

THE (ALLEGED) SPY WHO LOVED HER: THE LU BLOCH STORY ■ THE FOGGY BOTTOM BORE

# FOREIGN SERVICE

JOURNAL

\$3.50 / APRIL 1995

THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS



**A PRAYER FOR PEACE IN CHECHNYA**  
*Military, Public Disgust over Crackdown Threatens Yeltsin*

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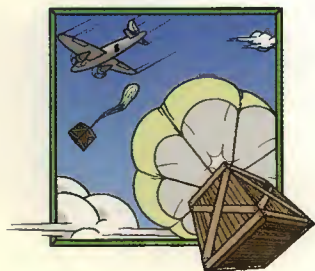


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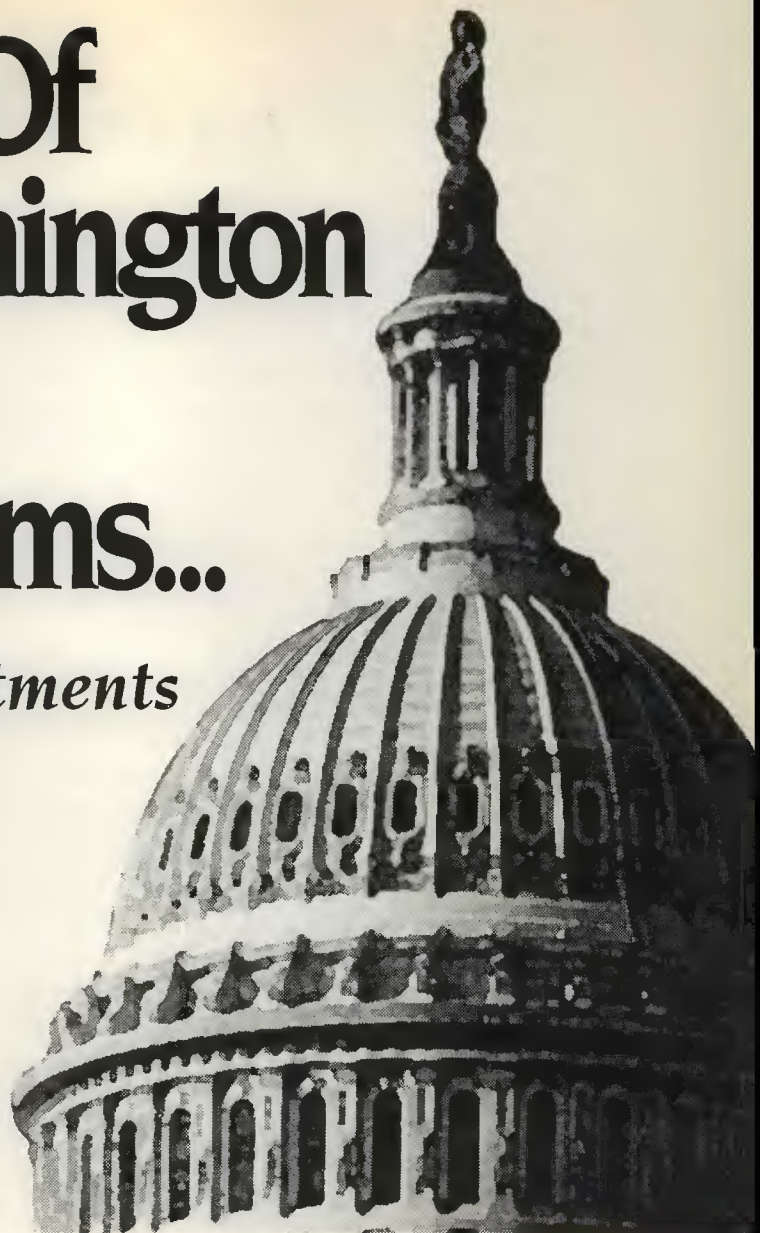
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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *Yes, It's Dangerous Out There*

By F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

In what was probably the most painful and depressing act I have performed in my nearly two years as president of AFSA, I joined Acting Secretary of State Strobe Talbott and National Security Adviser Tony Lake at Andrews Air Force Base on March 12 to meet an airplane returning with the bodies of two Foreign Service colleagues. Jackie Van Landingham and Gary Durrell were murdered in a terrorist act in Karachi four days earlier. Accompanying them was a third colleague, Mark McCloy, who had been shot five times but, thankfully, survived.

