthy helped students believe in themselves. In this small town everybody had to do everything because you just didn't have a lot of kids. So you did journalism, you did football, you were in band, you were in chorus, and people found out what they could do."

Midwestern college student: "When I was growing up in Richmond you had this sense that you were safe and that everybody loved you. When I lived in California I had this sense that people had brick walls around their homes. There's not the sense of community, of family, of caring, the neighborliness. There's something missing. It has to do with the fast pace, going nowhere fast. It has to do with the people; it's the people."

Southern Chamber of Commerce director: "It's not an anonymous kind of environment here that I still see in some of the larger communities. So maybe that has instilled some values that require a little more accountability on the part of kids growing up in a small town. I certainly see in our school system more of a caring attitude than in the metropolitan schools."

Midwest utilities manager: "A state like this, a very rural state, has a broader definition of community than most places in the country. I think about the community very broadly, as this state or even the Midwest. That generates an understanding that what you lack in numbers has to be made up with advocacy. This country generally produces people who are independent by nature. I also believe while that is one of the great strengths of people from rural America, it is at the same time one of our greatest weaknesses, because that sense of independence and pursuing sometimes is single-minded."

Midwest high school teacher: "I wonder if small towns don't somehow give a greater sense of family, almost clan, which is an odd concept in our society; the feeling of belonging to a larger group gives a person a kind of esteem and confidence

that might not be gained in a city where there is less connection between neighbors."

Midwest farmer: "And this goes on and on in our little school district, primarily because the parents say, 'Better yourself. Get away from what we're doing.' In the city, parents had a job in the factory, and they didn't really encourage their kids to get out of that, because you could always get a job in the factory. But now the companies are going busted and you find out the kids never got a good education. Where we're sitting in the rural area, the attitude was, 'You better get out there and get better. Better yourself through education.' And I think that's what contributed to kids in our area. They couldn't say, 'Well, I'm going to pick up where dad was and make a good living.' They said, 'Gee, dad, everybody else is making a better living than you are. We aren't going to get stuck here.'"

Midwest Chamber of Commerce director: "Candor is very important to diplomacy. Candor and an ability to sense what the other individual's hot buttons or primary concerns are, and an ability to put those folks at ease and just have a conversation — make the most difficult negotiations seem like a conversation over the fence. People from this part of the country have a real knack in doing that. And you trust everybody. My keys are in my car right now, right out here. I don't ever lock my doors to my house. I'll be gone for a week and my doors will be open. People just feel safe, and when you're brought up with that kind of an attitude — it relates back to that open spaces — I think you're more willing to listen to others, you don't have defense mechanisms all built in. And you take people for their word. You have a sense, and you believe that people truly do want to do the right thing and good things."

Southern clergyman: "Small town people are less ashamed to begin with the minor leagues. I went to a very well-to-do school in Houston and how we used to laugh at Boys' State — corny stuff. But those [country] guys who went to Boys' State knew how to press the flesh and were not ashamed to ask people for votes or knock on doors. They weren't ashamed of that; we were. We thought that was beneath us. As a result, I think that level of sophistication prevents people from taking seriously the kinds of organizational

skills and leadership and pride in something that fuels the folk that want to lead."

Retired Midwest Foreign Service officer: "The thing about small town life that I found most molding was that there was no such thing as invisibility. It was both the best thing and the worst thing about small towns. It was what kept people in line, what kept people from going over the line. But it was also the kind of thing that, if you ever did slip, it made it impossible for you ever again to be seen in light of what you were instead of what you had done."

Individuals who come from small towns bring to the Foreign Service and its urban environment a sense of scale and a feeling for community and continuity. Personal responsibility and involvement, cooperation and compromise are norms. They see the relationship between a community and its individual parts. They understand the global village in literal terms: a small, comprehensible, manageable, familiar community where people know each other — the "mutual understanding" objective of public diplomacy.

Through its native sons and daughters, small town America continues to contribute values and ideals to American diplomacy, though not necessarily the same values and ideals. The heartland changes with the rest of the world. Small towns suffer economic decline and now even the same social problems as cities.

Yet for the moment, Middle America still reminds us that domestic and foreign affairs alike are more a matter of principle than policy. Most of those interviewed thought little about foreign affairs in their daily lives, but when probed on broad philosophy and general issues, they had strong opinions based on instinct and common sense. Free from the confines of international expertise, many of these interviewees made assessments, drew conclusions and expressed views as articulate, as logical and as perceptive as those of metropolitan think tanks and editorial desks — and frequently more colorful.

While Washington becomes more preoccupied with making policy and the American press becomes increasingly more opinion-oriented, Middle Americans meet government, media and academic "opinion-makers" with healthy skepticism, and make up their minds about the world on the basis of

An Iowa Boy Makes Good

Robert G. Morris

My friends and relatives have only the vaguest view of what the Foreign Service is. Nor did their conception of what a Foreign Service Officer does improve after I retired to my native Iowa from the Foreign Service in 1992. New acquaintances are even more confused. "What did you do before you retired?" asks the barber, the bartender, the neighbor or the guest.

I've rehearsed my reply to terminate debate: "I worked for the federal government." Here in Iowa, this reply also kindles mistrust and suspicion, if not outright contempt. As a rule, Iowans don't care for people who work for the government — unless it's cousin Eddie or aunt Agnes. This distaste applies to employees of town, county, state and national governments. Citizens consider such employees unqualified for real employment, winning their jobs for political reasons or by being related to politicians through marriage.

When a momentary lack of an alternative conversational partner drives the interlocutor further, his inevitable next question is "Which part of the government?" "The State Department," I reply, noting his equally inevitable blank response. What probably flashes through his mind is: "Is this a department of the federal government that handles relations with Iowa and the other states?" No, that's probably not it. It must be the department that handles relations with surly, overbearing, undeveloped, undemocratic, demanding and ungrateful countries overseas.

Half the time I confess that I was a diplomat, but I nearly blush every time I use the word in Iowa. Iowans are not used to diplomats. They don't like or trust them either. This is due to diplomats' general bad reputation as effete snobs who unnecessarily complicate rather than facilitate international relations, and this at great and avoidable cost to the taxpayer. Except for the promotion of corn exports.

Few Iowans have run into embassy officers overseas unless they lose their passports. They are not likely to rot in foreign jails on drug charges, thus making the acquaintance of friendly consular officers. Otherwise they believe embassies only issue visas to unwashed foreigners who emigrate illegally to the United States and steal jobs from Americans by working for lower pay or to terrorists wishing to blow up large buildings in the United States under the protection of the Bureau of Naturalization and Immigration.

In all this Iowans are not much different, I suppose, from citizens of other states: I have just had more experience with Iowans. They are more isolated, more conservative than some, but better educated than most.

"Did you accomplish anything in the 18 years you were in the Foreign Service, Mr. Morris?" Anyone posing this question has already decided the answer is no. Otherwise he would have said, "What did you accomplish?" Nevertheless, the retiree must answer this question loudly and affirmatively. In private he must

pose the same question to himself.

"I accomplished only two small things during my 18 years in the Foreign Service," I say. "I kept alive in Russia the spirit of democracy among the scientists during the Cold War and I wiped out nuclear weapons in Latin America. Other than that, nothing."

Having captured the attention of the most blase Des Moines insurance salesman, I go on to explain more realistically that I am convinced that cooperation between U.S. scientists and scientists of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, particularly Poland, contributed materially and significantly to the collapse of communism. American scientists and representatives of scientific organizations trade information every year through visits, exchanges, seminars, letters and research reports, which are all facilitated by the State Department.

Even in the darkest days of U.S.-Soviet relations after 1974, when the State Department canceled visits by high-ranking government science administrators in the wake of mistreatment of dissidents, some American scientists and organizations, notably the National Academy of Sciences, steadfastly communicated with their Soviet counterparts, bolstering them professionally and personally, treating them always as worthwhile human beings. My reading of post-Soviet writing convinces me that American scientists, and others, of course, in accord with long-time government policy, decisively helped prepare the way for glasnost and perestroika.

If anyone survives the above explanation of my first great triumph as a Foreign Service officer, I neither show him mercy nor let him interrupt. No, I go on to describe my second contribution to the world scene: ridding Latin America of nuclear weapons. In Bonn I had urged that Germany must not export items for outlaw programs of nuclear weapons development in countries like Pakistan and Argentina. Just a few years later I was in Buenos Aires representing the U.S. position that German exports to Argentina should not support outlaw programs of nuclear weapons development.

And it worked overall. Not exactly on my tour in Argentina, but afterward. I loosened the stuck lid that someone else unscrewed: In February, Argentina and Brazil adopted full-scale safeguards in their nuclear facilities.

I'm a little disappointed that the *Des Moines Register* hasn't come around to interview me in more detail on these accomplishments now that the word is getting around that a local boy has preserved world peace at least twice through the use of science. Actually, the closest I have come is my own entry in a contest to describe "My Most Embarrassing Moment." We still have contests like this in simple, innocent Iowa.

Robert Morris is a retired Foreign Service officer who has served in Washington, Bonn, Buenos Aires and Madrid.


the principles of daily dealings with their neighbors.

This is the essence of the idea that the federal government and symbiotic national media are out of touch with so much of America, a cliché among sophisticates, but no less true to many citizens and voters. And in losing touch with the rural heartland, urban pundits distort the nation's ideals and alter its identity before the rest of the world.

Experts, opinion-makers and the for-

ign policy elite are no wiser about the course of events than the average citizen on the street. America's strength in the face of uncertainty is not expertise and elites, but the ideals upon which this national community, more than most others, was built. To the extent that those have been lost or confused in America, we are in trouble. And they are more lost and confused in urban America than in the heartland.

U.S. policy and behavior abroad will follow naturally from basic principles.

Security is to be found not in policies, but in the values and principles that motivated the country's founding fathers and first diplomats, who drew on not only their economic well-being, but also on their revolutionary world view that was drawn from the land. 

Don Terpstra, a Foreign Service officer, has worked for USIA since 1983, serving in Montevideo, Lima and Santiago; he is scheduled to go to Istanbul this summer.

W I T N E S S T O A

Nation's Rebirth

BY GILBERT D. KULICK



For two weeks in April, I had the privilege of witnessing one of the great moments in the modern history of democracy as one of 67 Americans in the 1,500-person U.N. Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA).

For most of the people of South Africa, the elections were the denouement of a 350-year struggle to gain control over their lives and fortunes. For me, serving as an official observer was the culmination of 30 years of intermittent involvement in the worldwide struggle against apartheid that began in 1965 with my first job, handling African student affairs at the National Student Association, and continued through my final assignment at the State Department as deputy director of Southern African Affairs.

Although the presence of nearly 5,000 foreign observers undoubtedly lent drama to the elections and some measure of reassurance to first-time voters (as well as considerable cash to the depressed economy), it was not essential, as it had been in Cambodia. That was ensured by the participation of 120,000 South Africans, under the aegis of the non-partisan, multi-racial Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), in the preparation, conduct, monitoring and certification of the elections.

Rarely has an election consumed the energies, the hopes and the fears of a

nation as did the South African events of April 26-28. And rarely did a nation have more at stake. Ensuring mass participation and a peaceful and credible result became almost a national obsession.

Mock voting stations were set up in storefronts and on street corners all over Johannesburg to offer future voters — three quarters of whom had never before cast a ballot — dry runs through the complex and daunting voting procedures. Radio and television broadcasts, when they weren't running panel discussions, cartoons, or even quiz shows about the elections, were punctuated every half hour with "an important announcement from the IEC," reminding people of the importance of voting and assuring them of the commission's commitment to a free and fair election. Every vertical surface in Johannesburg, it seemed, was plastered with campaign posters and exhortations from the IEC. One popular billboard read simply: "Your vote is your secret."

It was into this atmosphere of anxious anticipation that the U.N. hordes plunged in mid-April. The U.S. contingent was an eclectic lot, highly diverse in race, gender, profession and geographic distribution. Unlike most of the other 87 national contingents in the mission, we Americans, with the exception of a couple of Capitol Hill staffers, were drawn entirely from the non-governmental sector — universities, think tanks, political parties, human rights organizations and other NGOs.

Our three days of training in and around Johannesburg was a highly

bureaucratic and sometimes chaotic affair whose single most time-consuming activity was standing interminably in queues waiting to be "processed" — good preparation for what we would observe.

The training sessions stressed three themes: security, impartiality and discipline. "Security" had mostly to do with the dangers of getting mugged in Johannesburg and the potential for violence at the polls by opponents of the electoral process. The former remained very real, but the latter had already diminished sharply with the conclusion, on the day we arrived, of a last-minute deal among the leaders of the African National Congress (ANC), the National Party, and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Admonitions of our strict impartiality were underscored by constant reminders that we were "observers," not "monitors," and had no powers of intervention.

