

# FOREIGN SERVICE

JOURNAL

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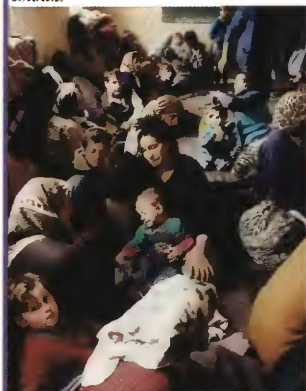
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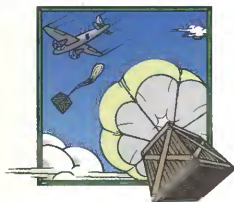


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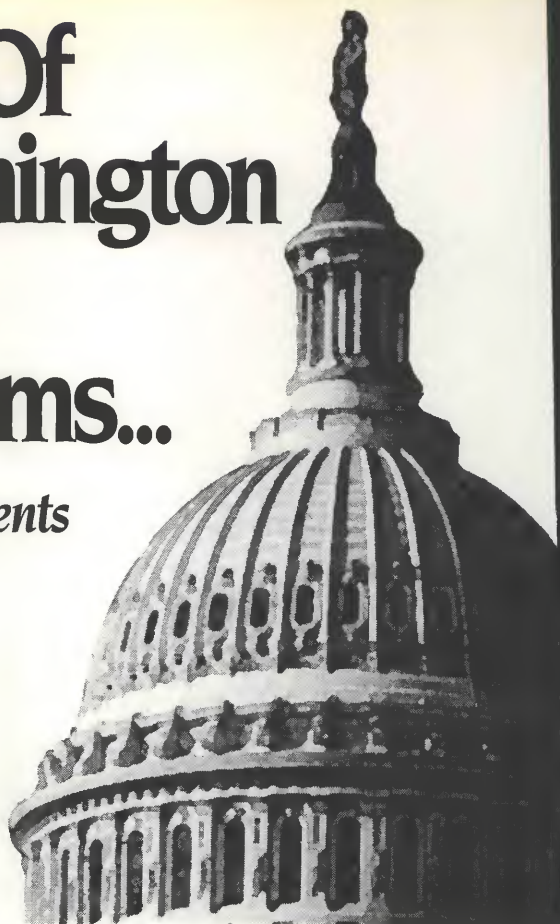
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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *Challenges (II)*

By F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

When faced, years ago, with a congressional effort to sharply cut its budget, legend has it that the National Park Service announced that it would comply with the cut by shutting down the Washington Monument four days a week. Congress, according to this oft-repeated tale, was pelted with such a hail of protest from the public that it quickly backed down and restored the Park Service's full budget.

Faced with fiscal crisis of its own — a \$61 million (2.2 percent) cut in its operating budget — the State Department has apparently adopted an outlandish twist on the Washington Monument ploy: threatening to drastically reduce intake of new officers and specialists for fiscal 1995. The rumored size of next year's junior officer cohort ranges downward from the normal 200-plus to 130 or 60 or even zero, with comparable reductions in specialist intake. Unlike in the case of the Park Service's legendary successful maneuver, however, the Foreign Service shouldn't expect a popular outcry. If the State Department wants to cut its own throat, neither John Q. Public nor Congress is likely to take notice.

Why, then, would Richard Moose & Co., who surely recognize that the congressional well is dry, adopt such a bizarre and self-

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submit their  
suggestions by fax  
or voice mail.*



destructive tactic? Stanching the infusion of new blood into the Foreign Service would mean a far greater burden on junior officers already serving, longer terms on demoralizing visa lines, a blow to the department's diversity program and, down the line, a "hollowing out" of the Foreign Service. But it is regrettably symptomatic of the State Department's quick-fix, path-of-least-resistance approach to coping with radically changing realities that have required the opening of 29 new embassies in the last three years and maintaining virtually all traditional functions, while sustaining real-term budget cuts of more than 5 percent.

With no realistic prospect of relief in sight — if anything, the nation's post-Cold War malaise will continue to erode congressional willingness to appropriate resources for foreign affairs — the

Foreign Service is rapidly approaching the limit of its vaunted ability to "do more with less."

And if management continues on its present course, "less" would include a sweeping reduction of hardship allowances by 5 percent (20 percent posts will be reduced to 15 percent, and so forth), cutbacks in separate maintenance and cost-of-living allowances, and a reduction of R&R and overseas medical services. These types of cuts represent a short-term savings of \$10 million to \$15 million over the next fiscal year. But more importantly, they would represent a loss of opportunity for genuine innovation and long-term vision at a time when the viability of the Foreign Service itself is in jeopardy. The deck stewards on the Titanic had nothing on this crowd.

The explanation for this Washington Monument foolishness, I believe, lies in the State Department's bureaucratic culture, which fosters a logrolling approach to management analysis and therefore an inability to make critical judgements and hard choices. State's budget process encourages each program to fiercely protect its turf, to such an extent that in the 1995 budget cycle, no bureau identified major cuts in its Washington base.

A gross deficiency of leadership, imagination, and vision have thus conspired to produce bureaucratic gridlock, in which serious resetting of priorities is almost impossible and

F. A. "Tex" Harris is president of the American Foreign Service Association.



economies are seen as possible only at the margins, levied against the groups least able to protect themselves: incoming FSOs and specialists, employees serving at hardship posts, R&R travellers.

Rather than continuing to try do more with less, at the expense of the health and morale of its employees, the State Department must seize this budget crisis as an opportunity to change the model it uses to manage its resources.

The department's essential tasks must be accurately identified, fully staffed, fully funded and well executed. Tasks of lesser importance must be dropped. If that means closing embassies in marginally important countries and combining them into regional embassies, or selling fantastically valuable overseas real estate and investing the profits in essential infrastructure, or reducing Diplomatic Security's redundant field offices, so be it.

The Foreign Service is prepared to continue sacrificing to help meet current and long-term budget exigencies, but only on the basis of a well-thought-out, prioritized game plan designed to focus and strengthen the operations of the State Department and the other foreign affairs agencies.

While development and implementation of such a

*Reinvention of  
the Foreign Service  
is too important  
to be left to  
management  
alone.*



comprehensive plan will take many months, the essential principles on which it must be based are, I think, obvious:

- Set priorities first. Make budget changes second.
- Cut tail, not teeth.
- Recognize that skilled, well-trained people are the Foreign Service's greatest asset.
- Apply these principles to all foreign affairs agencies.

## A PARABLE

Those managers at the State Department who believe one can continue doing more with less and less aren't the first people to have tried it. The Yiddish folklorist Sholom Aleichem tells the story of two farmers whose wagons meet one day on a country road. Beryl tells Schmerel that he's come up with a great scheme for saving money: "I found I can feed this horse one less bucket of oats a week, saving me ten kopeks, and I get just as much work out of him."

When they meet again several weeks later, Schmerel asks Beryl how his money-saving scheme is working out. The owner reports elatedly that he's now cut the horse's rations by three buckets of oats, making him 30 kopeks a week richer. The next time they meet, Beryl is nearly ecstatic: His horse — still hauling his wagon to town and back every day — is getting along fine by now on only half his original ration.

A couple of months later, Schmerel encounters a downcast Beryl trudging down the road on foot. He asks, "What's the trouble?" Beryl looks up dejectedly. "Everything was going fine," he replies. "Each week I cut down the horse's feed by another bucket of oats, but just when I had gotten him to the point where he was getting along on nothing at all, he suddenly dropped dead." ■

While the Service looks to the Seventh Floor for leadership of what is nothing less than the reinvention of the Foreign Service, this task is much too big and much too important to be left to management alone. Foreign Service professionals — the people who actually do the work of the United States abroad — have an indispensable role to play, through AFSA, in identifying which program areas are essential and should be preserved, and which are marginal and may be cut back or eliminated. If the partnership concept — a core element of "reinventing government" — has any substance, this is the place where it should be applied.

In the meantime, to animate and facilitate this process, AFSA is opening a "Budget-Busters Hotline." All members of the Foreign Service, as well as other foreign affairs professionals, are encouraged to submit their ideas, preferably (but not necessarily) fully baked, via fax at (202) 338-6820 or voice mail at (202) 944-5513.

AFSA will put the suggestions together to ensure that they are fully factored into the decisions that will determine the direction of the Foreign Service for the next generation. ■

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# LETTERS

## *To the Editor:*

Director General [Genta Hawkins] Holmes's memorandum that random drug testing will in some way "guarantee each federal employee a drug-free workplace" is a monumental self-delusion. What such random testing will accomplish is to depress even further the already low thresholds of cynicism and morale at State.

Has anyone examined the consequences of the abuse of alcohol, the legal drug, the one we subsidize in our overseas commissaries? I'm willing to bet that the rates of misconduct, health problems, family disorder and professional malfeasance in our Service due to alcoholism are an infinitely greater problem than that of narcotics abuse.

Curiously, to its battalion of alcoholics — and now its platoon of confessed drug abusers — State extends copious sympathy, privacy, no disciplinary action, alleged rehabilitation, reassignment and eventual graceful retirement. Comparable concern is seldom shown for the havoc they may have wreaked among colleagues, families and fellow citizens.

On the other hand, in the quest for a "drug-free workplace," State is imposing an expensive, intrusive and insulting test regime upon a broad sector of the foreign affairs workforce, most of whom already lead exemplary and narcotics-free lives.

Were the department truly serious about confronting drug-dependent and alcoholic employees and treating or discharging them (whichever is

appropriate), it would follow a "probable cause" regimen, as do most progressive organizations. Investigating and dealing fairly with specific suspected individuals insures that both individual rights and commonwealth rights are protected.

Current departmental leadership on this issue contrasts directly with that of former Secretary George Shultz, who confronted a similar wave of Washington hysteria some years ago when mass polygraphing was advocated to "stop leaks." He set out a marker of courage by informing the White House that his resignation would be effective the same day his own name came up for polygraphing. With this one act of courage and leadership, George Shultz demonstrated that the president had hired him in large part for his reputation and integrity. The overwhelming majority of us can and do make the same claim.

Finally, three technical challenges: The department memo vouches for the laboratory contractor's competence, chain-of-custody integrity and quality control. These endorsements would appear to count for little more than declarations of faith and hope, lacking actual facts and experience.

State's memo says little on the question of false positives. Medical officers are well aware that a host of factors can create false positives. But the memo is silent on retesting, on the degree of authority and finality the medical review officers have in making these determinations, and it

says nothing regarding any appeal rights of the affected employee.

Assurances of equity for all employees were conspicuous by their absence in the Aug. 1 memo. Will State give employees written assurances that the names of all top officials at State without exception will be included in the pool of potential testees? If computer selected, will they, in fact, be required to submit urine samples for testing? And will they be subject to the punishments and admonitions noted in the memo? Such questions cast yet another cloud over the good faith and integrity of this misbegotten program.

*Taylor Jesse Clear  
Special Assistant for  
Combatting Terrorism  
State/Defense Exchange  
Washington, D.C.*

## *To the Editor:*

In response to Gayle Waggoner Lopes's letter in the *July Journal*, I have three questions for her.

First, who arranged and paid for the care of her children before she entered the Foreign Service? Second, since care of her children is (rightly) of great concern to her, did she not think to clarify this before accepting a position in the State Department? And finally, why does she think that the American taxpayer, who ultimately funds all State Department expenditures, should

## LETTERS

pick up the expenses for her child care?

Surely the hours and time requirements of A-100 and Consul General courses were known to her, and equally surely she was not "drafted" into the Foreign Service. Whether or not the regulations on reimbursement for child care are "fair," if Ms. Waggoner Lopes found them (and other demands of Foreign Service life) intolerable and incompatible with her child-care concerns, then she certainly had the choice of not accepting the proffered appointment.

I have seen some cry-baby letters over the years, but this is one of the prizewinners. Come on, Ms. Waggoner Lopes, it is the Foreign Service, not "serve-us." Your children and their care are your responsibility, not that of the State Department or the American taxpayer.

Donald M. Miller  
Consular Officer  
U.S. Embassy San Salvador

### To the Editor:

I really appreciated reading William Stokes's "Mao and MacArthur" in the August *Journal*. That is the sort of thing I look for in the *Journal* and seldom find. Finally, some first-hand, well-documented light on a hitherto murky subject, smoothly meshed into the mainstream of international affairs and U.S. foreign policy.

A footnote on Senior Adviser Phil Manhard. My first melancholy duty when I got to Danang in late February 1968 was to collect and dispose of the remaining personal effects of Manhard and other members of the advisory team in Thua Thien Province (Hue) after the Tet offen-

sive. They disappeared during the battle, and we assumed they had been killed in the Hue bloodbath that followed. Fortunately, they had been spared and marched north to prison. Years later most of them turned up alive and well.

Robert K. Olson  
Retired FSO  
Hayward, Wis.

### To the Editor:

I want to praise the article by John Heimann ("Speaking Out," August *Journal*) regarding consular reporting. His reasoning is sound.

I relate to this; when I was the principal officer in the American Consulate in Puerto La Cruz in 1961, the Foreign Service inspectors visited my post after inspecting the embassy in Caracas. They recommended that I should discontinue all my weekly reporting of economic and political matters to the embassy. I was stunned as I believed my reporting of the happenings in my consular district was of great benefit to the embassy. Could the inspector have been against consular reporting? Was the embassy concerned that I was a rival reporting entity? It made no sense to me.

The embassy management in 1961 did not comment on the inspector's recommendation.

Weikko A. Forsten  
Retired FSO  
Boca Raton, Fla.

### To the Editor:

Lewis Amselem's cable, reprinted in the July issue of the *Washingtonian* and mentioned in your "Clippings"

section (*Journal*, August), was entertaining — as all good fiction should be. The basic premise that Mr. Amselem seems to be espousing is that Foreign Service officers (like the Chicago Bulls?) are all playing on the same level court — or playing field.

While the goal of having a level playing field is noble and certainly desirable from my perspective, it simply does not currently exist for women or minorities in our culture or the Foreign Service.

There is no doubt that improvements have been made. I have seen them personally in the 27 years of my career. Yet, deeply held prejudices do still exist, and while — in the face of civil rights legislation — they have become increasingly subtle, covert and many times unconscious; these attitudes still manifest pernicious effects on the careers of countless qualified individuals. Equal opportunity, albeit proclaimed as the law of the land, is yet an unrealized goal.

Why is this so and how do we fix it? My personal view is that it won't be easy and requires a paradigm shift of consciousness in our culture. We must learn to see diversity for what it is, something that benefits us all individually and communally. We are a nation born of diverse peoples, diverse ideas and diverse cultures — the melting pot. However, not all citizens have been allowed to contribute their tal-

## READERS' POLL

Due to the lack of reader response, the Readers' Poll has been discontinued. The editor and Editorial Board, however, would like to thank all who did participate in the four months of the poll.

—The Editor

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## LETTERS

ents. Yet, we desperately need the applied talents of all of our citizens in order to thrive as a nation. However, in order for all to participate, barriers must be removed - and attitudinal barriers are the most challenging.

We must shed our "either-or" mentality and learn to cultivate an inclusive "both-and" perspective. The plain truth is that we are all human and prefer to associate with the people with whom we are most comfortable, whether at work or at play. In the Foreign Service this "comfort zone" comes into play in assignment and promotion decisions. The 1993 Selection Board pointed out that its members could often tell the race and gender of the rated employee by the comments of the rater and reviewer. This is indeed a frightening commentary on the rocky and uphill playing field which women and minorities must traverse. As Foreign Service officers, we gain tenure and promotion based solely on the strength of our evaluations.

If women and minorities are going to be able to contribute at their levels of ability in the Foreign Service, we must all learn to expand our "comfort zones" and a conscious agency policy of maintaining a diverse workforce at all levels will help us, over time, to do that. We owe this to our progeny. My son recently presented me with my first grandchild, Jessica. It is my sincere hope that the playing field will level out a little before it is her turn to play the game.

It is worth mentioning that I am the only "diversity" candidate on a senior staff of more than a dozen individuals here in La Paz.

Margaret Kidd  
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## CLIPPINGS



*"The CIA is closing 15 of its stations in Africa. In how many countries do we need a covert presence? Why can't State's Foreign Service officers do such reporting?"*

— CHARLES PETERS,

*"TILTING AT WINDMILLS," THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY, SEPTEMBER*

### IS USIA SEEKING TO REDEFINE ITSELF?

**I**t is only a matter of time before someone asks whether the [new] U.S. Information Agency serves any real purpose," according to a *Washington Times* Aug. 11 editorial. "Once upon a time, USIA's mission was to broadcast the story of the United States to the world. Today, as best as anyone can gather, the [new] Information Bureau is there to serve the State Department's field officers, responding to requests for material, which will be produced on CD-ROM and available through computer networks. Many reassigned employees who have ended up in the I-Bureau, billed as USIA's debut on the global information superhighway, are less than wild over these new vistas," according to the *Times* editorial.