Upon my return home, I read in that day's *Washington Post* an op-ed article by David Broder, fittingly entitled, "It's Dangerous Out There." The tragic episode in Karachi could not have been a more timely or forceful illustration of Broder's basic point: "The world is a dangerous place that puts inexorable demands on this nation and its leaders." America's diplomats and Foreign Service professionals are its first line of defense in this dangerous world. It is, after all, thanks to the work of Foreign Service professionals in Pakistan that the alleged mastermind of the World Trade Center bombing — the worst terrorist act in American history — was recently apprehended.

As I wrote to Broder, "Our colleagues in Karachi and other Foreign

*An attack on any  
Foreign Service  
employee is an  
attack on us all.*

Service personnel in danger spots around the globe deserve the fullest support of their government and their nation. The kind of myopic and draconian retrenchment of our foreign affairs capabilities now being contemplated by the Congress endangers not only our diplomats abroad. It endangers the welfare of all Americans, whose interests and security the Foreign Service represents and protects."

I was deeply touched by Talbott's moving tribute to the two slain Foreign Service employees, which pointed out their dedication and sacrifice. He also said:

"We are here today to pay homage to three members of the extended family of public servants who defend and advance American values and goals abroad, who do so with great skill, and who, all too often, so do in conditions of great danger.

"Adlai Stevenson once said that, 'Patriotism is not a short and frenzied outburst of emotion but the tranquil and steady dedication of a lifetime. That dedication is never more pre-

vious, or more poignant, than when a life is cut short, a body grievously harmed, a family devastated by grief — in the service of our country.' Thus, at this sad homecoming and on this sad Sunday, we honor as patriots Jackie Van Landingham, Gary Durrell and Mark McCloy.

"They volunteered to go to a far-away land, a country that is a good friend of the United States, but that like so many others, sometimes harbors terrible enemies of its own interests, enemies of our interests, and enemies of humanity itself. Jackie, Gary and Mark undertook their assignments in order that their fellow Americans might live, travel and trade in what we hope someday will be a safer, more stable, more prosperous world.

"We have been reminded yet again, vividly and tragically, that those who work in our embassies and consulates face not only hardships but risk as well, including the ultimate risk. Men and women like those we honor today may not all wear uniforms or carry weapons, but they all serve our country as bravely — and as valuably — as their fellow citizens in the armed forces. An attack on any one of them is an attack on us all.

"The United States will use every means at its disposal to bring those responsible for this cowardly and vicious crime to justice. However, this is a moment for the American people to express not only their outrage, but their gratitude as well." ■

*F. A. "Tex" Harris is president of the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA).*

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# LETTERS

## *To the Editor:*

Recent statements by Sen. Helms (R-N.C.) asking why we need a Foreign Service ("President's Views," December *Journal*) have prompted the Abidjan Embassy to take the senator's question seriously, deserving a serious answer. We have attempted to be as concrete and tangible and brief as possible.

The role of the domestic agencies is to implement the law and regulations established by the Congress and the administrations. The domestic agencies serve as the primary source of expertise within the government in their respective domains.

The role of the Foreign Service is to pursue abroad the goals established by American law and by the current administration — to be the agents abroad of the domestic agencies. Where domestic agencies are mandated to pursue objectives abroad, it is the role of the Foreign Service to evaluate the feasibility of those objectives, to propose the strategy most likely to lead to their achievement and to assist in accomplishing them. To do this the Foreign Service has need of various forms of expertise:

■ Communication across cultures is not intuitive; it is an acquired skill which improves through practice, study and training. Tolerance for, and understanding of, other cultural practices is built up over time. The understanding of one culture is aided by exposure to other, related cultures. The evaluation of the views of foreign governments and societies depends upon the analyst's experience in interpreting foreign languages and cultures.

■ Continuity of experience produces improved understanding. Understanding one government's point of view can be greatly aided by working in a neighboring country on another assignment.

■ Training in languages, cross-cultural skills and the techniques of diplomacy requires a considerable investment of time and money. The mastery of foreign languages takes years; it is not acquired solely in a classroom. The return on this investment is lost if employees are returned to domestic service for long periods of time. Families also need time and practice in developing the ability to move from one culture to another and to live happily within a non-American culture.

■ Other countries have foreign services, trained to pursue their own national objectives. Would we use amateurs to compete with trained professionals?