The climax of the orientation and training phase came three days before the elections were to start. Apparently to preclude bargaining over assignments, our initial deployment sites were not revealed to us until hours before we boarded buses that were to take us, in three stages, to every urban and rural polling place in South Africa's nine new provinces.

For me, the roulette wheel spun across the Orange Free State and landed eventually on Kokstad, a sleepy little town in the foothills of the Drakensberg mountains in western KwaZulu/Natal. With a still neatly segregated population of 22,000 (5,000 whites, 5,000 so-called Coloureds, and —

a mile across the tracks — 12,000 blacks), eight churches, two hotels, and a bank, and sidewalks that rolled up at sundown, Kokstad could have been taken for a set from "American Graffiti" or perhaps "The Last Picture Show." The motley crowd of U.N. observers quartered at the Royal Hotel probably constituted the largest influx of foreigners Kokstad had seen since the Anglo-Boer War. And I have no doubt that our welcome, by Kokstad's of all races, was considerably warmer.

From Kokstad we fanned out in seven teams covering some 220 voting stations spread over roughly 1,000 square kilometers. Most of that territory was in the nominally independent black homeland of Transkei, whose hapless 17-year existence was to come to an end on election day, when it would be reabsorbed into Eastern Cape province.

In contrast to the seemingly almost unpopulated expanses of the Orange Free State and Natal, through which we had travelled from Johannesburg, the Transkei countryside was virtually covered with houses from horizon to horizon. But it was curiously almost devoid of cultivation or other visible economic activity. I quickly realized that what we were seeing was one of the pernicious legacies of apartheid, under which the active black labor force, i.e., young men, migrated to the major industrial centers where they lived in all-male hostels, while "unproductive" women, children and old men were left behind to fend for themselves in the crowded, backward, undeveloped tribal homelands.

My team was a potpourri of nationalities — eight people from five continents — that would have put a World War II movie platoon to shame. Led by a Sudanese, we included a Czech, a German, a Dutchman, a Chinese, an American and two Cubans. Our team's assignment was to cover 43 polling stations, roughly 10 per pair of observers, in the largely roadless district of Mt. Ayliff.

For my partner in this adventure, I was fortunate to draw one of the Cubans, a 26-year-old neophyte diplomat who never had been outside Cuba before, with whom I hit it off instantly. Conversing in colloquial English, which he learned mostly from watching Miami television, our colloquy on the contrasting ideas of democracy in our respective countries probably contributed more to

advancing democracy in Cuba than did our mission in South Africa. Although he took vigorous, if good-natured exception to my crack that with his experience in South Africa, he could now go back and teach his fellow Cubans how to conduct democratic elections, I am sure that the experience had a deep and lasting effect on his view.

Provided with a Xhosa-speaking driver, a set of maps and a compass, our first day in the field was spent bouncing over deeply rutted cowpaths in a rented Volkswagen Golf in search of the isolated village schoolhouses that would house the voting stations we were to observe. One by one we located them, but none showed signs of pre-election activity — or any other activity, for that matter. And by nightfall, we were still short a couple of sites.

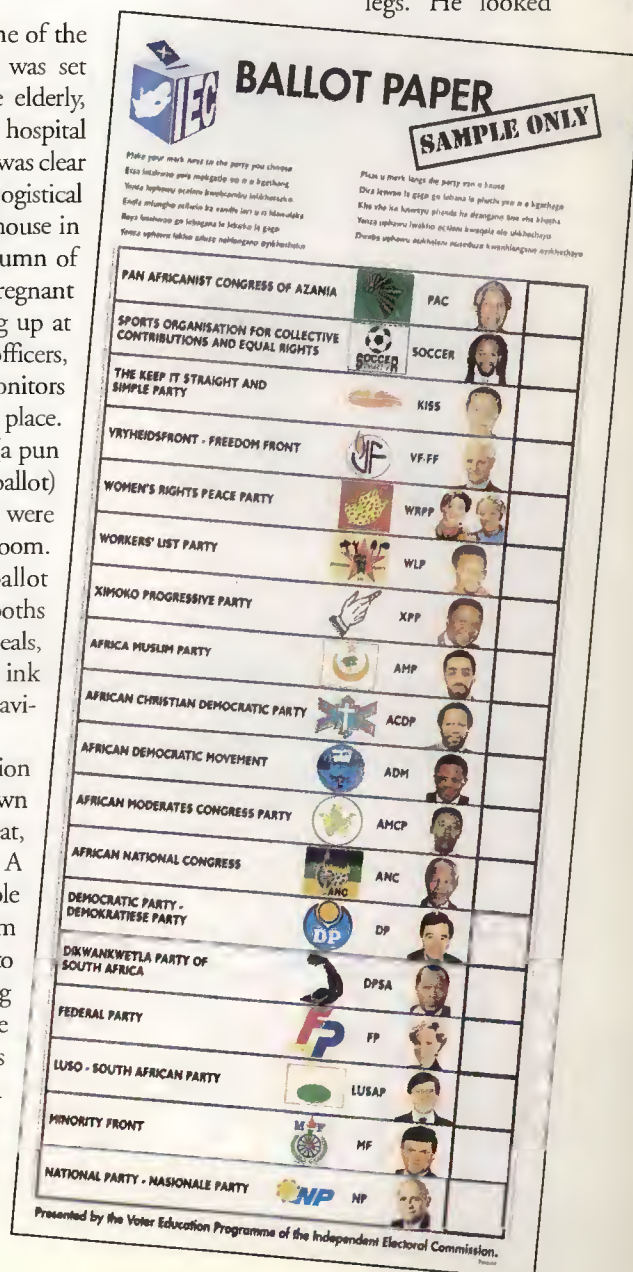
With the dawning of Day One of the three-day voting period, which was set aside for "special" voters — the elderly, handicapped, pregnant women, hospital patients and prison inmates — it was clear that we would be facing severe logistical problems. Arriving at the schoolhouse in Jakuja at 8 a.m., we found a column of 150 people, mostly old or pregnant women, who had begun queuing up at 5:30 a.m. The dozen voting officers, party poll watchers, and IEC monitors — virtually all women — were in place. The seven "stations of the cross" (a pun on the "x" used to mark the ballot) through which voters would pass were painstakingly arranged in a classroom. All that was missing were ballot papers, ballot boxes, voting booths and other voting paraphernalia: seals, rubber stamps, invisible indelible ink for marking voters' hands and ultraviolet lights to detect it.

After finding the same situation at Jojo, we pushed on to the town hall in Mt. Ayliff, the county seat, where things had begun to stir. A supply of ballot papers and a couple of ballot boxes had arrived from Umtata, Transkei's capital, but to the consternation of the presiding officer, they had been sent the wrong seals — wide plastic strips that didn't fit through the loops in the ballot boxes, rather than the regulation wire seals. Until the ballot boxes were properly sealed, voting could not proceed.

Although we observers had

been admonished to be but "flies on the wall," I couldn't resist the entreaties of the poll workers for advice. Reaching for my Swiss army knife, I split the plastic strip lengthwise, cut off half of it, and slipped the remaining strip through the ballot-box loops and back into the ratcheted sealing mechanism. "Now we can vote," the magistrate cried. The room erupted with applause. I marvelled at how little it took to look like a hero.

The scene that ensued was one I will never forget. After the poll workers completed their own voting, the door to the town hall swung open. The first "special voter" to enter was a tiny, wizened gnome of a man, no more than four feet tall if he could have stood up, but rising to no more than three feet on withered, twisted legs. He looked



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200 years old. As he approached the first station, to have his ID card checked, two men who had trailed him lifted him up to the table. Holding the man between them, they carried him to each station in turn, where first he had his hands sprayed, then he received his ballot paper for the national assembly and an explanation of the voting procedure. From there he proceeded to the booth where he marked his ballot.

As he emerged from the booth and I watched him place his ballot paper in the box, the composure I had been struggling to maintain finally cracked. I turned to the wall to hide the tears that rolled down my cheeks. It would not be the last time that happened. After marking and dropping his ballot for the provincial parliament, the old man was set back down on the floor, and he propelled himself through the exit, just as he had entered.

Over the next several hours, until well past midnight, more than 300 of Mt. Ayliff's old, halt, lame, blind and otherwise afflicted citizens followed his path through the town hall. As it turned out, they would be the last people to vote in that district for the next day and a half.

The next day, the first for regular voters, my euphoria quickly faded when it became clear that a snafu of monumental proportions was looming. As voting proceeded like clockwork in Kokstad, whose supplies came from Durban, the would-be voters of Transkei began a frustrating two-day vigil. At one voting station after another, we found long lines of people squatting impassively in the sun. With no telephones and no radios, they could only wait in vain at their isolated outposts for the truck that would deliver the stuff of their enfranchisement.

And wait they did. Until sundown. Those who lived nearby returned home for the night, but many others who had walked great distances huddled together and slept on the open ground. At 6 a.m., they were back in the queue.

On the third day, during the rounds over the now-familiar ruts, I told the schoolmaster who was serving as presiding officer at one station of my amazement and admiration of the people's incredible patience and dignity in the face of such frustration. "We have waited 350 years for this day," he replied. "We can wait a few more hours."

But I began to be alarmed at the prospect that the elections would expire without anyone in our district having voted. So, it appeared, did the IEC, which by now had thrown the South African Air Force into the breach. Around noon a helicopter offloaded voting materials at Mt. Ayliff, and by 3 p.m. all the voting stations in the district were in business. Finally, we were able to fill in our observation questionnaires, which had remained blank for two-and-a-half days.

The voting itself proved to be something of an anti-climax, devoid of controversy or suspense. Once the voting began, it proceeded swiftly, smoothly and with profound decorum. Although each of the 19 parties on the ballot was entitled to have poll watchers inside every station, we encountered only one non-ANC observer in all of our territory. I expect the ANC carried Mt. Ayliff by 98 percent. Transkei is the home turf of the ANC's Nelson Mandela, who would be inaugurated as president on May 10.

Unlike the widespread reports of intimidation and fraud from across the border in KwaZulu/Natal, my Cuban compadre and I were able to attest that the elections in Transkei, if disappointingly uneventful, appeared to be completely free and fair.

The last voting scene I saw was almost as memorable as the first. We were at Mbongweni, a tiny hamlet at the very end of the road and the last stop on our final circuit. It was 7 p.m., cutoff time for the admission of new arrivals, but the polls would remain open until the 100-plus people in line were able to vote. Night was descending, heavy fog was settling over the hills, and we risked becoming seriously lost on our way back to Kokstad. As we drove away, I looked back at the long column of people disappearing into the now-drenching mist and at the candles flickering inside the voting booths in the schoolhouse.

If, I thought, the ingenuity, patience, good will, good humor and determination that have made these elections succeed can survive this trial, democratic South Africa stands a good chance of surmounting the many formidable challenges that still lie before it. 🍌

Gilbert D. Kulick, a retired FSO, is Director of Outreach programs for AFSA.

AFSA news

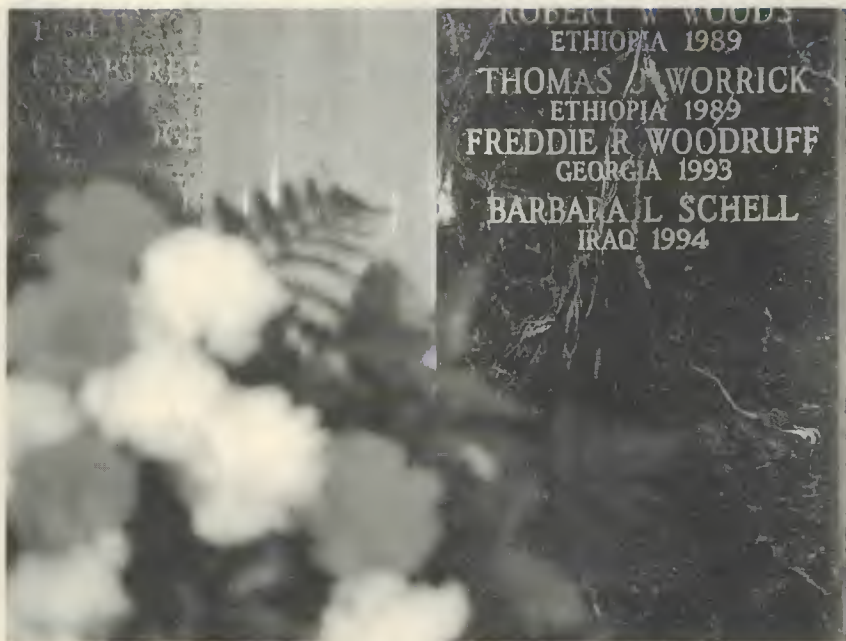


AFSA Role Discussed at FAS Town Meeting

AFSA President Tex Harris and State Vice President Todd Stewart recently met with concerned employees from the Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS). AFSA expressed its concern over Foreign Service exclusion from the recent raise in locality pay and the effect of diminished resources and downsizing at posts. AFSA is pushing to maintain key resources such as adequate medical facilities, consistent pouch service and educational benefits.