The editorial opined, "What is currently happening is not so much the reorganization of USIA as the gradual elimination of the agency as a foreign policy tool and a projection of the United States abroad—functions which many still feel to be important." ■

### FLYNN FIGHTS MORE FOR VATICAN THAN US

**S**ince becoming ambassador to the Vatican, Raymond Flynn has tended to promote not the views of the U.S. administration but Vatican policy opposing it, according to an editorial in the *Providence Journal* of Aug. 12. The newspaper cited a letter Flynn wrote to journalists assailing the Clinton administration and Congress for an "ugly, anti-Catholic bias," and attacked Flynn for

using highly undiplomatic language in railing against American critics of the church's policies on family planning.

The editorial ended with the warning: "This flap suggests again that rewarding unsophisticated and provincial politicians with sensitive foreign posts can damage our foreign interests." ■

### THE OFFICER REALLY IS A GENTLEMAN

**I**n the September *Vanity Fair*, writer Marjorie Williams commented that Strobe Talbott, "the president's No. 2 man at a rudderless State Department... is confronting a world that doesn't play by a gentleman's rules." She pointed out that in choosing Talbott as deputy secretary of state, "Clinton chose a pale but eager heir to the patrician gents who preceded him into 20th-century diplomacy from Henry Stimson down through Dean Acheson, George Kennan, Paul Nitze and the brothers Bundy. ... Rather than promising answers to the pressing questions of the new age, his aspirations mark him as the last of an old breed."

A former Oxford roommate of Bill Clinton, few were surprised that Talbott would get a good Washington job. He first came to the State Department as a special ambassador, responsible for managing U.S. relations with all the states of the former Soviet Union. Williams wrote, however, that people were surprised at "how thoroughly Talbott, a supposed neophyte... dominated Russian policy—and, by extension, much of U.S. policy toward Eastern Europe." Senior presidential advisor George Stephanopoulos was



quoted as saying: "I think he turned out to be a much better bureaucrat than you could have guessed. He's got a lot of advantages in the bureaucracy, but he's used them well."

Williams added, "In the curious Washington fashion that divorces process from outcome, even some of Talbott's policy critics praise him as the one member of Clinton's circle who knows how to define an objective and drive toward it. This is, of course, sad commentary on the rest of the administration. In an atmosphere where other senior advisers are nervously watching their backs, few doubt that Talbott has a rosy future, and heavy betting has him taking over [National Security Adviser Anthony] Lake's job."

The profile concluded with a story about a meeting Talbott arranged with "his hero," George F. Kennan, the original director of the State Department's Policy Planning staff and the intellectual father of the policy of containment. Kennan, at age 90, delivered a two-and-a-half hour essay on America's role in the world to a small group of Russian policy officials. Afterwards Talbott remarked, "I want very much to get him back again, because we have a lot of questions to ask him." ■

## DUBLIN AMBASSADOR REQUESTS DONATIONS

Jean Kennedy Smith, the U.S. ambassador to Ireland, has sent letters to U.S. companies in Dublin asking for "cash or property" contributions to spruce up the ambassador's residence, revealed reporter James Morrison in the Aug. 30 *Washington Times*. Smith, in a June 13 letter, wrote that she was "shocked" to discover the "minimal funds" provided by the State Department "to replace furniture and furnishings, even after years of use." Smith, acknowledging that there was lit-

tle chance of getting additional money from the State Department, wrote that she needed the help of American companies to "help ensure that I and future ambassadors to Ireland can represent the American people in a dignified and appropriate manner."

Richard A. Moore, the country's previous ambassador, told the *Washington Times* that the U.S. embassy needed "very modest redecorating." Smith, the sister of the late President John Kennedy, is following the lead of Ambassador Larry Lawrence, who earlier this year launched a campaign to update his residence in Bern. ■

## FOLLOWING THE LADY BEHIND SEN. HELMS

Deborah De Moss, North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms's former aide for Latin American affairs, is portrayed as Helms's secret and independent weapon in the September issue of the *Washingtonian* magazine. Writer John Monk wrote that much of Helms's invective against Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Manuel Noriega and others was fueled by intelligence De Moss gathered on independent trips to the region.

From a wealthy conservative Christian family, De Moss paid her own way so the trips wouldn't show up on official records. De Moss had an information network of generals, politicians, anti-communist guerillas and executives in Miami and Central America and took pride in ignoring the classified State Department cables and CIA reports used by many staffers, according to Monk.

De Moss insisted her trips were not secret. "It is true that I did not always have contact with the U.S. embassy in the various countries, as I considered we were separate branches of government and I could more successfully accomplish my work and get reliable informa-

# 50 YEARS AGO

Responding to newspaper critics who attacked the integrity of the Foreign Service, the "Editor's Column" declared, "One wonders if such writers are not in total ignorance of what a career officer is. An officer is trained to serve his country first, last and always, and he discharges his duty in an objective and patriotic manner. There is no room in the Service for 'fascist-minded' or 'Vichy-minded' men, or for the proponent of any other creed but that of the best interests of the United States."

"Too often of late the phrase 'career boy' is spoken sneeringly. ... The journalist who refers thus disparagingly to his fellow citizens ... is undermining the confidence of the nation in a vital branch of government. This is a form of 'liberalism' we fail to understand." ■

## CLIPPINGS

*"Diplomacy  
should be  
judged by  
what it  
prevents."*

— ABBA EBAN,  
FORMER ISRAELI  
AMBASSADOR  
TO THE U.S.,  
THE WASHINGTON  
POST, SEPT. 9

tion if I did not coordinate my activities with the U.S. embassy."

De Moss had a steely side, becoming the State Department's *bete noire*, wrote Monk. On her advice, Helms held up many appointments to Latin American posts.

A State Department official who worked a Latin America desk said, "She's hard — a very tough lady, but it's better to deal with her than to try to go around her." However, senators on many sides of Latin American issues valued her expertise and her dedication, according to Monk.

Although De Moss has left the Senate to live in Honduras, her younger sister, who also speaks fluent Spanish and can afford to travel independently to Latin America, now works for Helms on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. ■

## THE COURIER EXPRESS

Stationed in Washington, D.C., Frankfurt, and Bangkok, diplomatic couriers delivered 10 million pounds of top-security documents to U.S. embassies around the world in 1993 in pouches "which they are trained to never let be opened, X-rayed or let out of their sight," *Parade* magazine reported on Sept. 4.

Until 1975, couriers were all college-educated single males, 26-31 years and U.S. veterans. Today's 82-member corps, run out of the Diplomatic Security Bureau at the State Department, includes 11 women; many have master's degrees and fluency in several languages. Noted Elizabeth Dougharty, a courier from Bethesda, Md.: "It takes a certain kind of person. You have to handle making decisions ... and to stand by them." ■

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# SPEAKING OUT

## Advice to My Daughter

BY ROBERT B. MORLEY

Some time ago, my daughter asked me whether I recommended the Foreign Service as a career for her. Without hesitation, I told her that I did not recommend the Foreign Service for young people today. My answer surprised her, because I had spent 32 years of my life in this business, and had obviously enjoyed it, at least most of the time. My answer surprised me as well.

During the weeks that followed, I thought about my answer. Why was I unable to recommend the Foreign Service to a talented, educated young person, who had a better-than-average understanding of the Foreign Service because she had spent much of her young life with me on assignment abroad?

Many things have changed, both in the Service and in our nation generally, that make a diplomatic career less attractive than it was to me 30 years ago. For one thing, society has changed. We have been transformed into a nation of two-income families, with both spouses pursuing careers of their choice. For the most part, this is impossible in the Foreign Service, for obvious reasons. Whenever reassignment time rolled around, my daughter's spouse would be expected to interrupt his career and follow her abroad. For many spouses, this is simply not acceptable. Even in cases of tandem cou-

*Finally, like most  
intelligent,  
ambitious people,  
my daughter wants  
a job offering  
advancement  
to the top.*

ples, it is rare indeed that both are offered career-enhancing jobs at the same post. The reality is that one or the other will have to make a sacrifice to keep the family together.

The department's personnel policies are a second factor, especially as they impact on a new officer's first few years in the Foreign Service. My daughter probably would face two consecutive two-year tours on the "line" issuing non-immigrant visas. If she is lucky, she might do other kinds of consular work, and she may even have alternative opportunities, such as a rotation to the economic or political section or a second tour doing something other than consular work. The prospect of spending several years in the mind-deadening routine of adjudicating non-immigrant visa applications at the rate of 100 to 200 a day is a substantial

deterrent to a young college graduate, even those who have an interest in consular work. In addition, under the present system, my daughter will likely not learn whether she will be tenured for four or five years, and if so, in which cone she can expect to spend most of the rest of her working life.

Third, appointment to the Foreign Service no longer implies, as it once did, that an officer will spend most of his or her career abroad. On the contrary, as my daughter progressed through the ranks, she might find it more advantageous to be assigned to Washington, where she would be exposed to the people who help officers rapidly advance in the Service. She might, in time, be transformed into another Washington bureaucrat.

Finally, like most intelligent, ambitious people, my daughter wants a job offering advancement to the top. In the Foreign Service this means capping one's career with an assignment as ambassador at a significant post or appointment as an assistant secretary in the department. I had to tell her that this could be a problem for her. In spite of protestations to the contrary, I believe discrimination on the basis of sex and race still exist in the Foreign Service. She will have to overcome obstacles that her male counterparts will not encounter, do not understand, and whose existence some deny, even today. These obstacles might prejudice her ability to advance in the Service on the basis of merit.

*Robert B. Morley is deputy chief of mission at U.S. Embassy Caracas.*



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When she finally gets to the threshold of the Senior Foreign Service, my daughter is likely to discover, as many have in the past, that prospects for crossing that threshold are limited because we already have too many people in the Senior Service for the jobs available. If she does succeed in rising into the Senior Foreign Service, she will face the infamous and much-criticized "D Committee," the group that decides which names to forward to the president as candidates for ambassadorships. The process culminating in the D Committee's decision is not a transparent one. Aspiring candidates are not officially informed that an ambassadorship is opening up, nor are they given an opportunity to compete for these posts on the basis of merit. On the contrary, it is the sort of process that is vulnerable to allegations that decisions are made on the basis of factors other than merit, including race, sex and one's status in the "old boy" network.

Clearly, we need to address these problems if we hope to continue to attract the best people into a career in the Foreign Service. Following are some suggestions:

■ Give young officers a greater diversity of experience. When I came into the Service, new officers were routinely assigned "overcomplement" to posts, and given short assignments to each of the four major sections: political, economic, consular and administrative. Require a written evaluation for the work done in each section. This would provide a better basis for an assessment of the officer's potential.

■ Make a decision on tenure and cone at the end of the initial two-year assignment. The young officer should be given an opportunity to express a preference and offered a rationale for being selected to a certain cone.

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■ Implement the department's diversity policy in a more open fashion. Invite dialogue with individuals and groups who have a sincere interest in adopting a policy that eliminates discrimination, while protecting those who have worked long and hard to achieve senior ranks. Insist that promotion and assignment decisions be based on merit and only merit.

■ Make reform in the Service a living and continuing process. Each year, convene a special board or boards to consider personnel reform proposals. Each board should be made up of ordinary Foreign Service employees impacted by the system. We should avoid the past practice of commissioning special ad hoc groups to study the system and make proposals for change; they have failed in finding solutions that last more than a couple of years. Thus the need for a continuing process.

■ Make the process of selection of ambassadors an open one, based on merit. The president can choose whomever he wants as ambassador to country X, but surely the department has an obligation to offer him a list of the best career officers available for the job. Only a transparent process can fulfill this obligation.

■ Improve prospects for promotion into the Senior Foreign Service by offering incentives for retirement. The \$25,000 buyout was a good first start, but even more attractive might be extra percentage points on the formula used to calculate the senior officer's annuity.

The suggestions listed above, for the most part, did not originate with me, but I believe they have merit and should be considered. These proposals, if implemented, would introduce fundamental reforms, some badly needed, in our personnel system. ■



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# US EXTENDS HAND TO SOUTH AFRICA

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NATION TO RECEIVE \$600 MILLION OVER 3 YEARS  
TO FOSTER GROWTH, REGIONAL STABILITY

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By JOHN F. HICKS

A non-racial, democratically elected government in South Africa is a fundamentally new thing, so in a certain sense, the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as its president opens a new chapter in that country's history. South Africa now guarantees the rights of all its citizens and for the first time in decades, despite the onerous challenges of the new democracy, is at peace with itself.

Nation-building has just begun and fulfilling the hopes and dreams of disadvantaged South Africans, long neglected by the apartheid system, is the major challenge of the new government. The term "disadvantaged" refers to people of color, who represent 86 percent of the South African population, estimated as 37.5 million; this figure includes 28.2 million Africans, 5 million Europeans, 3.3 million Coloreds and 1 million Asians.

South Africa thus represents a unique challenge and opportunity for itself, the Southern Africa region and the development community. It is a rich land populated mostly by very poor people. Its economy is simultaneously First World and Third World. It has one of the largest middle classes in Africa and one of the largest underclasses. It is not unfamiliar with democratic forms, yet the majority

of its people have suffered from the economic, social and political discrimination of apartheid.

As the focal point of so much international attention for so long, South Africa commands enormous attention and concern. Recent events in the developing world and Africa in particular have made South Africa and the southern Africa region even more significant. The international community — and most South Africans — have come to recognize that the peaceful transformation of South Africa can be a positive example, given the numerous post-Cold War crises in Africa and elsewhere around the world, that will resonate throughout the world. Conversely, there is also a broad awareness that South Africa's failure to equitably respond to the needs of all its citizens could lead to renewed social and political instability. This would be a disaster in every sense of the word. The repercussions would be felt worldwide; the impact of conflict and instability in South Africa would have a particularly damaging effect in the southern African region and throughout the continent.

Yet there is genuine reason for optimism. The accession to power of President Mandela as leader of the Government of National Unity (GNU) and the peace that has reigned since his inauguration in May 1994, reflect the strong commitment of South Africans to construct an equitable and sustainable economic and social order. Even before the beginning of majority rule in South Africa, many of South Africa's neighbors had demonstrated an economic pragmatism,

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*John F. Hicks is the assistant administrator for the African Affairs Bureau in the U.S. Agency for International Development.*

political moderation and a spirit of regional cooperation that boded well for the emergence of democracy in South Africa. Conflicts have been resolved in Namibia and are being resolved in Mozambique. There have been peaceful transfers of power in Namibia, Zambia and Malawi. Collective action in 1991 and 1992 prevented the worst regional drought in generations from becoming a famine. A regional outlook — accelerated growth in southern Africa, and institutions and ties to implement it — continues to take shape.

**H**ow can the United States make a measurable difference? Our first responsibility is to deal with the legacy of the past and to tackle the vestiges of apartheid:

- Today, only one out of 100 black South Africans who enter the first grade finishes high school.

- More than 5,000,000 black South Africans suffer from inadequate housing.

- Only 12 percent of black households have electricity.

- A black child in South Africa is seven times more likely to die during the first year of life than a white child in South Africa.

U.S. assistance programs for the future build upon a rich past experience of supporting the peaceful dismantling of apartheid and the empowerment of the disadvantaged. For the last 15 years, the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) has run programs in South Africa that have helped to reinforce democracy, protect human rights, provide education and training and build communities. During this period the agency has provided more than \$420,000,000 in assistance; the U.S. government was the single largest donor of electoral support for the elections that brought the first democratically elected, majority-rule government to power.

In the past, our efforts focused on helping prepare the disadvantaged majority for a leadership role in post-apartheid South Africa. AID funded more than 3,000 scholarships; assisted legal efforts for political detainees and foes of apartheid; supported increased media freedom; supported efforts towards mitigation of violence; and provided assistance to human rights advocacy groups, legal advice centers and victims of violence. These programs were implemented exclusively through the non-

government organizational community. With independence, these pre-existing ties are a unique asset; AID will build its future programs on them.

AID, in support of the new government's Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), now plans to focus assistance on areas identified by South Africa's disadvantaged majority as the most pressing: jobs, housing, education, health care and electrification. The United States hopes to promote the quick and effective delivery of services that meet the expectations of the majority population — a population that has made a commitment to peaceful change and anxiously awaits improvement in the quality of life.

Agency assistance will include credit guarantee programs and technical assistance to help expand the availability of housing for the disadvantaged majority and electricity within townships. AID will help train unemployed township youth and equip them with job skills. We will offer technical assistance to help new government structures — national, regional, and local — to govern for the first time.

U.S. assistance will help improve the restrictive and inferior educational system and inadequate health care services that disadvantaged South Africans have known for too long. AID activities will focus on improving the quality of basic education and supporting historically disadvantaged tertiary educational institutions. In health, special attention will be given to child survival and HIV/AIDS prevention. In essence, the U.S. program will convey a message to South Africans who once felt disenfranchised and unvalued: Your lives have meaning. Your well-being is essential to the success of the nation.

Designed in close collaboration with South Africans, U.S. assistance to South Africa will be funded through a mixture of development resources and credit guarantees. Working within the framework provided by the Reconstruction and Development Program, U.S. assistance will total \$600 million over the three-year fiscal 1994-1996 period.

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As the United States seizes this historic opportunity, it is important that AID implements its programs quickly and in coordination with other donors. For the first time, the United States can provide development funds directly to the South African government and pursue a full development relationship. Thus, the evolving ties between the U.S. and South Africa, between donor and partner, will be a critical part of the development process.