The personal element, represented by Foreign Service members, will continue to be essential to the mission of the Foreign Service, even with modern communications developments. *Démarches* cannot be carried out by fax. If the United States does not consider a country or issue important enough to involve one of its diplomats, why should it be taken seriously? In diplomacy, the importance of an issue to a nation is indicated by the rank of the diplomat assigned the task of presenting views on the issue to the host government. How can the United States compete with countries that have a diplomat in place if we are not

represented on the ground by Foreign Service officers?

*AFSA members  
U.S. Embassy Abidjan*



## *To the Editor:*

Susan Pearce writes in the February issue of the *Journal* on the corrosive impact of organized crime and government corruption in the former Soviet republic of Lithuania. Her well-written essay leaves little doubt that the strength of criminal activity in Lithuania has been due to the weakness of the central government. The subhead even alleges that organized crime is "overwhelming" the newly liberated country.

There are encouraging signs, however, that crime, while still a very serious matter, is hardly catastrophic. Pearce lists a number of important steps taken by the government to curb criminal activity and hails the recent conviction of the killers of a crime-crusading journalist.

Pearce commits one major factual error when she refers to Lithuania's "deteriorating economy." While this was definitely the case in the disastrous year of 1992, the economy has now turned the corner. The consumer price index has fallen sharply from a hyperinflationary rate of over 1,000 percent in 1992 to about 50 percent in 1994. GNP growth has also improved substantially from a negative rate to close to 5 percent in 1994. The outlook for the current year, the fifth in Lithuania's

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## LETTERS

resumption of independence, is for continued economic improvement.

Despite the pessimistic tone that permeates much of her article, Pearce presents sufficient evidence to show that the Lithuanian government is now reacting with skill and energy to the magnitude of the job still ahead. It can ill afford to do otherwise.

*Albert Cizauskas  
Retired FSO  
Falls Church, Va.*

*To the Editor:*

I read the article, "Kicking Around Nixon in Caracas" by Bob Amerson (*January Journal*) with great interest. I remembered my favorable impression of then-Vice President Richard Nixon when he received Fidel Castro for a two-hour private conversation when Castro visited the United States in April 1959.

As Cuban desk officer, I, along with Wiley Buchanan, then chief of protocol and Vernon Walters, translator, waited in the hallway outside the vice president's office during the conversation, and recall that when the two men left the vice president's office to meet the press, they were conversing amiably and were in a relaxed mood.

After Castro and his aides had moved on, Nixon asked the three of us to join him for a few minutes in his office, where he told us some of his conversation with Castro: how he had talked to him "like a Dutch uncle" and had stressed to him the importance of not abandoning democracy and friendly relations with the United States. I recall that he then looked directly at me and asked, "How do you think I did?"

I decided honesty would be the best policy and told him that even though I hoped he had an impact, I doubted that he had done much good.

I felt that Castro seemed to have no real belief in or understanding of democracy and confused the applause and idolatrous reception he was then receiving from street crowds in Havana with democratic approval of his policies. The vice president clapped his knees with his hands and said, "That's what I think, too." I heaved an inward sigh of relief.

I look at Cuba and Castro now with 20-20 hindsight and no apologies for U.S. policy. Nixon was undoubtedly a powerful persuader, but Castro, mistakenly, was thinking of another star on which to hitch his wagon and unfortunately for both our countries, it prevailed.

*Robert A. Stevenson  
Retired FSO  
Naples, Fla.*

*To the Editor:*

David Callahan's article, "Assessing Clinton's Foreign Policy" (*January Journal*) is an excellent summary of the challenges facing the administration for the next two years. The sense of the introduction, however, seems contradictory to the analysis of those challenges. Callahan cited what he apparently considered Clinton's "mismanagement of foreign policy problems" while in the rest of the text he praises Clinton for his "important successes." Also, Callahan accurately attributed some of the problems to the situations Clinton inherited, such as the "no-win situation in Haiti."

In spite of his emphasis on domestic policies and contrary to Callahan's assertions, Clinton's intellectual interests, certainly his first love, probably lay in foreign policy, given his early education and experience in that field. Rarely did Clinton mention during his campaign his study at Georgetown's School of Foreign Service, his experi-

## LETTERS

ences in England or his work with the Foreign Relations Committee. These facts Callahan also failed to mention. I also would argue that his tours as governor of Arkansas provided experience in diplomacy, given the need to work with governors and governments in the 49 other states.