AFSA's role in a Partnership Council was explained. According to the president's executive order, Partnership Councils are formed through employees participating through their exclusive representative. Thus, once AFSA were elected, its role in the reinventing process would be essential. The FAS Partnership Resolution will call for employee participation at the pre-decisional stage and seeks employee input during the creation of the options, not reaction once the options are set. FAS employees on the council and on the FAS Standing Committee would receive and act on FAS employees' inputs. Polls will be conducted to develop FAS/AFSA positions for both negotiation and Partnership discussions.

AFSA is looking forward to empowering FAS Foreign Service employees to participate in deciding those issues that affect their careers.



In a somber ceremony on Foreign Service Day, Secretary of State Christopher spoke and read a message from President Clinton before the unveiling of the names of Freddie R. Woodruff and Barbara L. Schell on the AFSA memorial plaque in the State Department.

Clinton Sends Greeting on Foreign Service Day

On this Foreign Service Day I am proud to send greetings to those who serve our nation overseas. ... I have gained a deep appreciation for the extraordinary professionals who safeguard the United States' interests abroad. All Americans share my deep admiration for the skill and dedication of those who represent our country throughout the world.

We live in a time of great change. ... Now, as never before, we depend on the existence of peace, freedom, and open markets around the world to ensure our own well-being. An effective Foreign Service is vital to meeting this crucial challenge.

Ours is also a time of great turbulence. The names on the Foreign Service Association's memorial plaque remind us of the profound sacrifice too often required of those who serve their country. As the names of Freddie R. Woodruff and Barbara L. Schell are added to your roll of honor, America pays them special tribute. ...

On behalf of all Americans, I extend heartfelt gratitude for the loyalty, courage, and leadership of those who represent the United States of America.

- President Clinton

Foreign Service Day Celebrated



Back Row, Left to Right: Theresa Auricchio, John LeHane (Scholarship Assistant), Judy Smith (Committee on Education, AAFSW), Mrs. JoAnne Shankle, Robert H. Miller (COE Chair), Willard DePree (incoming COE Chair, Merit Panelist), Douglas Kinney (COE), Sandra Muench (COE). Local Merit Award Winners, Front Row, Left to Right: Davin Quinn, Ian Caldwell, Tanya Smith, Stephen Licht, Andrew Giddings.

AFSA/AAFSW Merit Scholarship Award Winners

Winners

Lise Adams	Shannon Ashley
Joanne Bowen	Edward Boyke
Katherine Brown	Ian Caldwell
Faisal Chaudhry	Jules Cohen
James Decherd	David Koechley
Andrew Giddings	Lora Harris
Brian Johnson	Shoshanna Kook
Stephen Licht	Alma Limprecht
Margaret MacCallum	Davin Quinn
Jared Serwer	Tanya Smith

Honorable Mentions

Theodore Ahlgren	Martine Becerra
Sally Butcher	Markus Cleverley
Meredith Evans	Brooke Harnish
Megan Kelly	Jared Kurtzer
Rebecca Morris	Heidi Stalla
Kristine Taft	Ivan Wagner

Best Essay Winner

Margaret MacCallum

The 29th annual Foreign Service Day was held in the Department of State May 6. For the first time AAFSW joined AFSA, DACOR and the director general in hosting the event. Highlights were the awarding of the Foreign Service Cup to John S. Service and the conferring of the Director General's Cup on retired Career Ambassador Ronald Spiers. The 1994 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards were given in memory of the late A. Perry Shankle, president of AFSA 1987-89.

AFSA President Tex Harris and Retiree Vice President Donald Norland led a lively discussion at the May 7 brunch in the Foreign Service Club on how alumni could help educate the public and Congress on the need for an active U.S. role in foreign affairs.

John S. Service, who received the Foreign Service Cup more than 50 years after his first assignment in China, commented on his historic discharge.

"My peers in the State Department never ruled against me. We were buoyed and sustained by the unbroken friendship, loyalty and support of our many friends in the Foreign Service. In weathering this test, these friendships were strengthened. ... Terminated though we were, we never felt that we had left the Foreign Service – or that the Foreign Service had left us. It is this vital background of friendship and confidence that makes this award today so deeply meaningful to me and my family." *There was not a dry eye in the house.*

AFSA thanks members who contributed \$23,000 to the AFSA Scholarship Fund during the recent year-end appeal. The fund will provide financial assistance for Foreign Service children this year and in the years to come. The financial aid grants are based solely on need, with awards ranging from \$500 to \$2,500.

AFSA Award Winners Announced

The winners of AFSA awards given to Foreign Service officers for "extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent" have been announced. The awards will be conferred at a ceremony on June 28. The award winners are:

Robert B. Richardson, deputy director, Contract and Commodity Division, Office of Procurement, AID: *The Christian A. Herter Award* for senior officers, for insisting on the need for accountability in AID programs.

A group comprising **Mirta Alvarez, Jonathan Benton, Janet Bogue, Laura Clerici, Ellen Conway, Gordana Earp, Marshall Harris, Brady Kiesling, Drew Mann, John Menzies (USIA), James F. Moriarty, Eric Rubin, and Scott Thompson**: *The William R. Rivkin Award*, for mid-level officers, for advocating alternative policy positions on Bosnia.

Thomas F. Daughton, currently in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs: *The W. Averell Harriman Award* for junior officers, for integrity in political reporting from Rabat.

Awards for secretaries and for Foreign Service family members were also announced:

Sandra McInturff, secretary to the U.S. Liaison Office in Mogadishu: *The Delavan Award* for secretaries.

Rebecca Jaramillo McCullough, the spouse of Dundas McCullough, New Delhi: *The Avis Bohlen Award* for a Foreign Service family member.

from the State vice president

By Todd Stewart

Rather than belabor a single subject this month, let me bring you up to date on *five* subjects which AFSA is addressing.

Rockefeller Amendment: Senator Rockefeller introduced this amendment to the State/USIA Authorization Bill to promote the employment of U.S. citizens, both American family members (AFM) and local residents, by Foreign Service posts. AFSA applauded the provision that gave AFMs a preference in hiring competitions but called on the conference committee to make them eligible for participation in a U.S. government pension plan. Our proposal received partial support from the department, which asked that the pension authority be made discretionary as funding is not yet available. Unfortunately, the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee objected to this discretionary aspect, and the pension provision was stripped entirely from the bill before it was reported out of conference in late April.

Locality Pay: The concerns in my April column are shared by department officials, who are exploring possible legislative remedies with OPM and OMB to extend locality pay to our colleagues abroad. This remains AFSA's top legislative priority, but full support from the administration will be required to pass the legislation.

Sexual Orientation Discrimination: AFSA wrote to State, AID, and USIA in November requesting that State's narrowly publicized policy on this subject be clarified and codified in the Foreign Affairs Manual. No substantive response was received for several months, but in late April the department proposed a new policy statement including sexual orientation as one of the impermissible grounds for discrimination among employees and candidates for employment. AFSA, in consultation

with Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies (GLIFAA), counter-proposed a shortened version, which Secretary Christopher has issued. In addition, AID and USIA agreed to negotiations intended to codify this policy in the FAM.

Personnel Reform: The department has established a steering group, chaired by Ambassador Jennifer Ward, to develop a coherent set of reforms of the Foreign Service personnel system. AFSA accepted the director general's invitation to name two members of the group on the understanding that they would participate in their personal capacities and not speak for AFSA. We took this position because other members of the seven-person group are serving as individuals and because the AFSA nominees (Jim Jeffrey and myself) would be unable to receive timely guidance in free-flowing policy discussions. Nonetheless, we hope that the participation of AFSA nominees will create a bridge between the steering group's work and the work already under way on personnel reform in AFSA's State Standing Committee.

Assignments: Meanwhile, the

State Standing Committee has circulated for comment a proposed reform of the assignment process for generalist officers. The committee started with this subject because of the widespread dissatisfaction expressed with the present assignment process in the poll we conducted earlier this year. Work has also begun on workforce organization with a committee review of proposals to amend, scrap or replace the present cone system. This review will also culminate in a reform proposal which will be circulated to you for comment.

Specialists: We have distributed the results of the poll we conducted of Foreign Service secretaries, along with a request for volunteers to join a steering committee of Washington-based secretaries to guide AFSA's dealings with the department. A steering committee of Washington information management personnel has already been formed for this purpose. The State Standing Committee recognizes that many aspects of personnel reform have significant implications for administrative area specialists, and we will attempt to address those implications in future proposals.

Armchair Diplomats Now Online

"Diplomats Online" is a pilot project, utilizing the computer bulletin board America Online, which uses computer technology to link teachers to experts and resource materials in the fields of geography and history. Students can access the database, query experts, and set up their own interactions with students and teachers in other schools. Funded by the Una Chapman Cox Foundation, in association with AFSA, the National Geographic Society and the National Archives, the pilot project is currently working to link more than 35 retired diplomats to more than 30 schools across the country.

Retired FSOs serve as "expert assistants" who represent a wealth of experience about different parts of the world. Diplomats must know and use both geographic and historical information in building their understanding of other cultures. AFSA sees this computer outreach as an effective way of communicating with students from areas of the United States who might not otherwise have access to knowledge about the Foreign Service.

from the AID vice president

By Pat Patterson

AFSA is monitoring closely the various AID organizational and personnel changes. We are especially concerned with any adverse impacts on employees and their working conditions and will demand full negotiations on them. The administrator has stated repeatedly that there will be no reductions (RIFs), no downgrading and no one will be without a job. Given the various budgetary pressures throughout the U.S. government, we are fortunate to be in this position, but these promises will be under considerable pressure in the future. Already we have seen the tradeoff of personal service contractors (PSCs) to protect permanent staff. We all need to be as constructive as possible in support of the administrator's plans while assuring that the playing field is level and due process is well served.

In several meetings on bureau and office reorganization, AFSA has sought answers to questions about specific bureau and office changes. We have asked that the Global Bureau's future and relationship with regional bureaus be discussed in a meeting of the Partnership Council. As implementation of the reorganization takes place, we will be especially vigilant to challenge questionable tracking of individuals to specific assignments, downgrading, adverse impacts and due process matters.

Task groups of Civil and FS employees have drafted a legally required report to Congress on unifying AID's personnel system which includes: (a) general worldwide availability for all but a small support staff in Washington, and (b) the rank-in-person principle.

If comprehensive reform goes forward, (a 50-50 chance at best), a number of specific items will have to be negotiated with AFSA because of their impact on working condi-

tions. AFSA has reserved the right to negotiate specific portions of the reform proposal, such as the grievance and appeals process, time-in-class, etc. In the end, we will also express our views to the concerned committees on the Hill.

In meetings on mission-closings, we have been especially alert to the status of employees who will be displaced or in other ways adversely affected by this exercise. With regard to additional closings, the administrator has indicated that spring budget reviews may well lead to recommendations to close additional missions over the next four years.

Whether emanating from reorganization, personnel reform efforts or post closings, members need to be alert to any unfair actions, denial of due process or the breaking of AID rules and regulations. AFSA has had, or presently has, legal challenges outstanding regarding the agency's diversity plan (AID failed originally to take AFSA's views into account), the unilateral change in the career transition program, the denial of LCE's in which agency rules negotiated with AFSA were broken, the improper convening last year of a review board and briefings of a "C" board in which AFSA was locked out.

The administrator and his team deserve kudos for their role in changing external perceptions about AID. Many believe the administrator has saved the agency. Unfortunately, he and his senior team have had greater difficulty in communicating with, empowering and treating employees as partners. We trust this perception is changing as employees and AFSA, on their behalf, provide constant feedback on a variety of topics, and senior management is receptive to these messages.

A major aspect of this administration's reform efforts, new foreign assistance legislation (The Peace, Prosperity and Democracy Act), is in trouble with less than a 50-50 chance of passage this year. AFSA presented three major concerns: The lack of specificity regarding objectives, priorities and clarity as to who is to be in charge of the future foreign assistance arena. These concerns are shared in the Congress.

AFSA will continue to make employee views known as the PPDA moves through various committees. Congress is interested in knowing the views of AID professionals on this topic, the impact of which will be felt long after the present administration has left office.

Quotable Quote

"The Peace Corps has been involved in democracy-building from the beginning. We call it grassroots participation, grassroots development – and grassroots can be everything from the big farming cooperative in Estonia to working with mothers' groups, a farming cooperative, getting the local community interested in doing reforestation."