Change in South Africa will not occur in a vacuum; nor will its impact be contained within its borders. The transformation of South Africa will contribute economic growth and democracy throughout Southern Africa. The birth of a democratic, non-racial South Africa should spark expanded trade and investment among its neighbors — Lesotho, Swaziland, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique. Moreover, economic growth in neighboring countries has the potential to increase South Africa's industrial, financial and technical linkages with the regional economy. The United States expects both events to occur. And as it happens, the agency envisions ever-expanding trade and investment opportunities for the U.S. private sector.

That is one of the reasons why the United States has a separate Initiative for Southern Africa, announced earlier this year in Gaborone, Botswana. Viable, sustainable development must be African-led; economic and political empowerment must be based on expanded private investment and trade. AID's initiative thus is designed to help the countries of Southern Africa as a group open their markets, attract investment, and expand social, political, and economic cooperation and civic participation.

The Initiative for Southern Africa also includes a \$100 million Southern

Africa Enterprise Development Fund to promote the development of small- and medium-sized businesses across the region. In addition, AID will provide \$12.5 million to establish a Southern Africa Democracy Fund to advance democracy, human rights and democratic values. The Democracy Fund will help build local capacity, regional networking and the increased participation of news media, the judiciary, members of national and regional legislatures, and labor, church and women's groups and other non-government organizations in the economic and political decisions that affect their lives.

The AID initiative is a truly regional approach, designed to help South Africa and its neighbors plan and undertake joint projects in transportation, telecommunication, agriculture, the environment, indigenous business development and civic participation. Moreover, the United States plans to collaborate with other donors and Southern African regional organizations to support local efforts to promote trade and investment within the region and with the rest of the world.

South Africa and Southern Africa present the United States with an unparalleled opportunity. The region's nations have political, economic and social assets — individually and collectively — possessed by few others in the region. Despite the vicissitudes of the past, South Africa and its neighbors are positioned for the kind of economic and political emergence witnessed in East Asia over the last half century. Their success would be an extraordinary riposte to those who have predicted only retreat for Africa, its peoples and its civilizations. The United States will do its best to help the citizens of South Africa and the people of the region to silence the doubters and make the vision a reality. ■

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# THE FORGOTTEN PATRIOT

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## FIRST US CONSUL BARCLAY NEGOTIATED NATION'S LONGEST-STANDING TREATY

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By JAMES N. TULL AND PRISCILLA H. ROBERTS

**H**is name was Thomas Barclay. He was the first person ever to serve the United States as a consul, arriving for his first assignment in France in late 1781. His willingness to serve his country ultimately cost him much of his fortune. He died alone in a foreign land while on a later mission for the nation that would forget him.

As consul, Barclay traveled widely in Europe, procuring supplies for the Continental army, promoting trade, appointing consular agents in half a dozen French ports, and writing some timely and useful reports on political and economic developments. He was designated by U.S. commissioners Thomas Jefferson and John Adams in 1785 to negotiate a "treaty of amity and alliance with the emper-

or of Morocco," which he did with such skill that he was awarded a congressional commendation. The treaty, ratified by Congress in 1787, remains in effect today as the longest-standing treaty the United States has with any foreign power.

Who was Thomas Barclay? He was born in 1728 in the town of Strabane in Northern Ireland. Immigrating to America, he went to Philadelphia to work for a merchant uncle, becoming a successful merchant himself. He was 42 when he married 20-year-old Mary Hoops in 1770. They had one son and three daughters, the youngest of whom was born in France. Barclay owned a plantation in what is today Morristown, Pa. The farmstead, called "Summerseat," was an imposing mansion on a hill across the Delaware River from Trenton, N.J.

In 1774 Barclay was named a member of a general Committee of Correspondence to communicate with the other colonies in reference to convening a Congress. Later that year he was elected by the citizens of Philadelphia as a member of the Committee of Inspection and Observation for the City of Philadelphia. In 1777 he was appointed to the Navy Board. On June 24, 1777 Barclay was among the first to take the Oath of Allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania. In 1780 he was one of the subscribers, to the extent of 5,000 pounds, to a bank organized for provisioning the Continental army.

Though Barclay was the first person to serve as a consul to France for the United States, he was not the first to be appointed. Congress first appointed Lt. Col. William Palfrey, a former aide de camp to

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*James N. Tull, a retired Foreign Service officer, served 1975-76 as public affairs officer for the U.S. Information Agency in Rabat, where he launched the conversion of the historic American Legation in Tangier into a museum and academic study center. Priscilla H. Roberts, who arrived later in Morocco, became the legation's librarian and researcher. The authors, who both serve on the Board of Directors of the Tangier American Legation Museum Society, are writing a biography of Barclay. In preparing the manuscript, the authors are following a paper trail two centuries old; many original papers were lost when Barclay's house burned down shortly after his death.*

General Washington and subsequently paymaster general of the Continental Army, but Palfrey never made it to France. His name heads the list on the black marble plaque in the lobby of the State Department dedicated to those who have lost their lives under heroic or tragic circumstances while serving their country overseas. The inscription simply states, "William Palfrey, Lost at Sea, 1780."

After months had gone by with no word concerning the ship on which Palfrey had embarked, on July 10, 1781, Congress commissioned Barclay "our vice consul in France, during the absence of William Palfrey, Esquire, our consul, from that kingdom." Fewer than three months later, even before his departure for France, Barclay was appointed consul. Thus, the nation's first consul, a 53-year-old Philadelphia businessman, took his young wife and three small children and embarked from New Castle on the Delaware on Oct. 5, 1781 aboard a privateer called the St. James.

The St. James, a 20-gun ship with a crew of 100, was soon set upon by an enemy blockader. The captain's accurate fire left the enemy ship so badly damaged that it had to be towed into New York harbor. The battered St. James, with three killed and six wounded, proceeded to Lorient and delivered passengers and cargo. The Barclays were uninjured in the bloody naval engagement, but the fledgling consul reported that he had been forced to take to his bed for a few days in Lorient before traveling on to Paris.

Thomas Barclay's consular commission gave him broad powers in diplomatic and military affairs, as well as the commercial duties normally assigned to consuls. Congress instructed him "to receive and forward all supplies to be obtained in that kingdom for the use of the United States, and to assist in directing our naval affairs." In 1782 Congress appointed him commissioner of foreign accounts to settle all public accounts of the United States in Europe. Also in 1782, he was appointed agent in France for the State of Virginia.

Barclay tended to work slowly, but with patriotic zeal and meticulous attention to detail. He spent several months in Holland, and traveled extensively in France. He also visited Flanders and, later, England, spending months at a time away from his family. To assist him he designated agents in Rouen, Nantes, Lorient, Bordeaux, Le Havre and Marseilles. Barclay and his agents were kept busy with procurement of supplies and material for the Continental army, gen-

eral commerce, disposal of captured American prizes taken at sea, ministering to the needs of American seamen, and intelligence reporting.

Barclay also devoted much of his time to settlement of the accounts of the United States in Europe. Benjamin Franklin's accounts in particular took an inordinate amount of his time. The final accounting, submitted to Congress and attested by Barclay, ran to 26 pages, not including vouchers and other supporting documents.

On Jan. 2, 1783 Barclay was promoted to the rank of consul general. When, after many delays, the U.S. government decided in 1785 to negotiate a treaty with Morocco, commissioners Jefferson and Adams felt unable to take the time to travel to Morocco. So, they appointed Barclay, who earlier had urged negotiation of treaties "with the several States on the Coast of Barbary."

In a despatch to Secretary of Foreign Affairs Robert R. Livingston from Lorient, dated Nov. 14, 1783, Barclay had reported discussions in London with an emissary from Morocco on the need for a treaty with that country, and even hinted in his letter that he was the man for the job. A merchant himself, Barclay knew of the dangers confronting American shipping in the Mediterranean and adjacent waters. The virtually autonomous Ottoman rulers of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli considered the Mediterranean to be their private sea. From their perspective, capturing European prizes and holding ships, cargoes and crews for ransom was simply a way of charging rent for the use of their waters. Moroccan emperors, having escaped Ottoman rule, adopted a similar practice, sending their corsairs to prey upon shipping in the Strait of Gibraltar and nearby Atlantic waters.

American ships had long enjoyed the protection of the British, but that ended with the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1776. Jefferson, an early advocate of creating a naval force to frighten off the marauders, later joined those who favored negotiation, first with Morocco and Algiers, and then with Tunis and Tripoli. The treaty with Morocco was suc-

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*Davidson College, a liberal arts college in North Carolina founded by Presbyterians in 1837, seeks a director for the Dean Rusk Program in International Studies. Dean Rusk, former U.S. Secretary of State, graduated from Davidson College in 1931. The first and only program director since 1985, Ambassador Jack Perry, is retiring in 1995.*

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**Qualifications.** Qualifications include the Ph.D. degree, administrative skills, significant international experience in government, higher education, or the private sector, commitment to working with undergraduate students, foreign language proficiency, and a proven ability to promote international studies to a broad public. Classroom teaching experience and published research preferred. Nominations and applications, including a current resume and a statement of interest and philosophy, should be sent to: Dr. Robert C. Williams, Office of the V.P.A.A., Davidson College, Davidson, N.C. 28036 by November 15, 1994. Anticipated starting date is August 1, 1995. EOC; women and minorities encouraged to apply.

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cessfully negotiated by Barclay in 1786 and ratified by Congress the following year.

Once Barclay arrived at the emperor's court in Marrakesh, Morocco, in June, 1786, he completed his work quickly and apparently won the confidence and respect of the Moroccans almost immediately. The treaty, except for a supplementary article that was added later, was signed in less than a month, possibly a record for diplomatic negotiations in those days.

Following instructions from Adams and Jefferson that he thoroughly study Moroccan commerce, ports, naval forces, language, government, religion and other matters, he remained in the country for an additional two months, traveling extensively and writing lengthy despatches that were models of perspicacity and thoroughness.

After listing locally produced products for possible import from Morocco, and the country's prospects as a market for American goods, he wrote, "Few of the articles produced in Morocco are wanted in our parts of America, nor could anything manufactured here find a sale there except a little Moroccan leather, which is very fine and good.

"Still, this country holds out objects to the Americans, sufficient to make a treaty of peace and commerce a matter of consequence. Our trade to the Mediterranean is rendered much the securer for it, and it affords us ports where our ships might rest if we should be engaged in European War, or in one with the Barbary States."

Barclay described Casablanca, today a splendid, modern city, as "a poor place, containing four or five hundred miserable huts," and he found Tangier, "once a place of splendor and commerce," virtually in ruins, little having been done to rebuild it after it was "destroy'd and abandon'd by the English" in 1684.

Today's capital, Rabat, Barclay fondly recalled as "one of the best looking towns I have seen in Barbary."

Barclay offers the only physical description found of Muhammad ibn Abdallah, then emperor of Morocco. The emperor, who always received foreign diplomats while sitting astride his horse, was described as "of a middle stature, inclined to fat, and has a remarkable cast in his right eye, which looks blacker than the other. His complexion is rather dark owing to a small mixture of the negro blood in him. ... He is a just man, according to his idea of justice, of great personal courage, liberal to a degree, a lover of his people, stern, rigid in distributing justice."

It was October before Barclay would return to Spain. He had intended to travel to America following completion of his mission to Morocco, but he did not relish another stormy autumn crossing of the Atlantic. Moreover, other tasks awaited him. He had been asked to deliver a message from the emperor of Morocco to the Spanish court, which had done much to facilitate American contacts with the Moroccans. He was also asked to audit the accounts of Capt. John Lamb, who had been sent to negotiate a treaty with the dey of Algiers, but was unsuccessful in his attempts to meet with him.

In February 1787, Barclay wrote from Alicante that he was very ill. He was 59 years old and suffering from rheumatism. But worse awaited him.

When he finally arrived in Bordeaux in May, he met with members of a mercantile firm who greeted him cordially and entertained him, only to turn on him a few days later and file suit for money they claimed he owed them. Barclay was arrested, roughly handled and thrown in jail.

His difficulties arose from the sudden death of a business partner in

*Continued on page 29*

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*Continued from page 27*

Lorient and the consequent loss of a large sum of money, the alleged diversion of a shipload of cargo that the Bordeaux firm claimed was due them, and a resulting debt of 75,000 livres. Early consuls were expected to derive most of their income from consular fees and from commercial trade, so Barclay had many business interests.

Barclay maintained he was innocent of any wrongdoing, but couldn't prove it. Released after a few days, he was warned that if he tried to leave Bordeaux he would be arrested again. Nothing would satisfy his creditors, not even his offer to place "all the property I have in the world in the Hands of Trustees until all demands for which I am accountable are discharged." There are hints in the record, even in Jefferson's correspondence, that the British were behind the harassment.

Barclay was terrified. He wrote to Lafayette. Thomas Jefferson, his friend and neighbor in France, contacted the foreign minister. The hapless consul was free, but it was reported that another warrant was to be issued for his arrest. If confined again, he risked years in a debtor's prison.

More than Barclay's good name was at stake. There was real danger that the reputation of the United States would be brought into question. Both French and American authorities sought a way out. A messenger from the king's prosecutor in Bordeaux secretly warned Barclay that he must flee to avoid being arrested again. He was spirited out of Bordeaux, reaching Nantes 60 heart-stopping hours later. Not knowing if he were being pursued, he left immediately for Lorient to await passage for America. Due to unfavorable winds, no ship sailed and Barclay had to remain in hiding for a month before he could make his escape.

He finally sailed for America, leaving his wife and children, whom he

had not seen for a year and a half, in Paris. He hoped he could put his affairs in order in a reasonable time and return to his consular post. He could draw consolation from the fact that Jefferson had always been very solicitous, looking out for Mary Barclay and the children, and reporting regularly on the family in his letters. And his morale was doubtless boosted by repeated assurances from Jefferson, Adams and later from Congress that they considered him completely trustworthy.

It was difficult for Barclay to recoup his fortune. His sojourn abroad had cost him 20,000 guineas, a princely sum in those days. He also waited in vain for Congress to act on settling his accounts.

After months of fruitless effort, he finally wrote to Jefferson from Philadelphia, stating, "My stay in America must unavoidably be longer than I intended, and therefore I think it best that Mrs. Barclay and the children join me here." Jefferson replied, "... it is with regret that we lose her here. She however will be happier in rejoining you."

Barclay departed from active government service, but proof of his undiminished standing with his government was his appointment in 1791 at age 63 to travel once again to Morocco. The emperor with whom he had negotiated the treaty had died and, as Barclay had predicted while in Morocco five years before, a bloody war of succession had broken out. The United States wanted to obtain endorsement of the treaty by whomever emerged from the imbroglio as the new emperor, and Barclay, who had so favorably impressed the Moroccans on his previous visit, was the obvious choice.

Thomas Jefferson, then secretary of state, proposed that his old friend go to Morocco with no official title. Barclay demurred, saying that if he went without any rank, the Moroccans would regard him as an ambassador and would expect lavish presents. He modestly suggested

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that consular rank would be adequate and would save money.

The aging envoy arrived in Oporto, Portugal on Sept. 2, 1791, and spent many frustrating months in Lisbon, Gibraltar and Cadiz waiting for the end of the fighting across the strait in Morocco. At one point he actually embarked for Tangier, but was turned back by contrary winds. His reporting on events inside Morocco was useful, though based only on interviews with people who had been there.

The end of the saga was reported by U.S. Minister Resident David Humphreys in Lisbon. His despatch of Jan. 23, 1793 states, "Mr. Barclay, Consul for Morocco, who arrived here from Cadiz on Thursday last, died on Saturday." Barclay died without ever returning to the country where he had scored his greatest diplomatic triumph.

But Thomas Barclay would be dead 15 years before Congress finally acted to settle his accounts and pay his heirs his back salary and expenses. After the family appealed to President Thomas Jefferson, resolutions were passed in both the House and Senate, and on Aug. 2, 1808, the Barclay estate was paid \$14,190.78.

The Barclay family never forgot Jefferson. Thomas Barclay's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married Jefferson's cousin, Peyton Randolph Harrison. And their grandson, James Turner Barclay, may have been thinking of the family's regard for the great statesman when, in 1831, he bought Monticello from the Jefferson heirs, who by then couldn't afford to maintain it. His son, John Judson Barclay, later to become consul general in Morocco, was born at Monticello and literally rocked in the Jefferson cradle. A handsome mahogany traveling case that had been given to Barclay by Jefferson is now displayed in Secretary of State Warren Christopher's office, courtesy of the late Dr. James Barclay Donaldson of Laurel, Miss. ■

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# AFSA NEWS

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## INSIDE

### VP Views

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## 'DANGEROUS' FOREIGN AIRLINES PUBLISHED

**A** FSA's filing of a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request with the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), which requested a list of foreign airlines banned from flying into the United States due to unacceptable safety and maintenance standards, started a process that led to the public disclosure of the list. FAA initially denied access because it said "disclosure would prejudice the formulation and presentation of the position of the United States in international negotiations." This decision was immediately appealed to the General Counsel's Office of the Department of Transportation. "While we understand the importance of negotiations between foreign civil aviation authorities and the FAA, we believe the safety concerns of U.S. citizens outweigh any setbacks the disclosure of the requested information may cause," AFSA had argued.