Thus, I believe Clinton has, indeed, done well in his pursuit of U.S. foreign policy goals and his conduct of foreign affairs, in spite of attention to domestic issues and given the complexities of the post-Cold War period.

*Earl H. Lubensky*  
Retired FSO  
Columbia, Mo.

*To the Editor:*

I would like to comment on Pamela Anderson's article ("Postcard," January *Journal*). I read her concerns about relating to grandparents as I flew from Vancouver to Philadelphia with our two youngest girls to attend the funeral of my father-in-law. My wife and I grew up with our grandparents, who lived

### Notice

The *Foreign Service Journal* is seeking short memoirs from those who served overseas in the Foreign Service during World War II for a special issue on the 50th anniversary of the armistice. Memoirs can include reminiscences of officers and families traveling through war zones, post experiences and glimpses of the human condition during the war, internments or other hardships, etc. Limit: 1,000 words.

Old photos of FSOs of the period are also welcome and will be returned. Please send typed manuscripts (and on disk, if possible) and photos to Karen Krebsbach, Editor, *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

quite close to us, or in my case, with us.

Over the past 20 years as we raised our four daughters in seven different countries, we often feared that we were depriving them of the closeness that we experienced. Our eyes were opened the following day at my father-in-law's funeral. Our two oldest daughters had flown in from colleges in Virginia and Iowa. I watched them and their two younger sisters grieve for their grandfather, and each, in her turn, remarked on how they had difficulty making decisions, just like granddad; on how they would miss granddad taking them to the Franklin Institute and explaining with gusto the significance of each exhibit or enthusiastically defending one side of an issue or another.

Yes, when abroad it is tough to keep family ties close. However, it can be done, it just takes extra effort, as it takes effort to keep close to college friends or Washington-area neighbors.

*Michael Gallagher*  
Consul General  
Vancouver, Canada ■

### Attention Fiction Writers

The *Foreign Service Journal* welcomes short pieces of fiction, from 2,000-4,000 words, for its annual fiction issue. Preference given for Foreign Service settings, situations and characters. Small honorarium offered. Submissions, on disk and on paper, may be made by June 1 to Karen Krebsbach, Editor, *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

### Correction

Due to an editing error, the article, "Pursuing a Second Career," (February *Journal*) eliminated Ed Williams' comment that foreign police officers learned to make bombs so they could dismantle them.

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# CLIPPINGS



*"To publicly declare that any activity is being moved into the State Department for the sake of efficiency would be to provoke mirth everlasting."*

- MEMO FROM ARMS  
CONTROL AND  
DISARMAMENT AGENCY  
DIRECTOR JOHN  
HOLUM, THE  
WASHINGTON POST,  
FEB. 3

## US SECURITY AGENTS NAB WTC SUSPECT

The alleged mastermind of the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, Ramzi Ahmed Yousef, was arrested in Islamabad, Pakistan, on Feb. 7, Pierre Thomas reported in the Feb. 9 *Washington Post*. Agents from the State Department's Diplomatic Security Service, the Drug Enforcement Administration and the FBI learned that Yousef would be coming to Pakistan and alerted Pakistani officials.

According to authorities, the U.S. embassy regional security officer coordinated the American side of the complex operation and five Diplomatic Security agents participated in the capture of Yousef and his deportation to the United States the next day.

## HELMS TAKES AIM AT AGENCIES AGAIN

The consolidation of the foreign affairs agencies came to a head again when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chair Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) penned a Feb. 14 OpEd piece in *The Washington Post*, which promised to present detailed legislation to merge five foreign affairs agencies into the State Department.

Stephen S. Rosenfeld's Feb. 17 column in the *Post* called Helms' praise of Secretary of State Warren Christopher for proposing the original merger "a kid's trick" aimed at embarrassing Christopher. Rosenfeld wrote that "Christopher was left bravely promising to look at whatever reorganization

plan Helms would now be advancing. Helms ... informed him that issuance of a committee plan with suitable co-sponsorship would 'oblige' the secretary and vice president to pay heed." Helms' proposed legislation has the support of key Republicans in both houses and House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) said he found Helms' proposal "very encouraging."