– Carol Bellamy, Director of the Peace Corps
Foreign Service Club Speaker's Lunch, April 18



FSOs Share Budget-Cutting Stories

In preparation for President Tex Harris' testimony April 28 before the House Appropriations subcommittee (See "President's Views," page 4), AFSA members around the world were invited to provide examples of how budget cuts have affected their professional lives. Some sample responses:

- **Nassau:** Our office has tried to mediate trade disputes between American and Bahamian firms, and without being able to make long distance telephone calls, we have been put in the position of having to make "telephone appointments" for U.S. businesses to call us. Trying to conduct U.S. business abroad is getting to be a real hassle.
- **Brasilia:** The political and economic sections' travel budgets were just cut in half. Political's is down to \$3,200 a year for four officers in a country the size of the United States. We were told to cut phone calls by 50 percent.
- **Hermosillo:** In FY-93, we handled 73 American citizen deaths, 1,978 estate and property

claims, 121 welfare and whereabouts cases, 392 arrests of American citizens and 874 passport cases. We have approximately 40 Americans in prison in our district. On April 15, we laid off one-third of our American citizen services FSN staff.

- **Karachi:** We anticipate serious problems in completing next year's diversity immigrant (visa lottery) program. Although this program is congressionally mandated, no funds were earmarked by Congress to implement it.
- **Kathmandu:** Inflation here has been running at over 20 percent. The cap imposed on wage increases for FSN employees has meant that they have fallen further behind in terms of real income. A general cut in USIA program budgets ... comes after earlier cuts which make our pretense of serious presentation of American culture a farce.
- **Athens:** I am a junior officer who was lured from business to work in the Foreign Service. Promised increases have not been forth-

coming, rendering the pay scale even more uncompetitive. The average congressman is not exposed to the hardships or danger of life abroad. I invite them to spend one week in Athens, experience power and water cuts, and hide under tables with us at bomb threats.

- **Muscat:** At times, we have had to turn off the embassy air conditioners in order to save money, at a post where the summer temperature reaches over 130 degrees. [The budget cuts] required us to RIF over 20 percent of our FSN and contract workforce. Every cut made damaged morale and productivity.
- **Ulaanbaatar:** To perform the personnel aspect of my job better, I took the PER course in Washington; but I had to go out-of-pocket to take this course.
- **Jeddah:** We have been forced to reduce our health unit hours by 50 percent despite an increase in the number of Americans (many dependent children) authorized health care.

from the retiree vice president

By Don Norland

The reactions to President Tex Harris' April 28 testimony on the FY 1995 budget make unmistakably clear that, as Harris told the subcommittee, "we're broke." Not only can't we take any more budget hits, we've been stretched to the breaking point by the combination of new, unprecedented global peacekeeping issues, by years of neglected infrastructure, by outmoded information and visa systems and the strain of opening some 29 new posts over the past several years--for starters.

The repercussions of the budget squeeze have also hit retirees as the department faced what it

termed (in an April 29 "notice") the "imperative of reducing expenditures for employees who are hired on a "When Actually Employed (WAE) basis." Management strongly justified its action by noting that \$8 million was spent on WAE employment last year, while at the same time a significant number of active duty officers were unassigned. Heavy budget pressures from Congress account for renewed department efforts to reconcile this situation.

We continue to believe that experience will show that retirees bring expertise and commitment to their work that cannot be matched by short-term assignments.

Tax Change Reviewed

"In consultation with outside tax consultants the State Department is currently reviewing the question of the impact of recent changes in the tax laws," Chief of Labor Management William Struck wrote in response to AFSA's inquiry about tax law changes.

Tax law changes, which reportedly may remove the exemption for all moving allowances (Temporary Quarters, Foreign Transfer and Home Service Transfer) and may also make the department's payment for storage of effects taxable, would have a significant adverse effect on Foreign Service employees.

AFSA has asked for a meeting to discuss any changes that might impact negatively on employees.

Congressional Update

By Rick Weiss

Congressional Liaison

The president signed the Foreign Relations Act, FY94-95, on April 30, providing \$13.5 billion annually for the two-year period, and accepting the Clinton administration reorganization plan for the Department of State. It also creates Radio Free Asia (RFA) and consolidates Voice of America (VOA), (RFE/RL), TV and Radio Marti under a Broadcasting Board of Governors. This legislation also urges the administration to provide weapons to Bosnia, provides \$670 million for U.N. peacekeeping activities, and contains the Arms Control and Non-Proliferation Act.

The following provisions impact on the Foreign Service:

- Limits the number of Foreign Service officers for State, USIA and AID, and reduces the size of the Senior Foreign Service by 10 percent over two years.
- Requires a report on the feasibility of consolidating domestic administrative operations of State, USIA, AID and ACDA.
- Establishes disciplinary procedures for consular officers who fail to follow lookout system procedures and issue visas to unauthorized persons.
- Authorizes 20 assistant secretary positions in State, an increase of two, but four less than the administration request and limits the number of deputy assistant secretaries to 66.
- Waives the \$40,000 limitation for payment of personal property damage or loss during an emergency evacuation order.

gency evacuation order.

- Places a one-year limit on the period of interim relief from the Foreign Service Grievance Board and mandates the filing of board decisions within 180 days of final action by the board.
- Prohibits performance awards to members of the Senior Foreign Service in FY94 and FY95 unless such awards are made in the Senior Executive Service.
- Allows the secretary of state and other FS agency heads to conduct reduction in force (RIF) in the Foreign Service.
- Allows the secretary of state flexibility in hiring U.S. citizens, particularly government employee family members.
- Requires a series of foreign language competence standards.

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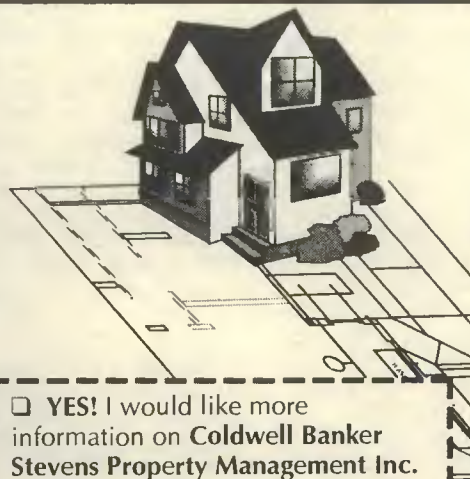
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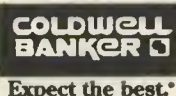
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40 YEARS OF USIA

1953

President Dwight D. Eisenhower creates USIA, which includes the 11-year old VOA.

1953-56

Sen. Joseph McCarthy persecutes USIA officers for alleged communist infiltration.

1956

A USIA Russian-language magazine, *Amerika*, is distributed in the Soviet Union.

1958

The first U.S.-U.S.S.R. Cultural Exchange Agreement is signed, providing for student and professional exchanges.

1959

The American National Exhibition is hosted in Moscow, a forum for the famous Nixon-Krushchev "kitchen debate."

SPREADING

USIA Celebrates 40th Year of T

BY
HANS
N.
TUCH

Since its creation in 1953, the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) has been helping foreign audiences develop a better understanding of American society and U.S. government policies. The mission has not been an easy one. The complexities and interdependence of today's world make it imperative that foreign peoples understand not only U.S. policies, but also who Americans are as a people and as a culture. America's problems, such as racism or dealing with diversity in the workplace, as well as its strengths, such as technological and commercial advances, are all stories to be told outside the United States.

Providing information and facilitating culture and educational exchange make up the substance of what has come to be called public diplomacy. Some consider the term an oxymoron, since traditionally diplomacy is conducted behind closed doors. Others think it is a euphemism for "propaganda," also not a highly regarded art. Public diplomacy emphasizes the reciprocal nature of the relationship, the dialogue, if you will. Only by learning about the histories, the cultures and the psychologies of others can Americans expect to gain an understanding of their own society and its goals.

Former President Jimmy Carter cogently summarized this view in 1978, when he noted that the agency's principal function "should be to reduce the degree to which misperceptions and misunderstandings complicate relations between the United States and other nations. ... The fundamental premise of [USIA] is that it is in our national interest to encourage the sharing of ideas and cultural activities among the people of the United States and the people of other nations."

That mission is as valid and as vital today as then. Presidential Counselor David Gergen confirmed this in his recent observation at a Washington dinner commemorating USIA's anniversary. "We must have people at the grassroots level in other countries who understand what America is all about, what American foreign policy is all about," he said. Yet, he underscored the importance of telling only the truth: "The agency ought to be willing to tell the story straight. Because if we tell it straight, then

people will understand what democracy is."

Even before the American Revolution, patriots wanted outsiders to understand democracy — as well as its partisan cause. Benjamin Franklin distributed pamphlets in Europe extolling the revolutionary cause, and the Confederate propagandist, Henry Hotze, arranged editorials in the London press favoring the cause of the South.

In 1917, the Committee of Public Information became the first U.S. government agency to inform European audiences of U.S. aims in entering World War I. Ten years later the first Binational Center was established in Buenos Aires. In 1935, the first Radio Bulletin, the precursor of today's Wireless File, was sent via Morse Code through the State Department to key diplomatic



1961**1961****1961****1962-64****1963****1964**

Edward R. Murrow becomes USIA director.

The Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act (the Fulbright-Hays Act) consolidates various exchanges.

VOA tells listeners behind the Iron Curtain of resumption of communist nuclear testing.

USIA expands its presence in Africa and Asia.

The English Teaching Forum, USIA's journal for English teachers, is published.

"John F. Kennedy: Years of Lightning, Day of Drums," is distributed in 117 countries.

THE WORLD

telling the World America's Story

missions abroad. In 1938 the Interdepartmental Committee for Scientific and Cultural Cooperation and the Division of Cultural Cooperation in the State Department were formed to counteract German and Italian propaganda in Latin America. Nelson Rockefeller was appointed soon after to head an exchange of people between the United States and Latin America and to open libraries and binational centers in the region.

On the European front, shortwave radio was then the instrument of communication; the Voice of America (VOA) began broadcasting in 1942 in German, French, Italian and English. During World War II, the Office of War Information was established; after the war, the State Department created the Office of International Cultural Affairs and the International Press and Publication

Division. In the late 1940s, the State Department conducted a massive reorientation and reeducation program in Germany and Japan, the first such foreign cultural, information and education endeavor by the U.S. government. U.S. overseas information and cultural programs were institutionalized in the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948, but it was not until 1953 that the USIA was created under Reorganization Plan No. 8, primarily because Secretary of State John Foster Dulles reportedly did not want such activities operating within the State Department.

During this time, the agency's academic journal, "Problems of Communism," was launched. It was published for 40 years until 1992.

With the demise of communism, some have argued that USIA has no future, saying it was created as a Cold War instrument solely to battle communist ideology and Soviet imperialism. This view had been buttressed by some former USIA directors, such as Frank Shakespeare, USIA director from 1969-73, who opposed communism so fervently that, in spite of President Richard Nixon's emerging detente policy, he viewed USIA's sole mission as opposing and defeating Soviet aggression.

In fact, USIA's mission has always been much more complex. The U.S. role in the world, its international relationships and national goals require effective communication with foreign publics. Indeed, in a recent USIA discussion paper, President Clinton is quoted as arguing that, "We must recognize the historic opportunity we have to influence the shape and climate of international relations for decades to come by engaging vigorously in its great debates. The worldwide democratic revolution has made public opinion, foreign as well as domestic, a more significant factor in the achievement of our national objectives than at any time in world history."

USIA Director Edward R. Murrow, whose rich baritone inspired a generation of Foreign Service officers, talks to the incoming FSO class of 1963.



PHOTO COURTESY OF USIA

1967

The bilingual scholarly USIA journal about U.S. life, *Dialogue*, begins publishing quarterly for Latin America.

1968

The USIA film, "Night of the Dragon," about Vietnam is not shown abroad, due to its propagandist nature.

1975

The VOA Charter, stating that the VOA will serve as a "consistently reliable and authoritative source of news," becomes law.

1976

The Reproduction Service Center (RSC) Beirut is closed after two employees, Charles Gallagher and William Dykes, are kidnapped and held five months.

1976

VOA begins transmitting via international satellite, replacing short-wave radio.

1977

The Arab Wireless File is launched, adding to the English, Spanish and French versions.

How should USIA meet these responsibilities? Clearly there must be a balance between conveying information and creating understanding. Being trusted is not enough.

This symbiosis between conveying information and creating understanding was underlined by Steven Muller, president emeritus of Johns Hopkins University, during a recent symposium: "There is a tremendous amount of information," Muller pointed out, "so much of it, that our understanding of it is very limited. This is not a knock on information, which is essential. It is rather an argument that human understanding is absolutely essential. ... Whatever else we do, an investment in people, an investment in the ability of Americans to understand the world better, and for the rest of the world to understand the United States better, is probably the soundest investment that can be made."

Former Sen. William Fulbright recognized the importance of person-to-person exchanges when he created the first international educational exchange program in 1946. The Fulbright program now operates in 140 countries and has sponsored nearly 200,000 U.S. and foreign grantees.