In a letter to AFSA, the FAA reversed its position, writing, "We have decided that, as you have urged, it would be more productive of aviation safety generally to disclose the identities

of countries that have been found not to meet international standards and the nature of the deficiencies."

The list that The Washington Post and other papers published on Sept. 2 represents the first round of an FAA survey that should be complete by the end of 1996. Nine countries are currently banned from flying into the United States: Belize, Dominican Republic, Gambia, Ghana, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Uruguay and Zaire. Four additional countries, Bolivia, El Salvador, Guatemala and the Netherlands Antilles are under conditional acceptance and are subject to heightened FAA inspections. Although the first round of the survey is complete, the FAA still needs to survey some 60 countries that have commercial airliner service to the United States. AFSA will keep members informed of changes and additions to the list. Information is also available through State's 24-hour telephone Citizen Emergency Center at 202-647-5225.

## • AFSA Dateline •

● AFSA recently saved overtime pay for Foreign Service secretarial specialists who work as line assistants in the Executive Secretariat. An Inspector General (IG) audit report sought to intrude a more general premium pay (administratively uncontrollable overtime) for these specialists instead of paying on the basis of overtime worked. AFSA protested and the IG has now withdrawn the recommendation and line assistants will continue to be paid for overtime worked.

● The first of AFSA's new Lunchtime Adviser series featured AFSA Board

member M. Bruce Hirshorn speaking an estate planning. The Sept. 22 noon meeting ended with a lively question-and-answer session.

● AFSA recently held discussions with Medical Services, Diplomatic Security, and Personnel about whether "consulting a psychiatrist is a blemish that requires further exhaustive investigation into the subject's mental stability and vulnerability to blackmail," as recently claimed by Lloyd Cutler, the former White House Counsel. The department has agreed to clarify its personnel policies governing mental health and security.

Continued on page 3

STATE DEPARTMENT  
**V.P. VOICE**  
• BY TODD STEWART •

## Legal Advisor Responds to Diversity Questions

**A** FSA forwarded to Conrad Harper, the Department of State's legal adviser, a series of questions regarding State's diversity policy. The following reply was provided for publication in "AFSA News:"

"Senior managers are continuing to examine how best to assure that the personnel system is fair, efficient and effective for everyone. As legal adviser, my principal role in this process is to ensure that the department acts consistently with its legal obligations to be as free as possible from racial, ethnic or gender bias.

"Our president has made clear that he wants all Americans, including women and minorities, to know that they have a stake and potential role in government service. Developing that shared sense requires a personnel system in which all employees, regardless of race, ethnicity or gender, have an equal opportunity to participate in the formulation and execution of governmental policies.

"Two court cases have raised questions about the underlying equities of the Foreign Service system. A federal trial court found in the Palmer suit that various aspects of the personnel system discriminated against women on the

*We are conscious of the anxiety among some Foreign Service officers that, in making reforms, we may overcompensate, that the process of reform poses the risk of arbitrarily depriving others of their own civil rights.*

basis of gender. A 1986 suit filed by black Foreign Service officers (the Thomas case) also alleges discrimination in a variety of areas.

"The department is seeking to settle the suits so that we can assure ourselves and the plaintiffs that our system is free from bias and so that we can focus our energies on the future, not the past.

"We are conscious of the anxiety among some Foreign Service officers that, in making reforms, we may overcompensate; that the

process of reform poses the risk of arbitrarily depriving others of their own civil rights. We believe this risk is overstated. While the department may not be able to eliminate all the costs associated with change, we can – and shall – ensure, as required by law and mandated by fairness, that the costs are only those necessary and represent the minimum burdens required to be borne."

Note: AFSA is distributing via cable and Red Top a memorandum of law describing legislation and jurisprudence that define the scope of legally permissible actions to promote diversity. We hope that the information will serve as a basis for elaboration of a transparent policy on this subject.

## AFSA PROPOSES PESTICIDE FACT SHEET

**A** recent pesticide accident in Cairo that killed AID worker Nancy Ferebee Lewis, whose house was treated with a pesticide unauthorized for use in residences, has led to a wide-ranging review of the State Department's procedures. At a meeting with AFSA, department health and safety officials agreed, at AFSA's request, to give occupants a comprehensive fact sheet before any pesticide application takes place.

The fact sheet would specify when and where the application will take place, the name of the pesticide and its active ingredient, the method of application, specific warnings about health effects, whether the residence must be vacated and for how long, the symptoms of over-exposure and an emergency contact. AFSA believes the use of this fact sheet will contribute to making all pesticide applications safe.

## DRUG TESTING PROVOKES CONCERNS AT STATE

**R**esponding to dozens of calls from department employees, AFSA has requested a list of all foods and beverages and amounts of these items that might cause a positive test for an illegal substance. Employees are concerned that certain foods, such as poppy-seed bagels or coca tea (widely consumed in certain South American countries), would result in a positive drug test.

The department has assured AFSA that while certain foods and beverages might initially signal a positive result, the levels of illegal substance present in the sample are markedly lower than those indicating, for example, cocaine use.

Thus, the medical reviewing officer, discerning the lower levels and contacting the employee for confirmation of a questionable food substance, would determine whether illegal drugs were used.

## REACH AFSA VIA INTERNET

**A** FSA can now be reached through Internet. Send comments, questions and suggestions on "AFSA News" to AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris at the following address: [AFSATEX@AOL.COM](mailto:AFSATEX@AOL.COM).

## AFSA DATELINE

Continued from page 1

- AFSA and the Secretary's Open Forum hosted a State Department meeting with State's Chief Financial Officer Richard L. Greene on Sept. 16. Greene gave an overview of what the department's \$61 million budget cut would mean in State's operations and options for dealing with the budget cut.

- AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris addressed a public rally sponsored by the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) on Aug. 29. The protesters were angry about Congressional cutbacks of VOA services on Aug. 29. AFSA's major concern is the failure of USIA management to use the agreed partnership process in developing consolidation and layoff plans for the VOA and RFE/RL. USIA management failed to keep President Clinton's promise of ensuring employee participation.

- AFSA has expressed its concern to management over reports of retaliation against an officer who filed a dissent message challenging an ambassadorial decision.

- AFSA wrote to each Department of State assistant secretary urging that all key operating officials and desk officers be added to State's telephone directory.

- On Sept. 6, AFSA sent out an appeal to members to contribute to AFSA's Legislative Action Fund, which enables the association to inform Congress on the need for a strong Foreign Service. By contributing to the LAF fund, members can help AFSA be heard on Capitol Hill.

- AFSA President Harris expressed AFSA's deep concern to Under Secretary Richard Moose over the department's initial budget-cutting proposals, which include cutting full junior officer generalist and specialist classes, thereby significantly reducing the intake of junior officers into the Foreign Service; cutting hardship differentials by 5 percent except in a few posts; and forcibly retiring returning ambassadors.

Continued on page 4

## AID V.P. VOICE

• BY GARBER DAVIDSON JR. •

### Debate Resurfaces Over 1980 Foreign Service Act

**A**s AFSA representative, I sent the following letter to the USAID administrator on the proposal to unify USAID's personnel systems by creating a Development Corps. While personnel reform is needed and overdue in some respects, the letter reflects our position on opening existing legislation.

"Dear Mr. Atwood:

"We are writing to relate to you the American Foreign Service Association's concerns over legislation proposed to create unified personnel systems which would, inter alia, have the effect of unifying the Foreign Service and Civil Service systems within certain foreign affairs agencies. ... We feel it is important to express our views regarding new legislation which might be proposed by individual agencies.

"AFSA believes it would be unwise and potentially damaging for agencies to propose legislation on unification of personnel systems. Such initiatives would necessarily involve the opening of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, a body of legislation which was difficult and protracted in its enactment. ... Prior to 1980 each Foreign Service agency had separate, inequitable and sometimes inconsistent provisions for its respective Foreign Service workforce. The achievements of that legislation are considerable and have stood the test of more than a decade. AFSA would be open to legislation whose thrust would introduce improvements and make uniform the 'United States Foreign Service' involving workforces of all related agencies. Such a truly unified system would afford easy cross-over and consequent flexibility in a currently highly compartmentalized

system. A piecemeal approach to reform by individual agencies, however, seems neither appropriate nor wise.

"The current system leaves much to be desired within some agencies. The Foreign Service Act of 1980 did not address problems of dual and sometimes multi-system personnel schemes. USAID, for example, manages separate systems for Foreign Service, Civil Service, personal services contractors and Foreign Service nationals. We agree that such a system needs change, and we concur with many of the proposed personnel reforms under discussion. For example, the concept of greater mobility for the Washington workforce, which would provide enhanced opportunities both for that group and for rotating Foreign Service employees is long overdue. Similarly, the adoption of "rank-in-person" and "time-in-class" principles for the total workforce is positive and warranted under current conditions. A major overhaul of workforce planning mechanisms to afford improved recruitment and career development would also be welcome. However, we believe that many of these and other reforms can be accomplished through administrative means without the proposing of new legislation. While some of the needed reforms would require new legislation, we do not believe the risks inherent in reopening the 1980 act merit such a prescription.

"AFSA supports and is prepared to contribute to personnel reform, but we do not favor new legislative initiatives at this time which could adversely affect both Civil Service and Foreign Service employees."

RETIREE  
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• BY DON NORLAND •

## Your Voice Counts with Congress

I was struck recently by the comments of a colleague who spoke in grave terms about the likelihood that the next (104th) Congress would be more domestic-oriented and even less sensitive to the overall impact of international issues (and to Foreign Service concerns) than the outgoing Congress. All the signs tell us that this may be true. It's also true that, by the time you read this, several weeks will still remain for you to influence the election results. This is the time — once every two years — that candidates actually, eagerly look for your support.

How can you seize this opportunity? First, by simply making yourself known to the district or state offices of candidates. If you do, the candidate (and staffers) will know that someone with extensive foreign affairs experience lives — and votes — in their district. Just by getting acquainted you will take a key step in acquiring influence.

Second, if a particular candidate's views are compatible with yours, volunteer to give a few hours to help in the campaign. It doesn't take long to figure out which candidates appreciate the importance of the global dimension of issues — issues that can only be resolved globally. Now is the time to help identify (and oppose) those who seek a simple return to mindless isolation.

Meanwhile, AFSA is doing its best to pave the way. We're testifying

before congressional committees, writing to leading members of Congress and staffers, listening to (and briefing) budget officials of key foreign affairs departments and agencies.

But retirees living beyond the beltway are in a better position to determine what the 104th Congress will look like than anyone in a Washington office.

AFSA is also discussing how to reach more people through its Outreach Program. A review of AFSA's outreach by the Public Programs Committee indicated that our efforts to reach people outside the D.C. area need to be strengthened. AFSA's luncheon speaker program, which is open to all D.C. area AFSA members, features prominent speakers, and its conferences, designed to promote an AFSA constituency in the business world, also reach a constituency largely inside the beltway.

The review committee concluded that promoting an interest in foreign affairs of people outside the beltway is an important challenge. Retirees can play a central role in this effort to help Mr. and Mrs. Average American understand that their future is as deeply affected by foreign policy issues as by domestic policy debates. AFSA and the new foreign affairs coalition will look into new ways — perhaps through cable TV or radio — to disseminate AFSA outreach programs.

## AFSA GRIEVANCE STAFF MOVES

**A** AFSA's Grievance attorney Joan Smedley and grievance counselor Derek Terrell have moved to SA-1 Room 914. They can be reached at (202) 663-3760 and (202) 663-3666 or by fax at (202) 663-3778. Please address correspondence to AFSA's headquarters, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037 or pouch to Room 3644, Main State.

## AFSA BECOMES CERTIFIED As FCS REPRESENTATIVE

**C** On Aug. 31, the Federal Labor Relations Authority officially certified AFSA as the exclusive bargaining representative of Foreign Service employees at the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service.

In early September, AFSA President Tex Harris and AFSA staff Sharon Papp and Carol Lutz met with FCS Director Lauri Fitz-Pegado and discussed the future relationship between FCS management and AFSA. Harris expressed AFSA/FCS members' wish to establish a constructive labor/management partnership with the agency. Access to e-mail, the capability of FCS Washington employees to serve as AFSA representatives, and future negotiations were also discussed in the hour-plus meeting.

With almost all of its membership stationed overseas, AFSA/FCS faces a special challenge, and is establishing itself as a virtual electronic union as communication among its far-flung membership will almost exclusively occur through e-mail, cable and fax.

## AFSA DATELINE

*Continued from page 3*

- The FAS/AFSA Standing Committee has put forward a detailed framework proposal for the labor-management relationship. Negotiations begin in early October to finalize the package.
- AFSA President Harris wrote to Moose urging that State appoint a distinguished FS or GS employee to direct State's Equal Employment Opportunity effort. AFSA believes that, given the department's diversity problems, bringing in another political outsider is not warranted.

- AFSA has notified the five foreign affairs agencies of AFSA's opposition to opening up the Foreign Service Act of 1980 in an effort to integrate the FS and GS into a single personnel system for each agency. Opening the 1980 Foreign Service Act at this time puts the entire Foreign Service at the risk of taking significant unintended hits. The possible benefits do not equal the risks.

## VOLUNTEERS NEEDED FOR EXCHANGE PROGRAM

**Y**outh for Understanding (YFU) International Exchange, a Washington D.C.-based international high school exchange program, is looking for volunteers to evaluate applications from U.S. high school students applying for homestay scholarships to countries such as Finland, Japan or Germany, some of the 40 foreign countries where YFU students are placed.

Volunteers are asked to commit three to six hours a week for about three months in reading applications at the YFU International Center in Northwest Washington, D.C. Training sessions will be given each month, October to December. Volunteers who have lived abroad and have a background in international relations are urged to participate.

For more information, contact Judy Levy at the Youth for Understanding Center, (202) 966-6808.

### AFSA Conference ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN THE ASIA/PACIFIC AREA 8AM - 7PM Friday, Oct. 14 The Department of State

The program will preview President Clinton's scheduled November meeting with Pacific Rim heads of state in Indonesia. It will feature keynote addresses by Joan Spera and Winston Lard and a luncheon speech by C. Fred Bergsten. Eight panels of senior government and private sector executives will pinpoint and analyze key issues before the Indonesian summit.

The conference, the 19th AFSA conference aimed at fostering a dialogue between the State Department and business, will be cosponsored by INR, the Summit Council for World Peace and the Korea Economic Institute of America, and will be made possible by grants from American Express, Coltex, Coca-Cola, Ford, GTE, Foster Wheeler, Intel, Mobil and NYNEX.

Those who wish to attend must register in advance. For further information contact John J. Horter, AFSA Conference Affairs Officer, at (202)338-4045.

## AFSA SCHOLARSHIP NEWS

### SCHOLARSHIP FORMS READY

**A** FSA Scholarship Programs grant applications are now available. There are three categories: financial need-based scholarships for full-time undergraduate college students, academic Merit Awards and Art Merit Award for high school seniors graduating in 1995. Eligible applicants must be tax dependents of Foreign Service personnel who have served overseas.

### YOST AWARD RENEWED

**J**une Yost, wife of the late Ambassador Robert L. Yost, has renewed her commitment for a third consecutive year by providing funding for another annual Robert L. Yost Memorial Scholarship.

A gift of \$1,000 or more will name a scholarship in the year it is given, while a gift in the amount of \$10,000 or more will qualify the donor to name a scholarship in perpetuity. AFSA is grateful to all who have given to these scholarship funds.

### AFSA SEEKS DONATIONS

**T**he Combined Federal Campaign will kick off at the State Department on Oct. 5. Members are urged to specify the AFSA Scholarship

Fund for a payroll deduction contribution - agency code 2104.

### COLLEGE GUIDE AVAILABLE

**Q**uestions about how to finance your child's college education? Find out how to estimate what financial aid you will be eligible to receive. *College Costs & Financial Aid Handbook*, published by the College Board, is the premier guide to planning ahead, determining current costs and financial aid options. This guide is easy reading, giving examples and worksheets for families in every economic situation.

In addition, the AFSA Scholarship Department has a bibliography of financial aid sources for undergraduate and graduate students. Contact the Scholarship Office at (202) 944-5504 or by fax at (202) 338-6828.

### ART AWARD ANNOUNCED

**I**n addition to the traditional AFSA/AAFSW academic Merit Award, AAFSW will be funding a \$750 award recognizing excellence in visual or musical arts for high school seniors graduating in 1995.

Applications for the art award competition will be available through the AFSA Scholarship Office.

### Quote/ Unquote

“He is dead wrong, when he characterizes the American Foreign Service Association as ‘management’s pet puppy on diversity, eager to please its master.’ AFSA’s governing board wrote to Secretary of State Christopher in February to express strong concern that many pro-diversity actions now under way in the department are being taken in an unpublicized manner with no clear and agreed ground rules ...A continuation of these actions can only engender further resistance by officers who feel disadvantaged by them...”

-AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris, commenting on a cable by Lew Anselm in a "Letter to the Editor," *The Washingtonian*, September 1994.

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## PEACE INSTITUTE SEMINAR OPEN TO ALL STATE FSOs

**T**he Institute for Peace, in conjunction with AFSA and the State Department's Open Forum, will hold a three-day seminar for Foreign Service officers on conflict management and peace building from the evening of Oct. 20 until the afternoon of Oct. 23. This all-expense-paid seminar, designed to assist 25 mid-level officers to think critically and creatively about practical alternatives for dealing with conflict in preventive and post-conflict peace-building situations, will be held at the Bolger Management Academy and Conference Center in Potomac, Md.

The seminar will provide in-depth information on conflict analysis, prevention, intervention strategies and post-conflict peacebuilding, as well as on psychological factors in conflict management.

Through case studies, role-playing and simulations, participants will work on skills in problem-solving, mediation, and negotiation, while exploring the application of various conflict management and resolution techniques in actual professional situations.

Experts in the field of conflict resolution will lead sessions that survey the theoretical literature, examine real-world applications and engage participants in learning exercises. The emphasis of the seminar, however, is on the practical application of skills. Each session will consist of presentations by academic or unofficial conflict resolution practitioners, joined by current or former senior policymakers, and will include an interactive discussion period.

The United States Institute of Peace is an independent, nonpartisan federal institution established by Congress to promote research, education and training on the peaceful resolution of international conflict. Its international conflict resolution skills training program (ICREST) has been developed over several years and is specifically geared toward foreign affairs professionals.

Any State Foreign Service officer interested in participating in the ICREST program should contact Todd Stewart, AFSA State vice president, at (202) 647-8160 or the U.S. Institute of Peace at (202) 457-1700.



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# CONFRONTING ETHNIC CONFLICT

*In recent years, ethnic violence has erupted among various peoples on every continent, from Israel, Rwanda and Bosnia to Los Angeles, where the 1992 riots in the city's south central section made headlines across the globe.*



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

## M US SEEKS GROUND BETWEEN REALIST AND IDEALIST AIMS

By DAVID CALLAHAN

Most observers of global affairs agree that ethnic conflict is likely to be widespread in the decades to come. Far more than Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, it is the carnage in Rwanda, Bosnia, and numerous other ethnic flashpoints that may offer the best glimpse into the future of world politics. As the world's largest military power, and the de facto manager of the international security system, the United States will be hard pressed to ignore ethnic conflict. Fear of ethnic conflict escalating into wider regional wars, combined with humanitarian concerns, will produce pressures for U.S. involvement in future crises, as has happened in the case of Bosnia and Rwanda.

Establishing a conceptual framework to guide U.S. policy on ethnic conflict is a central challenge for post-Cold War

## FOCUS

*Few of the world's 188 states are ethnically homogeneous; in only half of countries of more than 1 million people does a single ethnic group account for more than three quarters of the population.*

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strategists. Yet because ethnic conflict occurs in such a diverse array of states, and takes many different forms, it is a uniquely challenging problem for foreign policy analysts. Mass slaughter and intractable warfare abroad over the past few years have left experts in the United States shaking their heads in confusion and constructing makeshift policy approaches of limited efficacy. In the Balkans, Washington issued a series of empty threats before finally taking limited military action earlier this year — after the Serbs had already conquered most of Bosnia. In Rwanda, U.S. officials were caught off guard by one of the greatest humanitarian tragedies of recent times and took weeks to formulate a coherent policy toward the crisis.

Underpinning any good policy are a set of principles and guidelines, derived from agreement that the lessons of the past can be applied to the problems of the future. In the area of U.S. foreign policy and ethnic conflict, such a process of learning and generalizing is only now getting under way. So far the results are mixed. The problem of ethnic conflict does not lend itself to concisely worded presidential directives and neat columns of policy options, and it is naive to expect that a comprehensive policy will emerge anytime soon from the Executive Branch.

Nevertheless, drawing upon a body of experience that grows with every passing week, it should be possible to develop a framework that will allow policy-makers to approach new ethnic conflicts in more than an ad hoc fashion. By analyzing past errors and successes, officials can determine which policies are likely to be most effective in handling future crises. Also, tackling the problem of ethnic conflict can be facilitated by dividing the policy problem into three categories: prediction, prevention and intervention. These steps, however, cannot take place in a conceptual vacuum. Officials and scholars need to recognize how policy on ethnic conflict has often unfolded

within a broader debate between realist and idealist foreign policy goals.

**B**roadly defined by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees as conflict among groups who differ from each other in terms of culture, religion, physical features or language, ethnic conflict has been an enduring problem in U.S. foreign policy for the past two centuries. As disparate empires have crumbled, the American people and their leaders have repeatedly struggled with the issue of where, when, and how to support or oppose efforts at nationalist self-determination. These controversies have often illustrated the clash between realists and idealists. During the 19th century, strong anti-colonial sentiments predominated in the United States, and some idealists argued for active efforts to support nationalist democrats abroad. But a consensus in favor of such efforts never formed. In the early 20th century, the United States often rhetorically embraced the notion of self-determination for all peoples, as in Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, but it did not have the internationalist wherewithal or political incentives to challenge the imperial system. American realists argued in the 20th century, as they had in the 19th century, that the United States should learn to live with existing international realities and avoid missionary policies.

During the Cold War, the U.S. attitude toward nationalist aspirations and its policy in regard to various ethnic conflicts were shaped more by anticommunist geopolitical calculations than by idealist concerns. The goal of stability — the stability of the state system in general and U.S. friends in particular — often prevailed over the ideals of self-determination.

Well before the bloodshed in Bosnia and Rwanda, the clash between realist and idealist approaches in regard to ethnic conflict produced agonizing foreign policy choices. In the late 1960s, the attempted secession of Biafra from Nigeria led to a vast loss of human life and many in the United States argued vehemently for intervention to help the Biafrans. Officials in the Nixon administration were sympathetic to these arguments; but ultimately a hands-off policy prevailed, motivated in large part by concern that the entire state system of Africa could be jeop-

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*David Callahan is a resident project director at the Twentieth Century Fund in New York City, where he is writing a book on ethnic conflict and U.S. foreign policy.*

ardized if the Biafran independence effort succeeded.

The plight of the Kurds has been a source of unending dilemmas with realist approaches tending to dominate U.S. policy. American involvement with the Kurdish issue stretches back to the post-World War I period, when President Woodrow Wilson supported the creation of a Kurdistan but then failed to see that pledge fulfilled. More recently, over the past two decades the United States has alternately supported and ignored the Kurds of Iraq. During the early 1970s the CIA backed a Kurdish guerrilla war against Baghdad's rule in the hopes of weakening the pro-Soviet Baathist regime. In 1975, however, the Kurdish guerrillas were abruptly abandoned by the CIA when Iran and Iraq settled some of their political differences. During the late 1980s, backing Iraq in its war with Iran, the Reagan and Bush administrations turned a blind eye to Saddam Hussein's ruthless war against the Kurds. After the Gulf War, the Bush administration first ignored Saddam Hussein's slaughter of the Kurds and then mounted one of the largest humanitarian operations the U.S. military had ever conducted to provide Kurds a safe haven in northern Iraq. Currently, the United States follows a policy towards the Kurds that highlights its conflict between realist and idealist goals. On the one hand, the United States continues to provide protection to the Iraqi Kurds against Saddam's army and to donate foreign assistance. On the other, it raises little protest as its ally Turkey wages a brutal war against its own Kurds.

Since 1991 the Balkans crisis has again produced muddled U.S. policies that embrace idealist rhetoric but tilt toward realist actions. The vast human tragedy associated with ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, along with the disturbing possibility of a wider Balkans war, have led the United States to intervene with sustained diplomatic and humanitarian efforts. But before the use of air power earlier this year, the United States resisted stronger steps to stop Serbian aggression in large part because officials have believed that protecting Bosnia is not a vital U.S. interest. Clinton's push for the NATO ultimatums to the Serbs this spring reflected not so much a new consensus that vital interests were at stake in the conflict, as a belief that U.S. inaction in the face of endless Serb atrocities such as the February mortar attack on Sarajevo had become politically untenable. In responding to the humanitarian impulses of Americans with a carefully limited interventionary strategy, Clinton carved out a familiar middle ground between realist and idealist policy aims.

The bloodbath in Rwanda necessitated no such compromise. While he did order U.S. troops to provide relief

to Rwandan refugees in July, Clinton was able to largely ignore the huge massacres in April and May, pursuing a purely realist strategy, for several reasons.

First, the humanitarian crisis there has taken the form of a massive burst of mayhem rather than unfolding over a long period of time, as in Bosnia. By mid-May there was already a sense that the worst in Rwanda was over. Second, while the Balkans war did involve some strategic U.S. interests, albeit none which were deemed vital, the Rwanda situation has seemed far more contained and isolated. Finally, Clinton could ignore Rwanda because media coverage of the conflict was limited and it generated less outrage in the United States than did Bosnia. A genocidal campaign in Europe, in a country with modern cities like Sarajevo, seemed more disturbing than massacres of far greater dimensions on a continent where vast human suffering is a common occurrence.

**F**or all the disagreement about how the United States should have responded in Bosnia and Rwanda, or still should respond, one thing is clear: Washington could have pursued better policies if it had known the crises were coming.

The huge increase in ethnic violence during recent years has left many observers wondering where it will end. Is the world at the beginning of a long cycle of ethnic conflict, or will some plateau of great stability be reached in the next few years? No clear answer to this question exists, yet undoubtedly there is the potential for enormous violence. Very few of the world's 188 states are ethnically homogeneous; in only half of countries of more than 1 million people does a single ethnic group account for more than three quarters of the population. Some 64 million people in the former Soviet Union live outside their national republics. In historically volatile Eastern Europe, the phenomenon of ethnic pockets is also widespread. In Africa, hundreds of distinct groups live on a continent divided into 50-odd states whose borders were arbitrarily drawn by colonial authorities. In South Asia, ethnic conflict has been on the increase for years.

But if new cases of ethnic conflict appear inevitable, it's difficult to know which states are likely to be the Yugoslavias of tomorrow. Not every ethnically diverse state is a powder keg waiting to explode. At the same time, states that do not seem to have an ethnic problem may in fact be quite fragile. Developing an analytical capacity for distinguishing between high-risk states and low-risk states is an important

*Continued on page 36*

# DOES US PRACTICE WHAT IT PREACHES?

BY RUSHWORTH M. KIDDER

When the United States talks about ethnic violence, the usual examples emerge: Bosnia, Rwanda, Israel, Iraq. How, Americans fret, can ethnic tensions be reduced? Don't we have a moral obligation to intervene?

When the world talks about ethnic violence, however, another example arises: the United States. Case in point: South Central Los Angeles. On April 29, 1992, following the acquittal of four white police officers on charges of beating black motorist Rodney King, the city erupted into racially charged riots. What right, asks the world, does the United States have to police the globe when, within its own borders, ethnic tensions are seething? Isn't this mere hypocrisy?

Fair question. Hypocrisy has always been a long suit in puritanical America, as novels from *The Scarlet Letter* to *Catcher in the Rye* make clear. Does the United States, facing unresolved ethnic tensions of its own, lack the moral standing to address ethnic conflicts around the world?

Although this is a tempting argument, it is flawed for several reasons. First, in most areas of moral endeavor, the United States doesn't usually demand perfection as a precondition for doing good. Americans recognize that although physicians may be careless of their health, that builders live in poorly maintained homes, or that ministers indulge a temper, these professionals can still help others. To demand perfection is to hold the charitable impulse hostage to personal traits. Nations, like people, can confront others — even when they haven't got their own houses fully in order.

Second, how disorderly can that house be? That's a mat-

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ter of balance. Is the balance so skewed that America should drop overseas obligations and focus exclusively on its own ethnic conflicts? Or would that be an unkind act of self-absorption? In the end, an inward-turning isolationism may be even less moral than hypocrisy. After all, on a scale of comparative deprivations, most of the "poor" of South Central Los Angeles have amenities — roofs, windows, refrigerators, televisions, busses and phones — that would make their counterparts in Kigali leap for joy.

Third, is it OK for the United States to go on as it is — since, however bad the ethnic tensions, Americans still live pretty well? Hardly. Rather, the comparison of deprivations should remind us that ethnic tensions are a sure formula for social dissolution. It should stimulate America to strive even harder against the racial animosities that, left alone, can begin like a Los Angeles riot but end like a Rwandan massacre.

The United States has plenty of blemishes. But the trend-lines are still in the right direction. It's still a melting-pot where cultures mingle. It's still a nation where most people are literate and potable water flows from nearly every tap. It is still a country where, when members of Congress need to earn money for retirement, they often leave office to do so — unlike their counterparts in many other nations, where election to office is a sure road to vast personal wealth. It is still the country — to cite the saddest test — that Cubans, Haitians and refugees of every sort are literally dying to enter.

The moral obligation? To preserve America and extend its example as far as possible. Can it do so without tending its own ethnic garden? No. If America loses its melting-pot mentality, it loses one of its signal strengths. But can it do it without helping resolve global conflicts? No again. If America loses its generosity, it loses its soul. Balance, that great principle of moral reasoning, is what it's all about.

Rushworth M. Kidder, president of the Institute for Global Ethics in Camden, Me., is a former senior columnist for The Christian Science Monitor.

*During his first months in office, Secretary of State  
Warren Christopher often called Bosnia  
"a problem from hell."*

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*Continued from page 34*

first step in crafting U.S. policies aimed at preventing ethnic warfare. Nowhere is the need for such expertise more critical than in the former Soviet Union, where ethnically-driven violence could lead to conflict between Russia and former Soviet republics. The U.S. intelligence agencies, in search of new missions since the fall of the Soviet Union, should be directed to put new energy into this problem. The State Department, too, should give far more attention to the job of predicting ethnic conflict.

Had a better predictive capacity been in place earlier this year, U.S. officials might have been much better prepared for the violence in Rwanda. Both that country and neighboring Burundi have a long history of conflict between members of the Hutu and Tutsi tribes and nobody should have been surprised by a new round of bloodletting. The uprisings by Shiite and Kurdish rebels after the Persian Gulf War might also have been predicted, had adequate analytic resources been tasked to the problem. Just as U.S. policy planners once spent enormous energy pinpointing likely spots for communist aggression, so too should they now be identifying future ethnic flashpoints. Developing scenarios of how ethnic conflict in various countries might unfold would provide a crucial foundation for responding to fast-breaking crises.

Understanding the causes of ethnic tensions and having some ability to predict where such tensions might escalate into warfare will be of little more than scholarly interest if these findings cannot be harnessed to policies of prevention. The prevention of ethnic warfare is an ambitious goal, since in many states the leverage of the United States and international institutions is limited. Moreover, even in cases where such leverage is significant, it may still be impossible to contain escalating ethnic hatreds. Past experience indicates it is difficult to influence the actions of nationalist ideologues, local militants, death squad leaders and others who fan the first flames of ethnic carnage.

Nevertheless, U.S. policy-makers are far from powerless. Ethnic conflict is rarely generated solely by uncontrolled non-state actors. Instead, state repression of ethnic minorities — or

tolerance of such repression — is a common prelude to secessionist warfare. As a paper by Human Rights Watch recently stated: "Some governments use divide-and-conquer strategies, based on ethnicity, religion or other factors, to develop a cadre of loyal supporters. Others justify human rights violations as necessary to counter separatist or independence movements. Some governments foment ethnic violence to fend off calls for democratization. Other political leaders seek to acquire or maintain power through appeals to communal antagonisms."

These realities mean that the instruments of coercion now commonly used by the United States to influence other states — from decreases of foreign aid to full-blown sanctions — can be deployed in efforts to reduce ethnic conflict. There is, of course, no guarantee of such measures succeeding. But at the least they can send the message that the United States is aware that repression is occurring and deems it unacceptable. At the most, they can change a government's behavior or hasten the downfall of a repressive leader.

In some cases, early U.S. action to protest the mistreatment of minorities may help prevent an escalation of conflict by pushing state leaders to peacefully address ethnic grievances. At the State Department's Bureau of Human Rights, where abuses around the world are monitored, steps should be taken to separately catalogue the repression of ethnic minorities. The bureau's annual human rights report should present this data in a distinct section to aid the formulation of punitive policies.

Likewise, Congress should update human rights legislation passed during the 1970s to give greater attention to the protection of minority rights. Currently, penalties in the area of arms transfers, foreign aid, and trade relations can only be imposed in response to a pattern of gross violations of human rights. But it may be desirable, in cases of ethnic repression, to establish lower thresholds for punitive action. After all, massacres, assassinations and torture are not the only acts that may trigger secessionist warfare or other kinds of ethnic violence. The denial of political power sharing, the desecration of religious sites, the imposition of the majority language, and similar forms of repression can also generate

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bitter divisions. Sometimes, as in the case of the Kurds of Iraq during the 1980s, a rebelling ethnic group is far more concerned with achieving cultural autonomy and political rights than a separate state. American policy-makers need options for pushing regimes to address such demands.