Clifton R. Wharton, former deputy secretary of State, in a Feb. 21 *Post* column, agreed that Helms was on to something when he criticized the wide array of U.S. foreign activities that hamper a consistent foreign policy. Wharton wrote that any effort to achieve greater coordination and control over international activities must recognize the profusion of bureaus and departments now playing pivotal roles in U.S. foreign policy. "There is a problem of foreign policy disarray, but the Agency for International Development is a poor target for those seeking to address it," he wrote.

"The agency is now on the right track and merging it with the State Department would lose an effective and flexible weapon in building democracy and promoting peace. ... No longer burdened by Cold War imperatives of stemming communism, AID now has the opportunity to ... build foundations for long-term growth and prosperity."

Wharton pointed out that critics "overlook a recognition that the president's constitutional authorities for the conduct of foreign affairs, including AID and its budget, already are invested in the secretary of state by statutes dating from 1789, which state that the secretary 'shall be responsible for the



continuous supervision and general direction of economic assistance, military assistance and military and education programs.”

But while clear-cut on paper, powerful departments such as Treasury, Defense, Agriculture and Commerce historically have had a dominant and often largely independent role in programs they consider in their domain. In theory, disputes should be resolved by an objective National Security Council staff, but in practice the NSC staff has its own agenda, Wharton said.

“It’s little wonder that U.S. foreign affairs often appear both home and overseas to border on the chaotic,” he wrote. “The aim should not be a ‘super’ State Department or a foreign policy ‘czar’ but rather a U.S. foreign policy that looks less like a jigsaw puzzle and more like a well-coordinated, focused approach to our leadership in the world.”

## DARK DAYS AHEAD FOR PEACE CORPS

The Peace Corps, golden child of another budget era, is closing some long-standing overseas operations to make ends meet. Al Kamen reported in the March 1 *Washington Post*. What’s going, among domestic cuts, are small programs in the Seychelles and the Cook Islands, and volunteers in Nigeria. The ambassadors in those countries have protested that the closing of the programs will cause political shock.

U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria Walter C. Carrington cabled, “Pulling out the Peace Corps ... will be seen by the Nigerians as a political decision. It will be interpreted as just another sanction imposed by the U.S. government.” Peace Corps officials pointed out that the two small programs were due for a phaseout anyway.

## STATE ASKS TO SPEND \$35M ON COMPUTERS

State Department officials often feel stuck in the Dark Ages as they wait two hours for electronic mail to make its way to an under secretary one floor above, Steven Greenhouse reported in the March 6 *New York Times*. The snail’s pace of the e-mail system is emblematic of the antiquated computer system at State, where many employees have 15-year-old Wang computers and 80 percent of the data-processing equipment is obsolete.

Employees complain that they cannot use floppy disks with their computers. They cannot explore the internet and they cannot send e-mail to other federal agencies. “We’re one step above electric typewriters,” one senior official said.

Many of State’s computers cannot communicate with the 266 embassies around the world and they often crash, especially during a crush of work. Greenhouse revealed that a computer crash almost delayed the signing of the Israeli-Palestinian agreement at a White House ceremony 18 months ago. In South Korea in November, Secretary of State Warren Christopher was forced to deliver a speech late because the computers in the embassy were not compatible with his speechwriters’ laptop computers.

Under Secretary for Management Richard Moose recalled that 15 years ago State had leading-edge equipment, but admitted that today, “There’s light years of difference between what the Department of Defense has and what we have.” Christopher has pleaded with Congress for money to modernize the computer system, hoping to spend \$35 million a year over the next five years.

# 50 YEARS AGO

The problems of bringing up children in the Foreign Service were addressed by Foreign Service wife Caroline O’Neill. In 1945, as in 1995, parents hoped that the enormous benefits of Foreign Service life would compensate for its defects. Security within the family, strengthened by mutually shared experiences and the more-than-usual necessity to fall back on its own resources, provided a thread of continuity for the Foreign Service family, wrote O’Neill.

Foreign Service children wrote that they accepted the feeling of having no roots as the price they must pay for widespread experiences among many peoples. Most concluded that this sacrifice was well repaid in the increased understanding of humankind it gave them. However, O’Neill cautioned that if a child had a problem or disability, he would suffer much more in such a vagabond life than in a less demanding one. ■

## CLIPPINGS



*"In an under-developed country you can't drink the water; in a developed country you can't breathe the air."*

- ANN LANDERS, "GEM OF THE DAY," FEB. 17

### TRADE NOW STATE'S NO. 1 PRIORITY

Secretary of State Warren Christopher, in a March 6 interview with *Newsweek*, said, "I make no apologies for putting economics at the top of our foreign-policy agenda." Michael Hirsh and Karen Breslau reported that this new strategic vision has meant a new set of priorities for the Foreign Service and a shift of power in Washington where the Department of Commerce has become a policy dynamo with trade-mission-a-month headlines.