Today, Sen. Bill Bradley's Freedom Support Act, administered by USIA, enables 1,500 teenagers from Russia and the newly independent states to spend a year in the United States, living with a family, going to high school and becoming part of the community.

Of primary importance is for USIA's management to make sure that the equation between conveying information and creating understanding remains balanced. Only too rarely have the two elements been regarded simply as complementary.

On the information end of the equation, USIA faces a number of critical issues in the 1990s, chief among them the use of international radio and TV broadcasting.

USIA's international broadcasting mandate, as spelled out in the the new United States International Broadcasting Act, can be described only as a wasteful and unmanageable mess. The bill, signed April 30 and awaiting funding authorization, calls for the preservation of the Cold War surrogate stations, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, and the creation of Radio Free Asia, the latter of which is expected to cost \$30 million. Sen. Russell Feingold (D-Wis.) has fought unsuccessfully to integrate the proposed Radio Free Asia into VOA's

A C

Passing on T

Can you resist, when the caesura of retirement impends, a backward look at what you think happened and mattered? You burnish the memory of things that seem to have worked, changes you provoked, are rueful about lessons you may have learned, and imagine that some of it all might just forfend a stumble among the epigones crowding at your receding heels. Indulgence, please, for such a one and some things he remembers, each paired with a moral that may stand up in years ahead.

Stanleyville, the Congo, November 1964. It was in Le Grand Congo, now shrunken to Zaire, just a few years after independence. Rebel bands, dubbed Maoist on flimsy evidence, had taken several hundred Europeans and Americans hostage up near Stanleyville, now again called Kisangani.

Three allies mounted an airborne rescue mission from Ascension, using the Britons' island, the Belgians' paratroopers, and our planes. After the drop, there were deaths on both sides, but most of the hostages were lifted out to safety.

How to explain to the rest of freshly independent Africa how we three and the acquiescent Tshombe government could justify such an incursion into the Heart of Darkness, now theirs?

Paper, a locally produced "fast pamphlet" in English and French for continent-wide distribution, seemed the answer.

It fell to a first-tour assistant information officer, your memoirist, to write, edit and produce the exculpatory tract. Within a week, not more. Great project: A public affairs challenge against time pressure, a clear goal and end-point, a chance for a neophyte to make his mark.

Somehow, with the help of a local German printing plant, it was finished in about six days, with a text recognizably in each of the languages and some grainy but identifiable photos. Early on a Saturday, there were 100,000 copies neatly boxed and piled in my office on Avenue Charles De Gaulle near the Cité. My Congolese staff and I set to work to address and ship them to Llo Yaounde, Fort Lamy, Kampala and elsewhere.

They were on their way out the front door when the political affairs officer boomed in sight to ask, not very politely: What the hell did I think I was doing? It seemed obvious to me, but in a few salty sentences he made it clear that he, and the rest of the embassy, thought they ought to have something — plenty — to say about where the white paper ought to go, how many copies should go, to whom they should be addressed, and similar trivia. How right he was.

After the excoriation came the kudos, but a good deal later. And the moral is, I submit: No matter how well you think you've done, don't go public without the front office on board.

Novosibirsk, Siberia, May 1970. For the first time ever, an American national exhibit was set to open in Siberia's scientific and intellectual capital, the fifth month-long USSR showing of Education USA. All was in readiness, guides and exhibits and equipment and publicity — the latter admittedly quite sparse, given the rigid ground rules in effect during the so-called years of stagnation.

As public affairs officer, I had helped with three preparatory trips and hours of negotiation on space, access, library

1978

President Carter approves major reorganization of USIA, transferring the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs from the State Department to USIA.

1978

The Hubert Humphrey Fellowship Program, for participants from developing countries, begins.

1979

Cultural exchanges begin between the U.S. and China.

1982

The USIA TV production, "Let Poland Be Poland," showing U.S. support for the Polish people, is produced, producing complaints.

1982

President Reagan announces the International Youth Exchange Initiative.

1982

Radio Marti, VOA's Spanish-language program for Cuba, is launched.

LIMPSE INTO THE PAST

The Lessons of One Career • BY MCKINNEY H. RUSSELL

books and the like. We expected a major delegation from Washington, including USIA Director Frank Shakespeare, Advisory Commission member William F. Buckley, and a cast of dozens. Then came the Soviet missive, on the morning of the day our capital gang was to enplane at Dulles.

The MFA called me early to announce, with crocodilian regret, that sudden power outages in Novosibirsk — where, I note, Soviet Power Plus Electrification had transformed the tundra — necessitated a postponement sine die of the opening of our modest exhibit.

All the Washington travellers were of course waved off, and when the plugs got fixed a week or so later, again very suddenly, it was impossible for any of them to reschedule going to Novosibirsk.

About then, a leak from somewhere let us in on what had brought the rain down on our parade: A day or so before the scheduled opening, the U.S. incursion across the Vietnamese border into the Parrot's Beak corner of Cambodia had rendered it politically unthinkable for high-ranking Nixon government officials to be sighted in Soviet Siberia.

Which proves, I suggest, that the world is truly interdependent, which is why the real reason for many things is often somewhere else.

Bonn, Germany, June 1972. The Drang to close posts is not new. An agency inspection team arrived in Bonn in June of '72 convinced that our seven Americans in the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin just had to be too many.

USIS West Germany was deeply engaged in a top-to-bottom redesign and upgrade of the entire network of cultural and information centers, essentially unchanged since the early '50s. We were convinced that the job that remained to be done in each center, and the uniquely high level of German support for them, in kind and in Deutch marks, justified their maintenance and survival.

Not so the seven inspectors. As the 30th of June drew near, which in those days marked the end of the fiscal year, they trained their heavy artillery on Amerika Haus Hamburg. Their cable calling for a radical downsizing of our flagship post in the north, despite its \$1 million-plus subsidy from the Senate of the city-state, was ready to fire — from Hamburg itself, where several of our visitors were.

We had inklings of this. Our strategy in Bonn was to prepare a comprehensive proposi-

al to launch the modernization of the post and center in Hamburg. It was timed to reach the agency on the 28th, to take best advantage of a bruted end-of-fiscal-year windfall.

Too, even in those faxless and e-mail-less days, we had kept the back channels churning with anticipatory lobbying. The area office was fully on board, and it had brought the dollar managers around in support of the plan.

Imagine our joy — Freude, schoener Goetterfunken! — when our bid for the Hamburg renewal, something like a then-princely \$200,000, was blessed by a cable that arrived on the Rhein, and in Hamburg, on the very morning after the inspectors had sent their abortive cut-and-slash message.

Hence the Third Lesson: Protect your supply lines as if your program depended on them. It usually does.

Brasilia, Brazil, 1978. USIA's Brazil program, like its host country, covers a wide area. In 1978 we had six branches and a good-sized headquarters operation in Brasilia. Two of them, Recife and Porto Alegre, are as far apart as, say, Oslo and Tunis. Staff totalled 30 Americans and over 200 Foreign Service nationals.

To help staffers "cohere in common purpose," as posited in my work requirements, the creation of an internal house organ made a lot of sense. We launched it that fall, and called it, with pretty wit, *ComunICAudo*, the middle three capitals intended to be a tribute to the agency's name at the time — some, with a sigh, will remember USICA.

Brazilians are arguably among the most enthusiastically communicative people in the world. The national staff, with Brasilia Foreign Service National program officer Ingrid Preetz as editor, took up the idea with brio and panache. *ComunICAudo* soon bloomed with personalia, cartoons, crossword puzzles, conundrums, gossip and a lively swapping of program ideas. After I left for Spain in 1982, my successor, deeming the publication too time-consuming, closed it down within a month.

This may tend to prove, as the saw more or less has it, that *tout predecesseur est incompetent, tout successeur usurpateur*. Or perhaps: Don't be surprised if your best ideas die soon after your wheels are up.

Beijing, China, spring, 1989. China's turbulent spring of 1989 was a time of extraordinary public affairs challenges. Recall that Mikhail Gorbachev had more than 1,000 corre-

spondents in tow when he arrived in mid-May to seal peace with the Chinese leadership. And pro-democracy demonstrations by young Chinese, begun a month earlier, were reaching their apogee in the final weeks before the fateful Saturday of June 3. The drama in Tian'anmen Square brought hundreds more foreign reporters into the capital.

American embassies and USIS posts quickly become a major news source when this much is happening. We team with quotable western observers and political analysts. By May 20, our USIS post was already on a 24-hour schedule. Background briefings set up for groups of up to 150 western reporters became regular events. News editors from scores of American radio stations called at all hours for on-scene comments and reaction. CNN took over entire floors at the Great Wall Sheraton.

Then came the crack-down and the shooting and the dying in the square that Saturday night. It was followed on Sunday by the emergence of a new story angle. None of us at the U.S. Embassy should have been surprised. The fate of Americans in Beijing — reporters, students, Fulbright professors, tourists, and yes, even diplomats — soared to the top of the U.S. press corps' concerns.

Tom Brokaw and nearly a hundred reporters pressed in on Consul General Dee Robinson and me at an impromptu press conference on the street in front of the U.S. consular section. How many citizens were still in the city? When would planes arrive to take them out? Are the Chinese preventing access to Americans? Why weren't we doing more to speed their departure — now?

At the end of the week, the story had played itself out and attention could focus more sharply on the broader consequences of the crackdown and China's place on an altered international scene. But certainly, to stress it again, no one should have been taken unawares by the relentless intensity of the media's scrutiny of the evacuation-of-Americans story.

The conclusion is probably this, to paraphrase that most quoted hit of political sagacity since Lord John Acton: All international relations are domestic, at least until the dust settles.

McKinney Russell, a Foreign Service officer from 1962 until May 1994, served in Moscow, Bonn, Brasilia, Madrid and Beijing. He is currently the USIA diplomat in residence at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

1983

The so-called "black list" of potential USIA speakers, for political reasons considered "unsuitable" for participation in USIS programs, is revealed.

1983

USIA introduces "Worldnet," TV discussions on foreign policy issues, which is broadcast worldwide.

1985

The Wireless File switches from telex to personal computer transmission.

1989

Two VOA Beijing correspondents, Al Pessin and Mark Hopkins, are expelled after the Tiananmen Square massacre.

1990

TV Marti, designed for the Cuban audience, is created.

1990

A plaque honoring USIA employees who died while working is mounted at USIA headquarters.

China Service, which is already well-respected in the region.

The act also establishes a presidentially appointed Broadcasting Board of Governors in USIA that is expected to review the provisions of the bill within 120 days. President Clinton has acknowledged the bill is flawed in its elimination of the VOA Charter, which had legislated radio's time-honored principles, and has promised to reinstate the charter via appropriate legislation soon.

While short-wave radio until recently has been the primary instrument of communication, the medium of today's world is television. The task of understanding American policy and American society cannot be delegated to CNN, because it is a private business. While direct access to international commercial satellite channels, such as CNN and BBC, are still limited largely to elite audiences, this is changing fast. The same motives that inspired national governments to create short-wave radio stations now encourage them to send TV broadcasts via international satellites. More and more people will be tuning in, and USIA needs to be on screen to reach these audiences.

USIA now operates a worldwide satellite system that delivers television programs such as Worldnet, the crown jewel in government television programming, and the world leader in international teleconferencing. Opportunities for television to serve U.S. public diplomacy are as great now as at any time in our history. "USIA: New Directions for a New Era," a Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy report, recommends that USIA TV be used as a "narrow-caster," aimed at smaller, key audiences in targeted areas, with programming tailored to the needs of specific countries and regions. Programs should produce regional and foreign-language documentaries and syndicated programs, following guidance from USIS field posts. Television resources, the report concludes, "should be increased to accord with the changes we can forecast for the next decade. A 17:1 dollar ratio currently reflects the U.S. government's support for international radio versus television." The report recommended taking advantage of increased potential of television for public diplomacy.

The most complex and perhaps most vexing issue confronting USIA in its public diplomacy mandate is the lack of a relationship with the American public. While U.S. public diplomacy has long been recognized and appreciated abroad, in this country, there is little

A GI

USIA Revamps Its

If USIA has a post-Cold War role, what should it be and how can it survive to carry it out? The activities of USIA have become imbedded within the normal conduct of American diplomacy. No other country in the world faces the demands that the United States does to provide an accurate understanding of how U.S. actions affect foreign countries. No other country confronts such universal obsession for an understanding of its government and society. There has always been an asymmetry between the U.S. interest in other countries and their interest in the United States, and now that condition is even more pronounced.

USIA is far from the only source of information about the United States available to foreign audiences, but it should be the best source of information on the policies of the U.S. government — and the most authoritative and the most comprehensive. Other sources may supply sound bites, but USIA should provide the entirety of U.S. government officials' speeches, legislation and other documents of historical importance and, perhaps more important, an understanding of the context in which they have been developed. By using the most modern technology available, USIA performs a service that is vital to American diplomacy.