The promotion of democracy in ethnically-mixed states can be of crucial importance in preserving the peace. In pluralist systems in which ethnic minorities are not repressed by the state, and in which they can win their rightful share of power and a degree of autonomy, the incentives for secession may be reduced. The Clinton administration has made the promotion of democracy one of its main foreign policy objectives, but officials have rarely addressed the link between this goal and that of preventing ethnic conflict. The Agency for International Development should undertake studies to show how this link works in practice and develop new approaches to using democratization assistance to alleviate ethnic tensions.

The United States has had some successes. In Israel, where Israelis and Palestinians have been battling over land

since the 1967 war, the United States in 1983 was instrumental in brokering a peace deal that backed the carving out of two Palestinian-governed territories — one on the Gaza Strip and one on the West Bank. This effort to help Arabs and Israelis to live peacefully as neighbors after decades of bloodshed may be a harbinger of how future ethnic conflicts can be successfully resolved with U.S. influence.

**T**he dilemma of whether to actively intervene in ethnic warfare is likely to confront U.S. policy-makers often in the years to come. While every situation will be different, it is possible to think about this dilemma in general terms, beginning with the basic question of how supportive the United States should be of secessionist movements. This question has two parts: First, can U.S. support for secessionist movements destabilize the international system by encouraging a proliferation of challenges to state authorities in an ethnic domino effect? The evidence on this point will never be conclusive, but it does seem that the United States should be hesitant about appearing to be



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an unconditional champion of self-determination. This could raise false hopes among potential secessionists of support from Washington and perhaps encourage secessionist bids in unstable parts of the world. At the same time, the United States should not turn its back on well-advanced democratic secessionists for fear that its support will be destabilizing elsewhere. And it should not hesitate to support the human rights claims of repressed minorities.

A second question regarding self-determination is whether secession tend to be a good or bad thing for those who are seceding, in terms of their economic and political development. Self-determination has often been seen in the United States as an idealist goal, an attitude formed during the days of empires. But is it such a goal any longer? Some scholars have answered a resounding "no," suggesting that seceding ethnic groups who attain their own states will often be much worse off than before. In formulating its position in regard to a given ethnic conflict, the United States must carefully consider the long-term interests of those attempting to secede.

The most sensitive issue regarding intervention is under

what circumstances it is justified to meddle in the internal affairs of another country to protect endangered minorities. There is now an emerging consensus among international legal experts that there should be greater limits on state sovereignty — limits that balance the freedom of states from outside interference against the need to protect human rights and to safeguard order in a highly interdependent world. Washington took a big step toward embracing such thinking with its backing of the establishment of a Kurdish safe haven zone in northern Iraq.

This approach of taking over a portion of a country driven by ethnic violence may be the most viable type of intervention. In Rwanda, one or more safe haven zones could have been created in border areas away from the center of fighting without great risk to U.S. and allied forces. Such a move might have saved many lives and prevented the disastrous stampede of several million refugees out of Rwanda in July and August. Indeed, the lesson from the experience in northern Iraq should have been clear before it was reiterated in Rwanda: Without international efforts to guarantee their safety, people facing genocidal warfare will flee en masse

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across the nearest border, even if such an exodus may itself produce huge suffering due to deprivation and disease.

During his first months in office, Secretary of State Warren Christopher often called Bosnia "a problem from hell." More so than other kinds of international challenges, ethnic conflict often presents no-win situations to policy-makers. The unusual ferocity of ethnic violence abroad can generate intense public and media pressures on the U.S. government to take action to stop mass killings. Yet because ethnic warfare rarely involves clear lines of battle, there are often no attractive interventionary options and policy-makers know that the public tends to quickly turn against military expeditions that drag on for too long or result in significant U.S. casualties.

Thus it is crucial that policy-makers develop a range of more limited military options to use against aggressors. Since the Vietnam War it has been widely insisted, particularly in the Pentagon, that the United States should only use military force abroad when its vital interests are threatened and when success can be guaranteed. But this axiom, seemingly straightforward,

has proved to be of little guidance to policy-makers in confronting ethnic conflict. Over the last year it has become clear that the U.S. military's approach to intervention — largely premised on a set of principles which Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger articulated in the mid-1980s after the Lebanon debacle and which Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Colin Powell frequently invoked in the early 1990s — is excessively inflexible.

Policy-makers need military options between doing nothing and launching full-fledged military action. The success of the NATO ultimatums to the Serbs in Bosnia this year suggests that the limited use of military power may offer solutions in certain ethnic conflicts.

The U.S. response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 sent a chilling signal to state leaders pondering cross-border aggression in the post-Cold War. Today, there is an urgent need to send a similar message to state leaders engaged in aggression against their own people or against groups that have recently seceded. In particular, it is crucial that the United States and its allies not hesitate about using military force to protect established safe haven zones. ■

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## CARING FOR THE REFUGEES

*The 2.3 million Rwandan refugees who escaped the genocide in their country are believed to be the largest number displaced by ethnic violence in this century. Did the United States do enough to help the victims?*



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

HUMANITARIAN GROUPS,  
US PRESSING FOR  
GREATER UN ROLE

By KAREN KREBSBACH

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tunned by media images of hundreds of thousands of Rwandan corpses since the genocide began in April, Americans have now turned their attention to the 2.3 million refugees who got away. Billed as the world's worst humanitarian catastrophe, the massacre in Rwanda is expected to keep relief workers occupied in the region until early 1995, though its lessons may reverberate for decades to come.

Prompted by the need to organize the massive efforts of hundreds of non-government medical and relief organizations, as well as the U.S. military and a handful of European military units, some relief groups are pushing the United Nations and the United States to take more aggressive roles in coordinating future relief efforts in the world's hotspots.

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*Prompted by the need to organize the massive efforts of hundreds of non-government medical and relief organizations, the U.S. military and a handful of European military units, some relief groups are pushing the United Nations to take a more aggressive role in coordinating future relief efforts in the world's hotspots.*

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"The U.S. has to do a better job at getting these efforts to come together, letting the U.N. take a leading role," said Lionel Rosenblatt, president of the non-profit Washington-based group, Refugees International.

Rosenblatt, who aided in his first refugee operation in 1975 as a U.S. Foreign Service officer in Indochina, is launching a media campaign urging President Clinton to permanently consolidate all humanitarian assistance activities of the U.S. Agency for International Development, the State Department and the Defense Department. He is also pushing for the United Nations to name an overall relief commander to coordinate military and humanitarian relief operations in each area where massive relief aid is warranted.

Dennis Gallagher, executive director of Refugee Policy Group, a Washington-based center for policy analysis and research on refugee issues, agreed that the United States should be using its influence abroad. "In most of these incidents, the U.S., through the U.N., has to do a better job of pushing the international community to get involved. This doesn't mean a collection of a few states who decide they have a common interest. That's a security effort, not a humanitarian effort.

"For example, NATO is in search of an issue right now. Why not encourage that group to become more involved in humanitarian efforts? The Cold War is over. Now the United States and the world must learn to anticipate and contain future Rwanda-like conflicts before they become genocide."

Although U.S. officials have not responded to Rosenblatt's recommendation, in a recent interview,

Phyllis Oakley, assistant secretary of State for Population, Refugees and Migration admitted that coordination was a top U.S. concern for future relief operations. "The big lesson learned in Rwanda is that we need to have a better organized network," she said.

That network may be needed sooner than anticipated. Indeed, it has been a record year for the world's victims of ethnic conflict, which accounted for nearly half of the estimated 22 million refugees on the planet, according to the Washington branch of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The escalation of the refugee problem has worsened as the planet has become more crowded: In 1980, the UNHCR counted only 8 million refugees roaming the world. Ethnic violence as the No. 1 cause of refugees, followed by those fleeing for political and economic reasons, according to the UNHCR.

The total number of refugees includes 8.2 million in Africa, 1 million in Asia and Oceania, 7.5 million in Europe, .8 million in the Americas, and 5.5 million in Southwest Asia, North Africa and the Middle East, according to UNHCR figures.

In deciding whether and how to respond to refugee crises around the world, the United States considers three factors: protection and humanitarian assistance to refugees, aid for repatriation to their home country and resettlement of refugees to a third country, according to Oakley.

Americans rarely begrudge U.S.-funded humanitarian assistance to other countries, so long as it doesn't involve protracted intervention that costs American lives, she pointed out. Americans in general did not object to the \$125 million U.S. military-led humanitarian effort in Rwanda.

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*Karen Krebsbach is the editor of the Foreign Service Journal.*

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"I think the United States is finally making progress in getting used to the idea of using the military in humanitarian operations," said Rosenblatt, who noted the public's backing of the 1991 U.S. operation to save the Kurds in Iraq.

"The use of the military in a non-aggressive way ... is a reasonably established practice. It is less a question of logistics than the issue of creating security perceived to be needed to allow relief to be delivered. There's a lot less consensus on that."

The 1992 U.S. operation in Somalia, however, which cost 26 American military lives, according to the Pentagon, was less popular, since it was a complex array of "military, political and human rights issues," Oakley said.

Rwanda, whose refugees the United States began aiding three months after the bloodshed began, was a different story. "There was a lot of controversy over whether we should have gone in earlier or not," she admitted. "But do you go in when the civil war begins, or wait until it spills over the border? When exactly is the beginning?" Most of

the fleeing Rwandans — more than half of whom are women and children — are being housed at makeshift camps in Zaire, Tanzania, Burundi and Uganda.

Politically, President Clinton was able to ignore the huge massacres in April and May because the violence was brief, rather than unfolding over a long period of time, as in Bosnia.

And though the Balkans war did involve some strategic U.S. interests, none were seen as vital, and the Rwanda crisis was perceived as more isolated. "Bosnia and Rwanda are different, largely because U.S. interests are greater in Eastern Europe than in Africa," Oakley pointed out. Also, the media spotlight was stronger and more protracted on Bosnia, which generated more outrage in the United States than did Rwanda.

"Intervention of any kind takes a level of political courage that requires the leadership of more than just the United States," Rosenblatt said. "In the case of Bosnia, we were hoping the Europeans would be in the lead, since it's their backyard. In Rwanda, clearly we were hoping the

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## *If the Rwanda crisis taught humanitarian groups anything, it was that coordination is key to carrying off a successful refugee aid campaign.*

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French or the Belgians or some combination would be in the lead. We are still somewhat reeling from the setback of Somalia, where we got in too late."

The world's real commitment to various ethnic conflicts is reflected in the dollars allotted by UNHCR, which has a \$1.23 billion 1994 budget for long-term, ongoing projects and for emergency programs. Although civil war in the former Yugoslavia has produced slightly more than 3 million refugees, that conflict absorbs the lion's share of emergency funding — \$338.3 million, only \$129.1 million of which has been contributed so far. By contrast, only \$56.7 million (with contributions of \$30.4 million) is required for the Rwanda/Burundi emergency effort. The second-highest cost program is that of the Mozambique repatriation, which requires \$102.8 million, according to UNHCR figures.

The United States has been the world's largest donor to the UNHCR, giving a total of \$170 million in 1994, including \$91 million for 14 ongoing programs around the world and \$79 million for emergency programs this year. The bulk of contributions to the long-term programs are for Africa, followed by Asia, Europe and the Americas, according to UNHCR figures. In 1994 emergency funding, gave \$25.5 million for Rwanda/Burundi; \$8 million for the former Yugoslavia; \$16 million for Mozambique; \$4.4 million for Tajikistan/Tajika refugee projects; and \$4.3 million for Bangladesh/Myanmar. Smaller U.S. sums funded projects in Laos/Vietnam/Thailand, Georgia, Nepal/Tibet, Armenia and Pakistan/Afghanistan.

**I**f the Rwanda crisis taught humanitarian groups anything, it was that coordination is key to carrying off a successful refugee aid campaign. "With Rwanda, all human rights and international groups were strained in coping with the chaos," noted Oakley.

The relief effort included more than 100 private international groups, various United Nations groups, and troops from six different countries. "Rwanda became a human rights question, not just a refugee issue," Oakley said.

The major lessons learned from aiding refugees in Rwanda and Bosnia have been threefold, she said. In addition to the United Nations needing to be more instrumental and forceful in coordinating all humanitarian groups and the United States, the U.N. and other peacekeeping operations need to be shored up and the U.N. and the United States need "to do a better job of preventing these problems from erupting again into this magnitude. How we do that, I don't know yet," Oakley said.

For example, scattered ethnic conflicts of Hutu and Tutsi tribes in Burundi, Rwanda's neighbor, may indicate the potential for a similar massacre in that country, she said. "What we have to do now is to prevent those same tribes from repeating the horror of Rwanda," she said. Another method of prevention is legal recourse, she said, indicating that an international tribunal of the United Nations' human rights arm is considering trying those responsible for the Rwandan massacre.

The United States' role in future refugee crises will continue to be paramount in dictating U.N. refugee policy, predicted Oakley and spokesmen for several humanitarian groups.

"The United States could have a more effective role in building the U.N. and focusing our own policy and structures toward building U.N. policy and playing an effective and more supporting role. We could help take the lead, if necessary," Rosenblatt said.

Oakley agreed. "As the foremost world power, we have a leadership role to play," she said. "The presumed isolationist movement in the United States is not accurate, given that we've never been a more internationalist country." ■

# GOING HOME TO CROATIA

*Thousands of Bosnia refugees, like those shown here in a Sarajevo refugee camp, have migrated over the border to safer haven in Croatia, where much of the shelling has stopped.*



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

HOW A BITTER, 3-YEAR-OLD  
ETHNIC CONFLICT SHATTERED  
A TOWN, CHANGED A FAMILY

BY SANJA PRIMORAC-FEER

I had been raised a good Communist in Croatia, and now, more than two years after surviving in the United States, I was finally prepared to face my past and return to my hometown of Nova Gradiska. Since I had left the country during the height of the Balkan war — nine months after the conflict broke out in September 1991 — the last few years had been painfully long and uncertain. The fact that I was far away from home didn't hurt as much as the fact that my home was at war.

I had been unprepared for the sense of a guilt and helplessness I felt after leaving at age 25, but I and my new husband, a freelance journalist, had decided to escape the war by moving back to his adopted town of Washington, D.C. When I

## F O C U S

*Scenes of tragedy still were common. Many returned soldiers, who crowded the market on Saturdays or lounged on benches in the town squares, were missing arms and legs. There were too many women in black on the streets.*

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met him, I had been studying political science at a university and working in a friend's clothing boutique in the Croatian capital of Zagreb, about 75 miles northeast of my hometown.

In Washington, I still continued to have a hard time understanding the cause of the war. I was in denial for a long time that it was even happening. I couldn't accept that things would never be the same; the happy times of my youth now seemed like they had never happened. My recent memories were painful and confused, and though some fell into place when I moved far from the war's influence, many things remained unclear to me.

How could a region that had lived so peacefully 45 years with its ethnic enclaves of Muslims, Croats and Serbs have erupted so quickly into such an ugly, bloody civil war that still had no sign of ending? Though we were Croats, 12 percent of our town were Serbs; several of our neighbors were Serbs and a handful of those in my social group were Serbian. Mixed marriages between Serbs and Croats, commonplace when I was growing up, were now rare. How could things have gotten so out of control?

Now, sitting on the plane, next to a talkative fellow traveler, I tried to clear my mind of the mental baggage I had been carrying since I had left my parents and two sisters. I wanted to arrive completely clear-headed. Somewhere over the Atlantic, I fell asleep listening to my seatmate opine about the fall of Yugoslavia.

After landing in Frankfurt, Germany, I made my way to the train station that would take me to the bus that would transport me across three borders to my country. Here, I already smelled the scent of home: the odors of poorly maintained public bathrooms and unkempt people. The architecture was recognizable. Yes, I was close to

home. Suddenly, I realized that the people on the platform were speaking a familiar tongue. Was it Serbo-Croatian? Or Croatian? Or Serbian? Hordes of refugees wandered around holding plastic bags; their faces said everything.

Suddenly the war's tragedy hit me full force. Just because of where they were born, these refugees were going through hell. They had been thrown out of their homes with everything they owned crammed into plastic bags. They had probably been totally unprepared for the West, which required workers to have job skills, and were now hanging around the train station, maybe waiting for families and friends to arrive — who would also have no job skills.

I felt a strong bond with these women and unshaven men dressed in traditional clothing and I found myself moving closer, eavesdropping on their stories. One woman with large, tragic eyes talked about the husband she lost, about the farm she no longer owned, about her eldest son fighting in north Bosnia. She had decided to return to Bosnia, leaving behind a younger son in Frankfurt with her cousin. With blank expressions, the rest of the group listened to her. It was so clear to me: These people had no tears left to cry. Feeling sick to my stomach, I left the group sitting motionless on the platform and made my way to the bus station.

The 18-hour bus ride — a winding route through Austria and Slovenia, dictated by war zones, to a small town where my family would be waiting — was hellish. The bus driver, who had initially complained about my oversized bags, realized I was "one of us" only when I started using Croatian slang; soon my suitcases were safely stored on the bus. Loud regional folk music blared through the night: the driver's choice. That's the only way he could stay awake, he reminded passengers several times. One song, by a female Croatian folk singer, had lyrics like, "My man is such a brave soldier, no one would mess with him. I'm waiting for the day he'll come back to

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*Sanja Primorac-Feer, the assistant editor of Latin America Energy Alert and a freelance translator, lives in Washington, D.C.*

my door." I managed to fall asleep somewhere between the Slovenian and Croatian border.