This communications role logically extends not only to the information media, but to the agency's educational and cultural work as well. Since USIA occupies a special place in the vast spectrum of educational exchange programs, it makes sense to focus its work on those important scholarly activities that others cannot or will not do. American scholars should be encouraged to go to those places not already crowded with researchers and teachers — places important for political as well as scholarly reasons. No one is suggesting that Fulbright teachers and researchers should become political advocates. It is not their advocacy we need: it is their presence and their knowledge.

More importantly, the presence abroad of the active, culturally aware and locally connected Foreign Service officer that is vital to the interconnection between USIA activities — in press, public relations or educational and cultural exchange — with the foreign audience. Without that presence, USIA is a headquarters operation without salespeople and advisers in the field.

The 40 years during which USIA has carried out cultural and information functions have been eventful ones, and its successes have not been negligible. Broadcasting carried out by the Voice of America (VOA) to "denied" areas — Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, China, North Korea and other places in which the truth was in short supply — made a great contribution to the recent profound political changes. Together with the work of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, USIA is credited by those who know best — by the people to whom those broadcasts were directed — with having provided a commodity scarcely less valuable than food — accurate and timely information about the outside world and their own countries. The communist regimes of the Soviet Empire were not destroyed by broadcasting; their downfall, however,

1991

1991

1992

1992

1993

1993

USIS Tirana, Albania is opened, becoming the first U.S. public affairs office in that country since World War II.

"Design USA," viewed by more than 2 million visitors, closes after an 18-month, eight-city tour.

The Russian-language Wireless File is launched.

USIS reopens in Vientiane and Phnom Penh after 17-year absences.

The USIA exhibition, "Good Design Is Good Business," opens in Tallin, Estonia, the first exhibit in the NIS countries.

President Clinton announces proposal to consolidate international broadcasting.

IMPULSE INTO THE FUTURE

Image in the Post-Cold War Era • STANLEY A. ZUCKERMAN

could almost certainly not have come about without the shared experience that VOA broadcasting made available.

There are countless other examples of significant USIA contributions to the success of U.S. foreign policy goals. It was not so long ago that one of the few places that South African blacks and whites could speak to each other in conditions of dignity was in USIA cultural centers in Pretoria, Johannesburg or Capetown. There are thousands of journalists throughout the developing world who have been sent on travel grants to the United States and introduced to western standards of objectivity, and hundreds of reporters and editors saved from prison or beatings through USIA intervention.

So if USIA has contributed so much to the nation at what is, after all, a modest cost in comparison with most activities of the federal government, why is there concern over its future? The first explanation is that budget pressures are real. Most of the fat has been cut out of USIA by five consecutive years of reductions. Overseas posts have been closed or downsized, broadcast hours have been reduced, domestic positions are disappearing, and funding for magazines, exhibits and cultural presentations have all shrunk. One of the most popular of USIA programs, which only a few years ago sent up to 2,000 university professors, legislators and judges and other experts to speak abroad, this year will send only about 600.

In the second place, the Cold War is, at least for the time being, over. Even though there are still ideas in conflict in the world, and the USIA still has a vital role to play in explaining American concepts of democracy and economic freedom, the outcome is less likely to be lethal.

Finally, USIA's contribution is no longer as pivotal as it was when there were fewer participants in the fields of international information, education and cultural exchange. USIA has long since ceased to be the primary sponsors of American cultural presence abroad. In educational exchange, the Fulbright program is still the best of its kind, but it is far from alone. In 1991, about 419,000 foreign students studied in the United States. Of those, 1,712 were here under the auspices of the Fulbright program, or .4 percent. That same year, there were about 62,000 foreign scholars in the United States conducting research, teaching or

in post-doctoral studies. Of those, Fulbright sponsored 994, or 1.5 percent.

And, of course, USIA is no longer the dominant voice in international information activities. The communications medium of our time is television, and the growth of CNN, BBC International, the Star and Far East satellite services, Echo and many other satellite and cable systems have given the international viewer an exploding universe of information from governmental and private sources alike. USIA's contribution has been filling in the blanks left by commercial broadcasters, and it has scored impressive results with pioneering efforts in interactive international television. USIA may not become a direct, on-line international TV broadcaster, but it has already achieved important goals, and can do a great deal more through the distribution of produced material to foreign stations, through assisting them with their coverage of events in the United States and through activities in the field to respond to their needs for information on U.S. policies.

But we are only at the beginning of the explosive expansion of the global availability of information. The Internet, which is only a few years old, already numbers 23 million computer owners in 137 countries interacting with each other and accessing the increasing variety of information services offered on that extraordinary network of networks. At present rates of growth, every computer in the world could have access to the system by the year 2001, and the amount of information it can potentially make available to users throughout the world is unimaginable. The implications of these dramatic events in telecommunications technology for USIA and every other organization involved in international communication are enormous.

Faced with new budgetary, political and technological realities, the task that seems critical, and one which only USIA has the resources and experience to carry out, is to focus the instruments of public diplomacy on making the most effective contribution possible to the success of American foreign policy.

To do that, the agency needs to win the attention and support of the Department of State and simultaneously put an end to the internal disputes that have marked USIA's history. USIA and the State Department work

intimately and well abroad. But the dominating pressures to satisfy the domestic audience, and the electoral implications that go with it, overwhelm the normal concern of State Department officers to the opinions of non-Americans when they return to Washington. Nothing would be more useful or more welcome than an assessment by the State Department of the value and importance of USIA activities to the achievement of its own objectives, and then a determination to fight with USIA, side by side, to keep those programs alive.

Healing the wounds of decades of internal USIA squabbling over the appropriate goals of public diplomacy will also be difficult. It is time for its professionals to stop looking for fig leaves to hide USIA's task of providing support for the objectives of the U.S. government. There is no need to apologize for what the agency does. It doesn't hit people over the head with slanted news, or force rabid ideological pseudo-scholars down the throats of foreign universities. The rest of the world has always accepted that USIA represents the United States. The agency is sought out not despite that fact, but because of it.

USIA must demonstrate that it can make a difference. Its distinct parts must work together in a single organization, ensuring that its efforts complement each other, and that they relate to the larger objectives of the American people and their elected government.

Were USIA able to do that, it might be possible — for the first time since World War II — for the U.S. public to understand what USIA really does, without having to resort to euphemisms or myths. It might also have the effect of stimulating genuine congressional and executive branch interest in the conduct of public diplomacy as an integral feature of American foreign policy.

Stanley A. Zuckerman, a diplomatic associate at the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, is a Foreign Service officer who has served in Lubumbashi, Brussels, Seoul, Mexico City, Ottawa and Brasilia. He has also served as director of Latin American and Caribbean Affairs for USIA and as coordinator for Foreign Information Policy in the Office of the Under Secretary for Political Affairs in the State Department. This excerpt is based on remarks made at a recent colloquium at the institute.

knowledge among the public or Washington legislators and policy-makers of what USIA does, how and why public diplomacy is practiced, and by whom it is conducted. Yet, USIA cannot do its job properly without the knowledge and support of the American people and their representatives in Congress. There are several reasons for this disconnection.

In early authorization acts, Congress insisted on limiting the government to telling its story only abroad. To this day, public diplomacy programs are not available to the American public. While there was legitimate concern from lawmakers to prevent USIA programs from being co-opted for domestic political purposes, that concern no longer applies. USIA is responsible to Congress and the American people for what it does and should be able to explain itself and its programs for both critical review and needed support. The law ought to be changed — it is already obsolete by advances in technology. VOA broadcasts, for example, cannot be aired domestically under the law, yet are available through Internet to anyone with a modem.

Secondly, those directing U.S. public diplomacy activities at times have adopted a one-dimensional ideological approach to selling USIA to Congress. Such directors have failed to stress the agency's positive goals, such as promoting democracy, advocating the rule of law and propagating free-market economies, human rights and personal liberty.

Thirdly, the recognition that it is important for other peoples to understand the United States — its motives, beliefs, values and actions — came late and reluctantly. In the past, Americans have not cared what others thought of U.S. policies or beliefs — foreigners could take us or leave us. Only since World War II has the United States seen the necessity for the government to practice public diplomacy as an integral element of international relations.

Fourthly, within successive administrations, there has been insufficient recognition that consideration of foreign public attitudes and perceptions is an important element in the formulation and execution of foreign policy. Too often, the United States has launched initiatives abroad or declared new policies without sufficient consideration of how they may be seen by peoples in disparate regions of the world; the international support and acceptance of U.S. initiatives and policies have suffered accordingly.

When USIA Director Edward R. Murrow said in 1961, "I want to be in on the take-offs — not only on the crash landings," he deftly summarized a major responsibility of the agency, namely to advise on the implications abroad of U.S. foreign policies and actions and on their effect on foreign public opinion. However, both the advisory role and the broader purposes of public diplomacy are still not generally accepted by the American public or the Congress, or even by some Foreign Service professionals.


Unfortunately, there is no natural constituency for public diplomacy as there is for agriculture, commerce,

labor or defense. Therefore, a presidential mission statement, outlining the following principles, would be useful in educating the public about USIA's role in the future:

- The public diplomacy mission of USIA is to communicate with foreign publics to provide an understanding of the nation's ideas and ideals, institutions and culture, national goals and current policies.
- The communications process is two-way. As USIA strives to create understanding for U.S. society and policies, it must understand the motives, culture, history and psychology of the people with whom it communicates.
- To accomplish its public diplomacy mission, USIA will employ the methods and media of intercultural communication, including cultural and educational exchanges, press, publications, libraries, radio, television, the other products of modern communication technology and, most important, personal contact. USIA will engage the cooperation of the U.S. private sector and the educational establishment to fulfill the agency's mission.
- USIA will advise the president, his administration and his representatives abroad on the implications of foreign opinion for present and contemplated U.S. policies, programs and official statements.

Support for USIA's role could perhaps be gained if the public were convinced that public diplomacy programs are in its own interest, be that economic, educational, social, environmental, scientific or cultural. There are many areas where USIA intersects with American society, and it is among the participants and beneficiaries of USIA's public diplomacy programs where the agency's constituency might be found. On Capitol Hill, too, there are legislators who have consistently supported USIA's activities: Senators Paul Simon (D-Ill.), John Kerry (D-Mass), and Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) and Representatives Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.), Howard Berman (D-Calif.), Benjamin Gilman (R-N.Y.) and Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), who has been the single greatest supporter of the U.S. Congress-German Bundestag Youth Exchange Program.

President Clinton said it all when he recently addressed USIA's employees in an agency publication:

"It is USIA's mission to strengthen the ties that bind us to all humankind. By increasing mutual understanding between our country and others, you not only uphold a noble ideal, you provide a foundation for international stability, and it is your work that reaffirms the essential spirit of America and provides an umbrella of hope for all." 

Hans N. Tuch, a retired Foreign Service officer, is president of the USIA Alumni Association and a member of the Editorial Board of the Foreign Service Journal. He served in USIA in Frankfurt, Munich, Moscow, Sofia, Berlin, Rio de Janeiro, Brasilia and Bonn.



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BOOKS

The Ultimate Insiders

AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS: THE INSIDE STORY OF THE END OF THE COLD WAR
By Michael R. Beschloss and Strobe Talbott, Little Brown and Co., 1994, \$12.95, paper, 493 pages.

Reviewed by Jim Anderson

This detailed story charts the intricate, momentous partnership between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States at a period when the Soviet Union was breaking up and the Bush administration was tentatively, sometimes clumsily, assuming the role of the world's only superpower. Those were daunting times in which — according to the authors — the foreign minister of the Soviet Union, Eduard Shevardnadze, and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker set up an informal partnership, sometimes in opposition to parts of their own govern-

ments, to rescue their common objective: a peaceful resolution of the Cold War.

External situations — the Baltic secessionist crisis, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait — kept arriving on the main stage, distracting and testing the wary relationship between Moscow and Washington on more important issues such as the unification of Germany and the end of the division of Europe.

The recurring theme is how George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev became entangled in a mutually advantageous relationship that grew to become a political encumbrance to both. As the authors put it: "Bush and Gorbachev were so closely attuned to each other that it eventually caused both men to lose touch with their domestic constituencies."

The heroes of the book are Baker and Shevardnadze, two unlikely collaborators at the beginning, but almost co-conspirators at the end, as the Soviet

empire implodes.

This paperback of the 1993 hardcover version is history in the tradition of "The Making of a President, 1960" by Theodore S. White. As with White's Faustian agreement with John F. Kennedy, the authors of this book were given unparalleled access to some of the major players, in return for not using the material for their immediate journalistic enterprises.

This new version contains a new epilogue that tries to carry the story forward to the relationship between President Clinton and Soviet President Boris Yeltsin. But by that time, co-author and now Deputy Secretary of State Talbott had become part of the Clinton administration, in charge of dealing with the former Soviet Union. This precluded his contributing to the epilogue. As a result, it contains only the public narrative of the events since Bush left office. Apparently the Clinton administration, including

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



- 5:00 P.M. *Picked up dessert at Watergate Pastry Shop and walked home.*
- 5:45 P.M. *Buzzed in guests at front door.*
- 7:30 P.M. *Decided to stay another month!*

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Talbott, does not permit the kind of fly-on-the-wall reporting that is the soul of this book.

In the main body of the account, the reader can only marvel at the industry of Talbott, then Washington bureau chief and columnist for *Time* magazine, and Beschloss, historian and television commentator for CNN. The number of interviews and documents they collected is staggering.

This is history written on the run, but more importantly, like White's snapshot of the 1960 election campaign, it is history from a certain perspective, specifically from the vantage point of those people who cooperated with the authors. Events that didn't involve their inside sources — or which were not chosen to be emphasized by them — such as the Soviet decision to pull the plug on their allies in Africa — are given short shrift.

Other events, such as the controversy over "downloading" of nuclear warheads in the START talks, which the book's principal sources emphasize in excruciating detail, seem so out of date as to be quaint, now that nuclear weapons are being carted wholesale to the trash heap.

It is tempting to play the game of figuring out who the principal cooperating sources were for the book, for the authors do not say. Quotation marks give a clue — those who cooperated have their recollections in quotes, while others' remarks are generally paraphrased. George Bush apparently did not choose to cooperate directly, though members of his staff did. A more profitable method of detection is to see who stands out in the text as wise, brave and compassionate. Baker and his staffers, such as Margaret Tutwiler and Dennis Ross, were clearly a major source of information. Baker's reputation will not be hurt by this book, nor will that of Tutwiler or Ross.

The missing element from this cast of characters is the Foreign Service. With the exception of Ambassador Jack Matlock and his deputy, James Collins, in Moscow, career officers are a ghostly presence, hardly ever appearing, except as a potential hovering threat for leaks about secret negotiations.

Insider history, like insider journalism, has its price. Since the heroes are the sources, the sources are also the heroes. This narrative reflects their own views of their accom-

plishments. That may not be history's.

Jim Anderson, a correspondent for DPA, the German Press Agency, is a former diplomatic writer for UPI and has covered the State Department for 25 years.

War is Hell

LIVE FROM THE BATTLEFIELD, FROM VIETNAM TO BAGHDAD: 35 YEARS IN THE WORLD'S WAR ZONES

By Peter Arnett, Simon and Schuster, 1994, \$23, hardcover, 441 pages.

Reviewed by Arnold Schifferdecker

Among contemporary American war correspondents, Peter Arnett has no peer. From the killing zones of Southeast Asia to the bombing of Baghdad, the plucky New Zealand-born Arnett has covered virtually every major military engagement since his first stringer assignment in 1960 in Vientiane for the Associated Press. Now an international correspondent for Cable Network News, his vivid, live-by-satellite reports of the U.S. pummeling of Baghdad for a spellbound global TV audience in 1991 was a journalism first and

vintage Arnett. As he relates in this engrossing autobiography, he learned early on to base his reports only on what he saw and heard, not to rely on rumor and to verify official claims.

Drawing on a rich lode of combat experience, Arnett weaves a fascinating, frequently irreverent account of life and death in a dozen war zones that is never cynical and always human. His respect for the fighting man, friendly or enemy, and his sympathy for the civilian bystander never seem to dilute his objectivity or sap his enthusiasm for getting the story first and getting it right.

Becoming a war reporter almost by accident, he quickly developed a taste for living on the edge. After his first reporting assignment under fire with the U.S. Marines in 1962, he relates, "I found that no briefing back at headquarters could compensate for the drama of actually being in the field of struggle. I discovered that I was neither repelled nor excited. ... I felt detached from it all, observing."

His obsession with reporting the story first-hand led him to risk his life countless times: swimming the Mekong River to file stories of a Laotian coup; crawling

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BOOKS

through mud, booby traps and mortar fire with U.S. infantrymen in dozens of Viet Cong engagements; photographing a self-immolating Buddhist monk while staring down the gun muzzles and clubs of South Vietnamese police; driving into Turkish free-fire zones in Cyprus; crossing Soviet helicopter-patrolled terrain with the Afghan mujaheddin; and reporting live U.S. bombing/cruise missile hits outside his hotel balcony in downtown Baghdad. Given the odds against surviving so many lethal situations, Arnett has led a charmed life.

On another level, Arnett's book is instructive for what it says about the politics of war reporting and the uneasy interface between reporters and government public relations officers. The arrival of General William Westmoreland in 1967 in Vietnam signalled a redoubled U.S. effort to win not only the ground war but the battle for the hearts and minds of the American public. But it was never an equal contest, as Washington

micromanagement of the war, the rules of military engagement and even individual target selection began to clash with the realities of a tenacious enemy fighting for their own country — not the larger cause the United States had chosen to make of it. Eyewitness accounts by Arnett and his colleagues increasingly vied with official versions of the war's progress, in particular the myth that the United States was simply helping the South Vietnamese take back their country.

In describing his finer moments, including winning a Pulitzer Prize, and the bravery of many colleagues, Arnett does not spare the blunders, limitations and short-sightedness of the wartime correspondent breed. As a print journalist, he points out the awkwardness and staged nature of some of the Vietnam War's TV coverage. His description of "battle" scenes set up for Walter Cronkite by the U.S. military — complete with script and spliced-in scenes — is hilarious but also shows that risks to credibility

were not solely the province of the U.S. government. His account of a bare-fisted run-in with establishment columnist Joseph Alsop at Ellsworth Bunker's residence does little to enhance the image of either but offers more evidence of the late ambassador's renowned diplomatic skills.

Years later in the Gulf War, Arnett's reflections on his Baghdad experiences suggest once again that official control over the news media in fluid, fast-moving combat situations is probably unattainable, and very likely unwise; witness the futile attempts of Sen. Alan Simpson and the U.S. Command in Saudi Arabia to discredit Arnett over his report of the allied destruction of a Baghdad baby milk factory — erroneously claimed to be a chemical weapons facility.

Arnett surfaces numerous other public affairs issues surrounding political-military situations. Among these are the need to maintain secrecy to protect American lives and the integrity of military plans; the desirability of reining in the press or

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"using" it to deny aid and comfort to an enemy; the media's tendency to focus on negative developments; and the "show business" nature of television journalism, at the expense of important detail or nuance. That Arnett provides no answers suggests there are none where freedom of the press and the public's right to know are pitted against other values.

Of special interest to Foreign Service members is his account of his formative years, his expulsion from Laos that led him to be wary of entangling relationships with the wrong crowd: "I was out of my depth in my occasional dealings with CIA operatives and was beginning to understand that they inhabited a world where I, as a journalist, did not belong, a place that encouraged deception, a place where misrepresentation and subterfuge were a means to an end," he wrote. "I was much more comfortable with the regular American Embassy staff who were more directly responsible to the press and to the taxpayer."

Arnett's memoir offers a highly readable, sometimes moving, account of America at its best and worst in managing combat and the media. He entertains, informs and poses all the pertinent questions about government-media relations in peacetime as well as war. Drawing from three decades of experience on the front lines of some of the world's major wars, he offers a vivid series of portraits showing the ingenuity, courage, triumphs and failures of our finest reporters in the heat of combat.

Arnold Schifferdecker is a senior Foreign Service officer on assignment with the State Department Board of Examiners.

The Collapse of a Family

AT THE FALL OF SOMOZA

By Lawrence Pezzulo and Ralph Pezzulo; University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993, \$34.95, hardcover, 303 pages.

Reviewed by John J. Crowley

Anastasio (Tacho) Somoza of Nicaragua and his counterpart in the Dominican Republic, Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, both came to power in the 1930s following the departure of the U.S.

marines from their homelands. Both had managed to climb to the top ranks of their respective national security forces, which had been organized by U.S. officials in the hope of encouraging political stability. From these stepping stones, they both converted themselves into dictators and their respective countries into personal and profitable fiefdoms.

When Somoza attended a presidential inauguration in Ciudad Trujillo (now Santo Domingo) in 1952, where Trujillo was installing his brother, "Negro," as puppet president, it was obvious that the two did not enjoy good rapport. Politically, Trujillo and Somoza should have been natural allies, but Trujillo looked down on Somoza, partly because of the latter's earthy and easy-going manner. Of all the Caribbean and Central American strongmen, Somoza was one of the few who managed to establish a family dynasty. The authors of this highly readable book present a dramatic picture of its final collapse in July 1979 after 46 years of rule with the hurried departure of the last President Somoza to Miami.

Following in the presidential footsteps of his brother, Luis (1957-63), and of one chief executive sponsored by the Somozas, Rene Schick Gutierrez (1963-66), Anastasio Jr., "Tachito" was elected president in 1967. As a West Point graduate, he had been given by his father years earlier the command of the Guardia Nacional, a position he also retained. As the authors note, he was said to have been the only West Point graduate to receive an army as a graduation present. When Luis died the same year, Tachito inherited unrivaled political power as well as control of the family fortune, estimated at between \$100 million and \$300 million. Through his Guardia Nacional, he followed a natural inclination to militarize the government, and in 1974, defying the constitutional prohibition against successive terms, rigged the national elections to keep himself in office for another six years, a second term he was not fated to finish.

World-wide attention was again drawn to Nicaragua by the 1978 assassination of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, the courageous editor of the anti-Somoza daily, La Prensa. The conventional wisdom was that Somoza would hesitate to

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harm Chamorro because it would create a martyr and evoke international condemnation. Although Somoza called the assassination a "tragedy for Nicaragua," and there is evidence that the murder was paid for by a disgruntled doctor whose blood plasma export business (which he shared with Somoza) had been exposed by La Prensa, public opinion still largely held Somoza responsible for Chamorro's death.

By the time Lawrence Pezzulo arrived in Managua for his first meeting as U.S. ambassador with President Somoza in June 1979, Nicaragua was in ferment. As the book makes clear, Somoza's prospects were increasingly dim. The three principal armed opposition groups had put aside their differences and were united in the FSLN (Sandinista National Liberation Front). With encouragement and clandestine supplies coming from Fidel Castro as well as from several democratic Latin American governments, the movement had already turned the tables on Somoza and his Guardia.

Militarily, the Guardia still held certain strong points, including the capital, but much of the country was either under the control of the Sandinistas, or a kind of no man's land. Overall it seemed clear to American policy-makers that the Somoza regime was finally coming to its end. The longer Somoza held out, the worse the agony would become. The economy was already greatly weakened. The more extreme Marxist elements of opposition were the most likely to profit from the delay. Their growing leadership role and accumulation of weapons would greatly increase their influence in filling the vacuum left by Somoza's departure. If Somoza could be persuaded not to hang on to the bitter end, it was hoped that a role in preserving stability could be worked out for the Guardia. Also, an interim civil government could be put in place to facilitate the orderly transfer of powers to the opposition junta of National Reconstruction.

It tells us something about Ambassador Pezzulo that he was selected for the unenviable task of advising President Somoza in person of Washington's views, and of recommending that for the good of Nicaragua he resign from office and leave the country. Rare indeed have been the occasions when an ambassador has

brought such unwelcome tidings to a foreign chief of state.

In their first confrontation, however, Pezzulo carried out his instructions to the letter, so that Somoza could have no doubt about Washington's position. At their meeting, he was astonished to find Somoza accompanied by a U.S. congressman of the many influential American friends that the Somozas had cultivated over the years. In fact, this network proved to be one of the major stumbling blocks in deterring Washington from taking swifter and more decisive action to hasten Somoza's departure.

Pezzulo continued to try to implement U.S. policy of negotiating the departure of Somoza, but he did not receive timely support from Washington to bring maximum pressure on Somoza to actually pack his bags and go. In fact, this vacillation allowed circumstances to worsen the orderly transition desired by Washington.

The use of many sources and commentators, including FSLN leaders and followers, supporters of Somoza, the indefatigable Archbishop Obando y Bravo and other church leaders, non-combatant Nicaraguan citizens of all classes, soldiers and officers of the collapsing Guardia, gives the reader a well-rounded, dramatic and affecting picture of the national turmoil.

This book has a gripping narrative and a memorable cast of characters. As a case study in U.S. diplomacy, it contains useful lessons for future policy makers. Since the Marxist-Leninist Sandinistas lost the 1990 national elections, some would say Nicaragua should be allowed to return to its former well-deserved obscurity as far as U.S. foreign policy is concerned. Given the pressures of current major world issues, this is probably inevitable. Nevertheless, those in charge of policy would do well to harken to the authors' conclusions, and one in particular: The U.S. should never allow another country to manipulate the substance of a bilateral relationship as the United States did over the years with the Somozas. ■

John J. Crowley, a FSO last assigned to the Organization of American States until his retirement in 1986, served for more than 20 years in Latin America and the Caribbean.