The light woke me up at dawn. I looked through the window at the beautiful Croatian landscape: The rolling hills, with white-stone houses on their slopes, looked so welcoming. The thin forest went on forever; hundred-year old oak trees and fragile birches grew together in beautiful harmony.

Suddenly the picture changed. I felt like somebody was strangling me. Lining the road were eerily empty villages scarred with burned-out skeletons of houses and churches. There was nobody to pick the plum harvest and make the region's famous plum brandy, *sljivovic*. I fell asleep again, with my last thought being that we desperately needed some kind of miracle — a peculiar attitude for someone raised a true unbeliever, an atheist.

The reality is that every generation in this part of the world has its war. The Balkans region has too much history for its own consumption, too much to forget, too much intolerance waiting to explode again. Welcome home, I thought.

A commotion woke me up. Outside, the buildings looked very familiar. The bus was entering the station, and suddenly I wasn't ready for this, wasn't ready for my family.

We were all overwhelmed with emotion.

My Dad, Jozo, looked so old after his bypass heart surgery, which I remembered we had been lucky to arrange through a family friend before I left in 1992. At age 18, my younger sister looked so grown up. My older sister, 31, was holding the 18-month-old nephew I had never seen. My first thought was that he had my lips. I smiled at him and my own smile grinned back at me.

My mother had stayed home to prepare my favorite meal of beef in garlic sauce and potato dumplings, *goved-ina sa njokima*. It felt so good to see everyone; we all talked at the same time. During the 30-minute drive to my hometown in my father's 1981 VW Jetta, I spent the trip trying to answer all their questions: Are you tired? Are you hungry? How is your husband?

The pines in front of the house had grown to three meters, much higher than when I had left. My mother, Eva, at 53 still pretty and slim as I remembered her, stood outside waiting for me. "Mom, don't cry," I said, sobbing as we hugged each other. You never grow too old to feel like a kid in your mother's arms.

On the surface, my family appeared fine, but they weren't. The war had left deep scars. My father, once funny and always in a good mood, had become a shadow of himself. I would find him sitting in a corner of the house, silent, alone with no expression on his face. It scared me. He was a good man, an enthusiastic professional with strong ideals, who had joined the Communist Party at age 18. Born in 1933, he believed in equality among people. He thought communism, which promoted brotherhood among all, was the answer to achieving that equality. I remember a photo of him, looking handsome and proud, as a young soldier in the personal guard of Tito, who himself had been a Croat born in a village near Zagreb.

My father, the son of poor but proud parents, had become the first in his family to get a college education; he chose engineering as his life's work. I remember him as the hard-working manager of our town's brewery, trying to understand world markets. But after securing deals with Spanish and French breweries, a Communist Party official falsely accused him of being disloyal. He lost his job; he lost his ideals. All that remained were questions about the system he had struggled to build. He felt beaten down, persecuted for his beliefs and disappointed in a system that wouldn't let him be free. Later he would find a good job in Zagreb, seeing us only on weekends and trying to forget about what had happened to him. I don't think he ever did.

By the time the war hit, he had retired and he was completely unprepared for the chaos, as we all were. He became hopeless and uncertain about the future. I know it has been hard for him to watch the system he once believed in and fought for crumble around him. His best friend before the war had been a Serb, but the friendship dissolved shortly before he vanished from town.

As we talked, it soon became apparent to me how much I had changed in the last two years. My parents and I argued about politics and the government-operated television news, which my mother believed wholeheartedly. I told her that she should be more skeptical, but she only said, "Why does the government have a reason to lie to me?" My parents didn't seem to understand the meaning of freedom of speech and the press.

I became angry seeing them so passive. I told my sister that she deserved a second opinion for her son's illness, misdiagnosed as the flu; the second doctor we saw cured him with medicine for a throat infection. I tried to explain

## FOCUS

to my attractive girlfriend, who is 27 and unmarried, that she has the right to fight off sexual advances from high-level colleagues at her office; in Washington, that's called sexual harassment, a concept I know she didn't understand. But then, I realized that people earn \$100 a month and food is more expensive than in the States: a loaf of bread is \$1, a head of lettuce, \$2, a pound of pork, \$5. It is hard to maintain any kind of dignity on an empty stomach.

Still there is hope and everybody was talking about better times ahead. Women managed to look fancy, dressing in clean clothes and wearing makeup, and kids played and laughed in the streets. From the crowded bars, there was loud music, a mixture of western rock and regional folk ballads.

I found myself thinking of these people as larger than life itself. Human beings can put up with lots of things, but where are the limits? This part of the world experiences a war every generation. And every 40 years people fight over the same chunks of land in the name of the same centuries-old feuds. When this war is over, they'll have to start from scratch again, just as their ancestors did. They'll have nightmares for the rest of their lives. Teen suicide rates, now high, may be even higher. And probably again, people will become intolerant and war will break out once more.

Still, life goes on.

I took long walks through my town, once home to 12,000 people. It now has several thousand refugees, Bosnians, Croats and Serb-Croats, many living in abandoned Serb-owned homes or housed in the new Finnish-built wooden clapboard houses in the western part of the town, which has become a stigmatized place for the refugees.

Nova Gradiska was one of the first towns to be overrun by Serbs when war broke out in 1991. But shelling continued long after I had left, and my family told me they had spent 10 months living in a basement bunker of, ironically, a Serbian neighbor, waiting to die.

But now I saw changes on every block. Burned houses had been rebuilt. Roads had been repaired and there were lots of new stores and restaurants. In the main square, where Catholic townspeople blew up the Serbian Orthodox Church after their church was damaged during shelling, someone has planted a tree and flowers. Was this a gesture of forgiveness or an effort to cover the past?

Scenes of tragedy still were common. Many returned soldiers, who crowded the market on Saturdays or lounged on benches in the town squares, were missing arms and legs. There were too many women in black on the streets. And there were lots of people I had never seen before, a strange sensation for a small town where I had once known everyone.

At my parents' house I spent time looking at old photographs, reading, listening to my old new wave records and talking my heart out with my family. But soon, I started to miss my husband, my house on Capitol Hill, my "other" friends. I wanted to head for home, my new home. I began looking forward to it. My heart would always be in Croatia, but I knew it was time to move on.

But first, I wanted to track down my friends. It was a real challenge. Some had left the country for the West with the hope of freedom and a better life. There were few left, but I tried to reconstruct those relationships. A few people had a hard time even listening to me. The things I talked about, my life in the States and my work, sounded abstract to them as they struggled with the harsh realities of life in Croatia. I met my friend Kristina, who at 27 was living with her Croatian boyfriend in exile on the beautiful but faraway Adriatic island of Rab, where she sells her handmade jewelry to the tourists. But the beaches were empty — another toll paid to the demons of the war. The tourists from Western Europe who came to the Croatian coast every summer for years have stayed away since the war began. It is strange for me: Since my childhood, the tourists have always been there every summer. Seeing this, I understood her choice to leave Croatia.

I spent a lot of time with an old friend, Damir, 33, and his family. He, his wife and his two small children recently secured visas for New Zealand; they are leaving this month, for good. Although their English is limited, their professions made them welcome candidates for immigration: He is an archeologist and history professor, she is a dentist. After long months of living in their cellar during the shelling, they decided they didn't want to raise their children in Croatia. They are afraid of leaving, but they think it is for the best. I understood their decision, too. Should we all just leave? Then again, who's to tell us that we have to stay and endure everything, when all we want to do is to work, to live, to love? ■

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# I HAD A HOUSE IN ISRAEL

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FOR ONE FAMILY, A NEW HOME  
BRINGS BACK OLD MEMORIES

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BY MARGARET BENDER

I admit to being a nester. A house assigned to me becomes mine as soon as I move in and, although I am merely the occupant, I tend to it and fuss over it, fight for it and otherwise lay claim to it. It becomes my world, and my family's sanctuary.

Not all our assigned quarters have inspired equal devotion, but there is one house that was so clearly meant to be mine, that whenever I think of the opening lines of the book, *Out of Africa*: "I had a house in Africa," I smile and add, "... and I had a house in Israel."

My husband, John, had lived in Tel Aviv as a teenager, when his father was assigned to the U.S. Embassy there. John was looking forward to serving in Tel Aviv himself, finding old haunts and perhaps some old friends.

We arrived in August 1983 with our two daughters, who were 12 and 7 years old at the time. When our sponsor met us at the airport and told us we were going to a hotel because no house had been found for us, I was dismayed. It was not a good beginning. To us, time spent in temporary housing is time spent in limbo. Adjustment to a new post and a new life is hampered, and productivity is crippled.

Two months later, we were still living in the hotel in the sand dunes between Tel Aviv and

Herzliya. The Israeli army was in Lebanon, and one crisis followed another. John spent 90 percent of his waking hours in the embassy. One daughter contracted pneumonia and I had a bad case of strep throat.

School started, complicating life further. We now shared our living space with the air freight boxes, which had been delivered so we could retrieve the girls' school supplies. The bus had to make a special stop on the Haifa Road, the heavily travelled link between Tel Aviv and the north. I was also making twice-weekly trips to the home of our sponsor to do the family's laundry and begging rides from kind-hearted folks to the supermarket. Things were not looking good; family harmony was suffering.

One day in mid-October, I had a phone call from a realtor wanting to show me a house. It had been turned down by others, so she must have known I was desperate. She picked me up in her car and we headed for Herzliya Pituach, one of the areas where foreigners lived, not far from the American school.

We pulled up in front of a two-story, Spanish-style house with a stucco and stone exterior. It was built on the corner of two back roads with a high, overgrown hedge along one side. The other side of the yard was unfenced, and a well-worn path through the long grass suggested that it was a shortcut for the neighborhood. Two broken-down cars were parked, apparently permanently, next to the front path. Not a good start. The front door was more promising. It was arched and made of solid,

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*Margaret Bender is the spouse of Foreign Service officer John Bender. They have recently relocated to the Washington, D.C., area.*

dark-stained wood. But, as we waited for the owner to answer the bell, I felt discouraged. The house did not look promising.

When the owner greeted us, I stepped inside the house and looked around. My heart skipped a beat. There was no foyer, but there was a large living room, spacious and full of light. The floors were pale-colored marble, the high ceiling was crossed with dark beams. On the right-hand wall was a fireplace and chimney covered in brown ceramic tiles. Glass doors led from the living room to a long covered veranda, running the length of the back of the house, a step up from the grassy, hedge-enclosed back garden.

Overlooking the living room, like a balcony, forming the ceiling of the first area, was another room, with windows that looked out over the street. Adjoining the living room, and separated from it by a counter and an archway, was a large eat-in kitchen with stained wood cupboards. Upstairs, I counted four bedrooms and two baths. Downstairs was a family room and a laundry. It really was a wonderful house.

Why didn't anyone else want it? Later, I learned that the owner's wife, who had designed it, left after it was built, leaving behind her husband and three children. The owner, who had lost interest in maintaining it, was struggling to keep track of the children. When we found it, it had been neglected, dirty and in need of many repairs. I could tell that it would take weeks to get the house and yard in shape, but at that point I had no other options, and I decided this house was worth the extra wait.

The next step was to show it to John. He came with me the following day, and as we were driving up the road, he seemed thoughtful. We parked the car, got out and looked around. As we approached the house, he said, "You're not going to believe this," he said. "The house is different, but this is exactly where I lived before."

Later, the owner confirmed that another house had been on the land when he bought it. That had been the house that John's family had lived in 25 years before. After buying the property, the owner had torn it down to build the present house.

The lease was approved by the Housing Board at the embassy, and for the next month I spent every day watching the house come back to life, as workmen cleaned, repaired and painted. The landlord had the old cars removed and a new fence was

built. We set about restoring the garden. The work was finished just before Thanksgiving. By moving day I had met all the neighbors, and they welcomed us with gifts of flowers and plants. I felt like I was coming home.

We learned that the building on the opposite corner of the street, then a pension, was now a home for the elderly. Former neighbors, Ludwig and Yetti, still lived in their house across the street, but they were now retired. The surrounding land, which when John was a boy had been mostly open fields, was now filled with houses.

John's parents, surprised and delighted with our new address, flew out to visit before Christmas, bringing their address book with them. They strolled the neighborhood taking in all the changes 25 years had wrought. We invited Israeli friends with whom they had kept in touch over the years to a reunion at the house. "Just come to the same place," we told them.

In the months that followed, we had several small reunions. John's youngest sister came. She had been born in Tel Aviv and her memories of the old house were from photographs. The Israeli driver employed by John's parents now lived in Texas. He called on us during a return visit, shaking his head in disbelief. One of John's school friends took a detour during a business trip and stayed a few days. He and John discovered that their old school bus driver was now employed at the embassy.

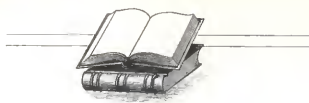
One day, when we were out for a walk, a car drew up alongside us. The woman, who lived a block away, had recognized John. Apparently, her daughter and John's other younger sister had been playmates years ago. She invited us for coffee the following Saturday and there we met the girls' former ballet teacher. She still held classes nearby and one of our daughters started classes with her soon after.

We made our home there for three years, a capsule of our lives that is now closed. Today, other people are occupying my house. I hope they are taking care of it, polishing the wood and the marble, filling it with flowers on Fridays, and watering the morning glory vines I planted along the new fence. ■

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## BOOKS

### FRENCH DEFEAT EYED IN INDOCHINA

#### Dien Bien Phu: The Epic Battle America Forgot

By Howard R. Simpson, *Brassey's, Inc.*,  
1994, hardcover, \$24.00, 193 pages.

By WARD THOMPSON

It is 40 years since the French began withdrawing from Indochina following their defeat at Dien Bien Phu, an anniversary little noticed amid the D-Day celebrations. The withdrawal ushered in the Vietnam era for the United States, a troubled time whose lessons for post-Cold War American foreign policy are at least as important as those of our successful World War II experience.

For Howard Simpson, a retiree of the U.S. Information Agency, the examination of the French defeat is an eloquent rejoinder to those who would use U.S. military force to help quell local conflicts in places like Bosnia. Addressing this issue head-on in his introduction, Simpson cautions that our Gulf War successes in the air, over open desert, in good weather and with negligible enemy resistance, should not blind us to realities. Later Air Force assurances to the Senate that air strikes on Serbian positions would be effective and virtually risk-free showed excessive optimism, considering Bosnia's variable weather and guerrilla-friendly terrain. "Once again, we were demonstrating our tendency

to place too much faith in technology and ignore the past," he noted.

The author documents his point in a painful yet fascinating account of the French debacle at Dien Bien Phu. The book is more than a retelling of the battle; it offers sharper focus and the invaluable insights of one who not only visited Dien Bien Phu as the siege began in 1953 but who also interviewed key players decades later with the full benefit of historical perspective.

But, no amount of perspective will mitigate the stupidity, futility and desperateness of the French strategy in establishing an isolated 15,000-man base (not all men, — there were also *Bordels Mobiles de Campagne*) in a vulnerable jungle valley, or of the way in which the strategy was executed. Make no mistake, the French, Vietnamese and Legionnaires from assorted nations fought well, as the book recounts in gory detail. While a selection of photographs taken by the author as USIA correspondent lends authenticity, the most vivid images are products of Simpson's prose, as gripping as any CNN closeup.

But the Vietminh noose began closing almost from day one. And the French general staff in Hanoi was operating on a series of fatally false assumptions: that General Vo Nguyen Giap could not bring in heavy artillery; that the Vietminh could not fight a conventional battle; that French aircraft would be able to interdict enemy supply lines (precursors of the Ho Chi Minh Trail), maintain battlefield

advantage and operate an unending air bridge; that Paris or even Washington (which was paying 80 percent of the war's cost at that point) would reinforce the French garrison as needed.

Wrong on all counts, the French approach proved suicidal for the garrison and the policy it represented, as weather and terrain gradually frustrated the French air effort, allowing Giap's massed troops and artillery to score a decisive victory on the eve of the Geneva Conference on Indochina.

The book's parallels to the later U.S. effort have less to do with policy than with the limitations on military means to carry out policy. Hence there is only cursory treatment of France's imperial role as a factor in the war, in contrast to America's involvement in a civil conflict in which at least some Vietnamese shared our goal of resisting communism. He quotes from a telegram to Hanoi from the Dien Bien Phu commander complaining that French air crews worry about risks while his forces run infinitely greater risks: "There cannot be two weights and measures."

The telegram said it all — whether in a rear area or back home, if there is not a complete sharing of the commitment expected of the forces at the front, the policy will come up short against an adversary fighting on its own turf and for whom the conflict is a full-time undertaking.

*Ward Thompson, a retired Foreign Service officer, was a U.S. Marine Corps officer in Vietnam.*

## FINDING A VILLAGE IN AFRICA TO SAVE

### Seasons of Sand

By Ernst Aebi, Simon and Schuster, 1993, \$22.00, hardcover, 236 pages.