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IN MEMORY

Barbara L. Schell, 50, a political advisor to the military and a Foreign Service officer since 1966, died on duty in northern Iraq on April 14. She was one of 26 killed when American fighter planes mistakenly shot down two U.S. Army helicopters carrying officials from four allied nations in northern Iraq.

Schell was an area specialist serving as the foreign policy advisor to the commanding general of Operation Provide Comfort.

Her prior posts had included Casablanca, Manila, Alexandria, Ndjamena, Damascus, Oran and Tehran as well as Washington. Among several awards, she won a citation for heroism for her service at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran during its occupation by militants in the winter and spring of 1979, and another citation for her role in evacuating American citizens from Iran during that same year. She

spoke French, Farsi and Arabic.

Schell is survived by her husband, John Laylin, of Orcas Island, Wash. and Germ-louron, France; her father, August Schell, of Doylestown, Pa.; and a brother.

Frank S. Hopkins, 86, died of cancer on April 25 at Sibley Memorial Hospital. A resident of Bethesda, he had lived off and on in the Washington area since the mid-1940s.

Mr. Hopkins retired from the Foreign Service in 1968 as director of the office of U.S. programs and services in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. During 16 years in the Foreign Service, he was consul general in Melbourne, Australia, consul in Martinique and U.S. Information Agency director in Stuttgart, West Germany. In the United States, he was deputy director of the Foreign Service Institute and the State Department repre-

sentative to the Army War College.

Mr. Hopkins was a native of Gloucester, Va., and a graduate of the College of William and Mary. He received a master's degree in English literature from Columbia University. In the 1930s, Mr. Hopkins worked as a freelance writer and as a reporter for the *Richmond Times Dispatch* and the *Baltimore Sun*. He was a Neiman Fellow at Harvard University in 1938 and 1939. During World War II, Mr. Hopkins was director of training at the Maryland Drydock Co. in Baltimore.

He is survived by his wife of 15 years, Louise Lang Hopkins, of Bethesda; three children from his first marriage, Nicholas Hopkins, of Cairo, Martha Meyers of Thurmont, Md., and Richard Hopkins of Tallahassee, Fla.; two sisters, Nina Baker and Rebecca Hammer, both of Gloucester, Va.; and five grandsons.



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Mary M. Kelley, 75, died of a heart ailment on Feb. 25, while returning from a trip to Australia.

During World War II, she worked for Braniff Airways; after the war she entered the Foreign Service. She had been posted in Madrid, Havana, Mexico City, Tokyo and London. She also served in the U.S. Passport Office in Rockefeller Center in New York City. Kelley retired to San Antonio, Tex. in 1979, but continued traveling.

She is survived by a sister, Elizabeth Richards, of San Antonio; a niece and a nephew.

Thomas L. O'Connor, 63, died on Feb. 13 in Thailand of complications resulting from diabetes.

O'Connor was a graduate of Gannon College and served in the U.S. Navy from 1948-52. He served in AID in Washington, Greece, Turkey, India, Vietnam and Thailand, where he retired in 1986. In 1981, he graduated from the National War College.

As AFSA's AID vice president, O'Connor was a tough negotiator with AID, aggressive in his advocacy of employ-

ee rights and Foreign Service interests.

He is survived by his son, Kevin, of Gloucester, Mass.

Robert Borden Reams, 90, who served as the first American ambassador to the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Niger and Upper Volta, died March 26.

He attended Allegheny College and George Washington Law School. He entered the Foreign Service in 1929, serving in LeHavre, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg. In 1937, he was assigned to Copenhagen, where in 1941 he was named charge d'affaires. In 1942, following the declaration of war by the United States on Germany, he was interned in Bad Nauheim for five months while awaiting the exchange of prisoners. He returned to the Department of State in 1942, and in 1945, was appointed special assistant to Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, and served under Secretary of State George C. Marshall, as deputy director of the then newly organized Executive Secretariat.

In 1948, he served as deputy chief of mission in Belgrade and in 1951, he became DCM in Bern. In 1954, he was

assigned as consul general in Calcutta, India. He returned to Washington in 1957 to become special assistant to Under Secretary of State Christian Herter. In 1958, he went to Damascus, Syria as minister and consul general.

After 33 years in the Foreign Service, he retired in 1962 and began a second career at the University of Nevada in Reno. In 1973, he and his wife moved to Bay Point, Fla.

He is survived by his wife, Dorothy; two daughters, Mirjana of Seattle, Wash. and Kathryn Berla of Walnut Creek, Calif.; three sons, Robert of Silver Spring, Md., Peter of Madagascar and Richard of Washington, D.C.; and 11 grandchildren.

Alesia Slocum, 85, mother of Foreign Service officer Sally Slocum, died on Jan. 29 in a nursing home in California. A retired teacher, she joined her daughter in 1989 and accompanied her to posts in Kuala Lumpur, Abidjan and Brazzaville.

In addition to her daughter, Sally, currently on sabbatical in Cambridge, Mass., she is survived by a son, Neil Slocum, five grandchildren and 10 great-grandchildren. 🐾

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Picking a School

- Do other Foreign Service students attend?
- Are special programs offered for students coming from abroad?
- How is level or placement determined?
- What is the leave policy? Open/closed weekends?
- Is discipline carried out by faculty/staff or in conjunction with students?
- What is the profile of faculty, including their qualifications and length of tenure, etc.
- How is communication maintained with parents? Are special efforts made to maintain quick communication?

Curriculum

- What is the average class size?
- What are the range of courses?
- Are there special or unique courses offered? Honors classes?
- Are there options for fine arts education?
- Are there semester-abroad programs?
- Is there a study policy? What type? How is it enforced?
- Is extra tutorial help available? What are the fees?

Residential

- Are rooms shared or single?
- Does faculty live in the dorms?
- What is the meal program?
- What is the telephone usage policy?
- Which holidays does the school observe?
- Is there a policy for F.S. students who cannot go home?

Extra-curricular

- Are weekend activities offered?
- What types of clubs are available?
- Are there drama and musical productions?
- What sports are offered?

— Kay Brenaman Eakin,
Education Counselor,
Family Liason Office

School Advertising Index

Army Navy Academy.....	52
Calvert School.....	50
Camp Treetop.....	50
ChristChurch.....	52
Fay School.....	54
Florida Air.....	49
Leysin.....	54
Northfield Mt. Hermon.....	50
MacDuffie School.....	53
Master's School.....	53
Mercersburg.....	53
Pennington School.....	52
Phillips Exeter.....	53
Pine Crest.....	51
Salem Academy.....	51
St. Johnsbury.....	52
Westtown School.....	49

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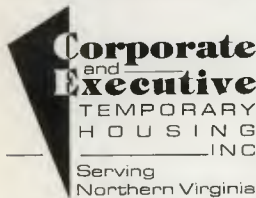




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Ford/39
Martens/20
Passport BMW/21
Priority Assist/15

Classifieds

AFSA News/7-8

Exporters

Book Call/55
General Electric/23
Greenline Forwarding/IFC

Financial Services

CAMCO/2
MCG Financial/55
Shearson Lehman Bro./45
State Dept. Credit Union/14
Thrift Investment Savings/41

Insurance

AIU/5
Clements and Company/1
Jannette/20
UniCover/10
Hirshorn/IBC

Moving & Storage

Interstate/21

Real Estate & Prop. Mgmt.

Coldwell/57
Coldwell/AFSA News
Diplomat Properties/56
Executive Housing/43
McEneaney Assoc./57
J.P. Properties/58
Long and Foster/7
Long and Foster/56
MGMB/56
Prof. Property Mgmt./44
Prof. Property Mgmt./55

Property Specialist/57

Prudential/31
Re Max/58
Stuart and Maury/56
Pardoe/59

Schools/ 56-62

Army Navy Academy/52
Calvert School/50
Camp Treetop/50
ChristChurch/52
Fay School/54
Florida Air/49
Leysin/54
Northfield Mt. Hermon/50
MacDuffie School/53
Master's School/53
Mercersburg/53
Pennington School/52
Phillips Exeter/53
Pine Crest/51
Salem Academy/51
St. Johnsbury/52
Westtown School/49

Temporary Housing

Barton House/11
Chase at Ballston/46
Chase at Bethesda/47
Corp. & Exec. Housing/59
Days Inn/55
Execustay/54
Executive Housing/43
Executive Lodging/58
Georgetown/AFSA News
Hotel Lombardy/45
Inn at Foggy Bottom/42
Oakwood/9
Remington/40
Remington Condos/57
The River Inn/17
The Towers/55
State Plaza/44
Virginian/30
Westpark Suites/31
Winston House/22



You Can Go Home Again

BY EILEEN KELLY

I remember standing in the Kulu Valley of northern India, gazing with rapt wonderment at the ancient arching majesty of the Himalayas. I remember standing in a forgotten temple on the sun-seared plains of Central Burma, transfixed by its mute testimony to a long-ago civilization.

I remember standing in the ladies' room of my new office in Washington, peering abjectly at the faucetless tap and wondering what spectral divining rod one used to inspire the water to appear. A kind colleague, apparently recognizing my furtive glances and incipient panic, unraveled the secrets of the automatic spigot.

I soon learned that automatic spigots pale when compared to the myriad of technological advances that have taken place in the United States during my six years overseas. Since returning in January, I've been assaulted at every turn with yet another reminder that the "foreign" part of the Foreign Service is all relative. Tom Wolfe notwithstanding, you can go home again; you just won't recognize it when you get there.

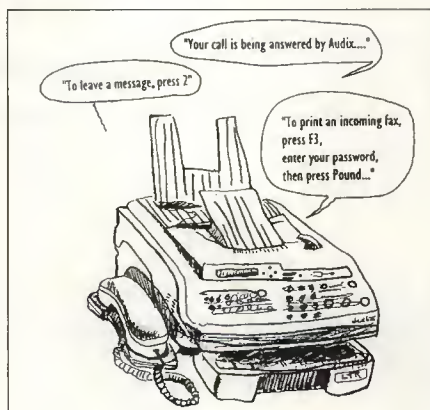
Whatever happened to turning on a television with your finger? No, no, no, now we use remote controls — little black rectangle things with many tiny buttons, the basic function of which has to do with increasing blood pressure.

I would never miss the morning news, but dealing with all those buttons every morning is too much. Every once in a while I think about turning on the radio, since you need only locate one dimension, but the radio is also connected to tiny buttons, so that medium's a wash as well.

Being news-deprived isn't all that bad, since most of it sounds like a replay of the fire and brimstone part of the Old Testament. But I do miss the weather report and all those trendy new words newscasters use, like "winter event" and

"rubbernecking." For example: "Last night's winter event resulted in a 34-car pileup, which had many people rubbernecking to see the carnage." This, of course, segues right back into the fire and brimstone part of the program.

There are many other technological wonders to deal with back here, but I'll pass for now on the automatic tellers and the coded supermarket check-out lines, the cellular phones, the car doors that talk, the computers that beep and the gas pumps that eat credit cards.



THELSEA AUBRICHIO

But I must touch on those disembodied voices eerily floating through the telephone lines — Audex, voice mail, black hole communications — whatever you call it. I'm not a telephone fan to begin with and I think the world would have been much better if Alexander Graham Bell had concentrated on something really important, like runless panty hose or an automatic litter-box disposal system. Instead he wastes his time on a rude machine that I personally feel doesn't know its place.

Telephone technology was bad enough before I left, but at least I could rely on real human people to answer the phone. Now I spend a good portion of my day carrying on conversations with machines. "We are not here to answer

your call. Press one for assistance, press two for instructions, press three if you have a digital phone, press four if you have a rotary phone, press five if you are left-handed, press six if you are left-handed and have ever taken accordion lessons in Tiblisk," and so on until, finally, "Press 397 to leave a message." By this time, brain death has begun and you can barely remember how to hang up, much less why you called in the first place. Now they're talking about visual phones. I'm wondering if it will come with its own little remote control. If so, they'll have to add another instruction to the usual litany, "Press 109 for Suicide Prevention Hotline."

Am I alone in this? Are there other traumatized Foreign Service people out there? If so, please contact me so we can rethink this entire voice-mail concept. If I'm not there, just leave a message.

I hate to be so retro and whiny. I know I'm just going through what every returning Foreign Service person goes through. And I'm not as bad off as a friend who tried to bargain with the clerk at Penney's for a \$30 shirt. "What's your best price for two?" he asked. "That's \$60," replied the amazed clerk.

Still, it's unsettling to come home to so many weird new things, especially when your idea of high-tech is running the garbage disposal without taking any side trips to the emergency room.

It's unsettling to come home to so many weird new things, but I'm not going to give up. I'm determined to press on, buttons or no. I'm doing better all the time. Now, where did I put that remote? 📞

Eileen Kelly is a Foreign Service secretary for the Office of Diplomatic Security; she has served in posts in Rangoon and New Delhi.

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