By JULIUS WALKER

Readable and entertaining, this book may remind former consular and AID officers why they decided to "pack it in" and retire. Ernst Aebi has enough money to do pretty much as he wants and, while tearing up the desert in the Paris-Dakar auto rally, it dawns on him there are millions in Africa who could use the money he's spending frivolously to sustain life. He decides to find an impoverished village and train it to fend for itself.

Aebi, a Swiss-born naturalized American, is obviously a man of great imagination, energy and drive. Seeking a village to redeem, he joins a camel caravan and lives as the drivers do to obtain an understanding of their life and problems. He quickly becomes aware of the caste system between Arab and black and the economic subjugation that keeps blacks working for Arabs all their lives to pay off small debts acquired in their youth.

Unencumbered with consideration for the sovereignty of local governments, feasibility studies or impact assessments, he sets to work with a desert village seven days by camel from Timbuktu.

The village, Araouane, (pronounced much the same as Erewhon, Samuel Butler's reverse-spelled utopia) was home to fewer than 150 souls in 1991, down from the 3,000 estimated by French explorer Rene Caillie in 1828. Its importance as a religious and educational center is only dimly remembered.

In the past the wells of the village made it an important center for the salt caravans from the desert, the slave and goods caravans from the south and trading caravans from the north. Although these economic activities have declined sharply, the village is still owned by descendants of the Arabs who ran the enterprises in their heyday. However, the owners now all live in Timbuktu.

The inhabitants know nothing of vegetables — none were grown in the village in their lifetime. He decides to use the local wells to irrigate vegetables.

By example and cajolery Aebi teaches the villagers to work together to produce vegetables and to build a school, a dispensary and a hotel. He introduces them to the use of money and helps them bring small comforts to their homes. In many respects, his tale rings of Peace Corps ideals and principles with the notable exception that he dealt only with villagers, seldom with any central authority. Although the wistful might feel it was deliverance from bureaucracy that made his project work, obviously his imagination and determination were also essential assets. Of course, unlimited funding also played an important role.

Each year Aebi returned to the United States, then usually returned with a new vehicle acquired in Switzerland. On one visit home he advertised for the services of a female photographer to assist in documenting the project. To his amazement several applied for the job. Not too surprising to anyone who has spent time in lonely Saharan villages, he fell in love with the successful candidate and married her. It is disappointing that only four of the book's 21 color photos are by Emilie Manfuso Aebi; three are excellent.

Aebi lived in Araouane from early 1988 to November 1991, when he and Emilie were driven out by

rebellious desert nomads. Although it might have been predicted the project would come to an untimely end (idealism is seldom an even match for reality in the Sahara), it was sad to learn that only a few months following the Aebis' departure, the village was probably worse off than it was before they came. The nomads had destroyed everything. Even the villagers' desire for self-improvement seemed extinguished.

The book is a quick read; those who have lived in the Third World or have been associated with the problems of development will find it entertaining.

*Julius Walker was the last U.S. ambassador to Upper Volta (renamed Burkina Faso) and was twice assigned to Chad, once as deputy chief of mission.*

## UNTANGLING US-INDIA RELATIONS

### India and the United States: Estranged Democracies

By Dennis Kux, Sage Publications, 1994, \$29.95, hardcover, 514 pages.

By CHRISTOPHER VAN HOLLEN

Those who have been perplexed by the Clinton administration's difficulty in shaping coherent policies toward India should read Dennis Kux's excellent book tracing United States-Indian relations from 1941-91. The antecedents of the problems and dilemmas faced by Clinton policy-makers are all there.

How can we persuade India to cap its nuclear program without the Indians charging discrimination and pointing to the Chinese nuclear capability? How do we assure Indian leaders that the U.S. delivery of F-16 aircraft to Pakistan will not pose a secu-

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## BOOKS

urity threat to India? How can we encourage India to reach a political accommodation in Kashmir while avoiding charges of intervention in Indian internal affairs? How do we persuade the Indian government to liberalize its economy without strengthening the hand of left-wing politicians still wedded to the concept of "a socialist pattern of society?"

Kux tackles these issues, and many more, in a highly readable study which traces the ups and downs of Washington's relations with New Delhi from the Roosevelt to the Bush administration. A career Foreign Service officer, who wrote the book while a senior fellow at the National Defense University, the author has spent almost 20 years of his career dealing with the subcontinent. He has supplemented his personal observations by drawing on available studies and memoirs, by a careful review of declassified U.S. official records, and by more than 50 interviews with U.S. and Indian officials and with Indian authors and journalists. The result is a rich, in-depth analysis of the evolution of relations between Washington and New Delhi that focuses on the diplomatic interplay between the two governments, particularly in the political-security arena.

In theory, the United States and India should have been drawn together by shared democratic values. This has not been the case. As the title of the Kux book suggests, the relationship has been marked more by estrangement than cooperation. Despite the rhetoric about a shared commitment to democratic principles, differences over national security issues of fundamental importance to both countries have usually overshadowed areas of agreement.

These differences surfaced shortly after India's independence in August 1947. Under the Truman and Eisenhower administrations,

Washington actively promoted regional alliances to curb the expansionist aspirations of the perceived monolithic Sino-Soviet bloc. Under its first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, India adopted a policy of non-alignment between the two dominant power blocs and Nehru worked closely with Nasser, Tito and Sukarno to try to develop the non-alignment movement into a potent counterforce. Trouble was bound to arise when Pakistan, India's neighbor and bitter enemy, became the only regional power to join both anti-communist alliances — the Baghdad Pact (later CENTO) and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) — and when the United States began to supply arms to Pakistan in 1954.

This year marks the 40th anniversary of the original arms-for-Pakistan decision. Over the ensuing period, no Washington administration has successfully convinced Indian leaders in New Delhi that American arms for Pakistan pose no security threat to India.

Kux is skillful in describing the domestic political contexts in which each American administration and Indian government dealt with the other, and the personal chemistry between the leaders of the two countries. He highlights the degree to which presidents Dwight Eisenhower, and particularly Lyndon Johnson, were personally absorbed with relations with India — in contrast to the relative lack of interest displayed toward India displayed today.

As Kux correctly observes, the Second Kashmir War in August-September 1965 marked a key turning point in U.S. relations with South Asia. Angry because U.S. arms were being used by both India and Pakistan, Congress pressed the Johnson administration to stop all arms exports and to suspend economic aid to both India and

*India considered  
the flow of U.S.  
weapons to  
Pakistan as  
a greater  
threat than  
Soviet troops in  
Afghanistan.*

Pakistan. Thereafter, despite the continuation of the Cold War and concern over India's ties with the Soviet Union, South Asia's strategic importance to the U.S. declined and Washington adopted a policy of greater detachment.

The United States, nonetheless, later became re-engaged in the region on two occasions. The first occurred in 1971 when the crisis over East

Pakistan/Bangladesh intersected with the Nixon-Kissinger secret opening to China using Pakistan as an intermediary. The second period of involvement took place after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan caused the Reagan administration to reestablish a military assistance program for Pakistan and the resumed military aid predictably aroused apprehensions in New Delhi. Indians initially considered the flow of U.S. weapons to Pakistan as a greater threat than the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

During the Reagan years, as the supply of military equipment to Pakistan and covert aid to the Afghan resistance mounted to billions of dollars, the Indians continued to voice their concerns. The intensity of the Indian opposition was reduced as the Soviet occupation wore on and as India drew upon the greater self-confidence achieved as a result of its 1971 military victory over Pakistan. Ronald Reagan's and Indira Gandhi's success in charming each other during Gandhi's 1982 visit helped to improve the bilateral political climate and the successful 1985 trip of her son,

Rajiv, and his rapport with Vice President Bush, tended to blur memories of the earlier frigid Nixon-Gandhi meetings.

One of the merits of this book is Kux's balance and objectivity in dealing with a bilateral relationship that has been overlaid with emotion and misunderstanding. He makes critical judgments of U.S. policies he considers flawed — such as Nixon's handling of

the Bangladesh crisis and Carter's handling of the enriched uranium shipments for the Indian nuclear reactor at Tarapur.

Future American and Indian ambassadors, whether political or career, will face some of the same contentious issues that have been on the U.S.-Indian agenda for many years. But, with the end of the Cold War, it is already clear that the earlier strains caused by the Washington-Islamabad ties and by New Delhi's ties with Moscow are being attenuated.

Dennis Kux's book will not be the last word on the first 50 years of United States-Indian relations. U.S. official documents in large numbers have only been declassified through the 1960s. Few Indian documents have been released to the public. Partly for this reason, the earlier portions of the book are stronger than the latter. But until these additional source materials are made available, Kux's balanced and broad-gauged study is likely to remain the best in its field. ■

*Christopher Van Hollen is a retired Foreign Service officer who served in India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.*



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## IN MEMORY

**JOHN A. BAKER**, 66, a retired Foreign Service officer and vice president of the Atlantic Council, died of cancer Aug. 16 at his home in Washington.

Mr. Baker was born in Bridgeport, Conn., and served in the Army. He received a B.A. from Yale University, a master's degree in political science from the University of Geneva in Switzerland and a doctorate from The American University.

Baker's first assignment was to Yugoslavia in 1951. From 1954-56, he directed the Yugoslav service of the Voice of America. In 1957, he was posted to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. In 1958, he was deputy chief of mission in Czechoslovakia.

In the State Department, Mr. Baker subsequently served as director of East European affairs, deputy assistant secretary for international organizations and deputy assistant secretary for intelligence and research. In 1979, after representing the United States at four U.N. organizations in Rome, he was named director of the newly formed Bureau of Refugee Programs. From 1980-86, when he retired from the government, he taught at the National War College.

He then joined the Atlantic Council where he was vice president for education and civil-military programs. This year he received the George C. Marshall Award from the Marshall Foundation.

Survivors include his wife, Katherine Gratwick Baker of Washington; three children from his first marriage, John A. Baker III of

East Lansing, Mich., Kendall Baker of New York and Andrew Baker of Shelbourne Falls, Mass.; a sister, Carol Baker of Racine, Wis.; a brother, Patrick Baker of Keene, N.H.; and five grandchildren. A son from his second marriage, Mitchell Baker, died in 1993.

---

**JOSEPH PALMER II**, 80, a retired Foreign Service officer who was former assistant secretary of State and ambassador to Nigeria and Libya died Aug. 15 at his home in Bethesda. He suffered complications after a stroke.

Born in Detroit, he grew up in Boston and graduated from Harvard University in 1937. He attended Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and joined the Foreign Service in 1939. His involvement in African affairs began in 1941, when he began a four-year tour as a consular officer in Nairobi. From 1945-49, he was assistant chief of the African division of State.

He served in London in the early 1950s and in what is now Zimbabwe from 1958-60. In 1960 he was the first U.S. ambassador to Nigeria. From 1964-66 he was director general of the Foreign Service, and then assistant secretary of State for African affairs. He became ambassador to Libya as Moammar Gadhafi took power.

After his retirement in 1972, he became an associate at the Seven Springs Center in Mount Kisco, N.Y., a

director of the Foreign Student Service Council, the secretary-treasurer of the American Foreign Service Association, chairman of the Editorial Board of the *Foreign Service Journal* and a member of DACOR. He was a recipient of the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award.

Survivors include his wife of 53 years, Margaret Jones Palmer, of Bethesda; three children, Heather Palmer Jafari of Gaithersburg, Md., Joseph Woodbury Palmer of Tybee Island, Ga., and Thomas Jones Palmer of Kensington, Md.; and eight grandchildren.

---

**BARBARA M. SOUTHERLAND**, 75, former Foreign Service secretary, died Aug. 13 at Fairfax Hospital of dermatomyositis, a vascular disease.

Mrs. Southerland was born in Gary, Ind., attended the University of Wisconsin and worked for the Red Cross in Italy during World War II.

In 1949, she married John Harlan Southerland, a Foreign Service officer. She accompanied him to posts in Europe, the Far East and the Middle East before he retired in 1978. Their posts included Trieste, Moscow, Barcelona, San Jose, Taipei, Phnom Penh, Lisbon, Bonn and Ankara.

Survivors include a daughter, Nancy Elizabeth Southerland, of Arlington, Va.; a son, Charles Harlan Southerland, of Centreville, Va.; and a sister, Isabel Jankus, of Kenosha, Wis. ■

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# POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

## *A Child's View of Benin*

By AUDREY MORAN

I've lived in Benin since 1991, and we'll leave this year, when I'm almost 12. We live in Cotonou, the main city in Benin, in West Africa. There are very few Europeans in the streets. I mainly see them at the French school where I go. There are only 60 Americans in the whole town. At school Annick, a Beninese girl, became my best friend. She helps me understand Beninese culture.

When Annick was little, her family made her run around the yard a lot so she would become stronger. Apparently it worked. She is a head taller than me slim and strong. Every Beninese girl in my class is taller and faster than me.

Many people have a very strong belief in *grigris*, which are objects of good or bad luck. They believe these grigris can hurt someone or protect someone from a bad spell or from disease. One night Annick's aunt found a bad *grigri* in the house. When she tried to take it away, it hurt her finger, but she did get it out. Annick firmly believes that everybody in her household would have died if the *grigri* had been left there all night.

Many people here stand or sleep on the sand under coconut trees unaware of the risk of being killed by

*Audrey Moran wrote this piece with her mother, Colette, and sisters Claire, 9, and Valerie, 6. She is the daughter of Roger Moran, the political and economic officer at U.S. Embassy Cotonou.*

*Many people have  
a very strong belief  
in grigris, objects of  
good or bad luck.*



a falling coconut. In fact, they insist no child can be hurt by a coconut, and if you have been properly "introduced" to your house, your coconuts won't hurt you. But, it certainly did hurt our car when one fell on the rear window and broke it.

Some people wear beautiful clothes with embroidery. Women wear an extra *pagne*, or piece of cloth, around their skirts or dresses. The blouses have big puffy sleeves. Muslim men wear long robes over pants. The goat herders wear long white robes and turbans on their heads. Sometimes we see a goat tied to a motorcycle. Once we saw a calf on the roof of a van; it had a hard time keeping its balance.

In the street we hear the shoe-maker's tapping and the bicycle horn of the ice-cream vendor. At the border of Ghana, ladies selling water, call "iiiiicewata." Men also sell tools, sunglasses, clocks, electronic pianos, suitcases and gasoline in wine bottles.

Greetings take a long time. The regular greeting involves asking

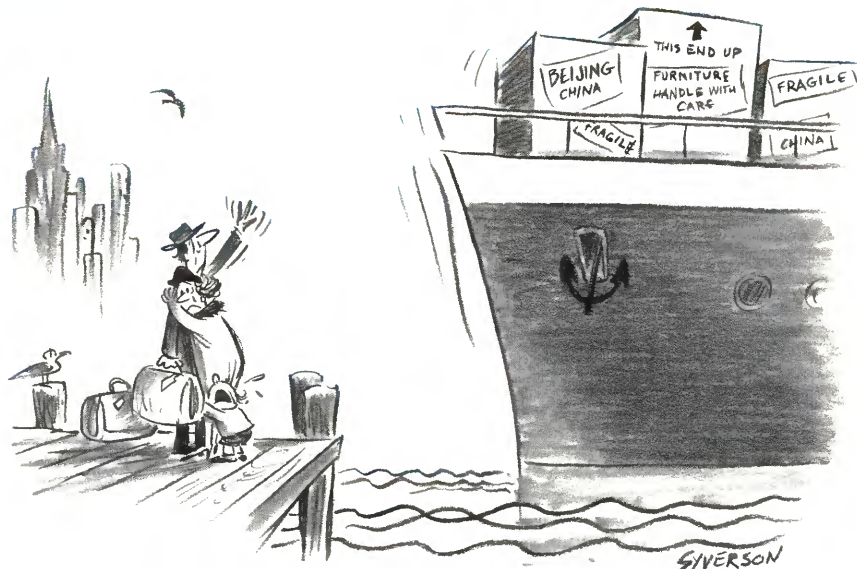
about each family member — and the Beninese have large families.

My mother and I go to the market to buy sneakers. The ladies have stalls protected by aluminum roofs. The shoes are piled up on boards. My mother must bargain for prices. It's a very big market. The African clothes are inside a big building; the rest of the things are sold outside. My mother buys African beads to make necklaces. I bring my thermos because I get so hot in the African sun.

We went on a photo safari in the north of Benin. At first we only saw vultures near our camp and bee-eaters — beautiful birds with green wings, red throats and black heads. Warthogs crossed the road and stared at us; we didn't want to argue with their long turned-up tusks sticking out of their mouths. We saw lots of baboons in troops, with the biggest male keeping guard. In the tall grass of the savannah we watched for lions and cheetahs who like to rest there and watch for prey. We discovered many different kinds of antelopes: hartebeests, with long and narrow faces; kobs, whose horns form an 'S'; waterbucks with long thick fur and ridged horns. At sunset, by the edge of a big pond, we stayed to look at a sleeping family of lions. The next morning at the same pond, 40 buffaloes arrived in a big cloud of dust.

For our birthdays, my sisters and I got African dolls and wooden ducks, elephants and turtles. They will help us remember Benin. ■

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