When ambassadors are not dealing with emergencies, their No. 1 priority is to help out whichever U.S. business happens to be in town, according to *Newsweek*. Christopher has encour-

aged the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) to overhaul its curriculum, with scenarios based on trade talks rather than brinkmanship.

"To be relevant in today's world, people have to do this stuff," said a State Department official. As an example, *Newsweek* cited the auto show that Ambassador James Laney hosted on the front lawn of his home in South Korca, displaying "Buicks and Fords like a late-night TV huckster," according to the article.

*Newsweek* says that the entire intelligence and security bureaucracy is seeking a broader mission to justify themselves to a knife-wielding Congress. "Since we don't have geopolitics anymore, trade is the name of the game," acknowledged a Christopher adviser. ■



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# SPEAKING OUT

## *German Oral Exam is More Professional Than U.S. Test*

BY BERNARD R. UNDEN

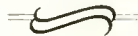
I have grave reservations about the U.S. Foreign Service exam and selection process, consider the oral assessment component to be fatally flawed, and believe it would greatly benefit from mimicking its German counterpart. I passed the written portion of the U.S. Foreign Service exam in 1991 and 1993; however, I failed the oral portion in 1992 and 1994. To familiarize myself with the German diplomatic program, I interviewed officials at the German Foreign Ministry extensively about its contents and application.

Although the U.S. written exam lacks foreign language and essay components, it is just as challenging as its German counterpart. However, the oral assessment in its current format is but a patchwork of contrived situations, in which candidates are made to feel more like grade-schoolers under the stern eye of the principal rather than responsible, mature adults. As one candidate put it two years ago, "They [the assessors] really make you feel inadequate."

The State Department is putting the cart before the horse by requiring aspiring diplomats to pose as full-fledged officers when delivering the mock *démarche*, to answer hypothetical questions allegedly requiring no prior knowledge of Foreign Service rules and regulations, and to role-play in a simulated embassy task force meeting. Could not — should not — such situations be

*Bernard R. Unden is a freelance translator, editor and interpreter of German, French and English in Heidelberg, Germany.*

*The oral exam is  
but a patchwork  
of continued  
situations.*



rehearsed within the framework of the post-selection training period?

Instead, candidates should be required to present oral reports on current political, economic and cultural issues, on which they would be challenged and questioned by the assessors. Not only would this measure the examinees' analytical, interpersonal and oral communication skills, but it would test even further their knowledge of current affairs. As for those much-touted leadership skills, a sentient observer ought to be able to infer them from the aplomb shown by a candidate during his presentation and the ensuing discussion.

Also why make the writing of an essay part of the oral assessment? And why not have a foreign-language/culture component? Besides, why does Uncle Sam persist in discriminating against oral assessment candidates living abroad by letting them bear the entire cost of their travel to the United States? By virtue of their cross-cultural experience and foreign-language skills, these individuals may be among the most promising Foreign Service candidates. Foreign-language profi-

ciency coupled with cross-cultural experience would permit successful candidates to devote more time to learning the "trade" of diplomacy — as well as additional foreign languages and other relevant subjects — during their training.

I also consider the applicant-screening process too lax. Why doesn't the State Department tighten the eligibility criteria by making a master's degree — or any advanced degree — and proficiency in at least one major foreign language, which often goes along with cross-cultural experience, mandatory for application to the Foreign Service? Some will argue that introducing such requirements would run counter to the long-standing American tradition of letting people's abilities speak for themselves and discriminate against the educationally and culturally deprived. But then, what about that other very American trait, pragmatism? For, in our meritocracy, aren't we supposed to work hard to attain our goals? And wouldn't we rather be represented abroad by an elite corps of sophisticated professionals worthy of that name?

The program to enter the German diplomatic service deviates from the American one in several respects. As in the United States, the winnowing process for the Germans begins with an application package consisting of many different forms and transcripts, including a narrative autobiography. To be eligible for the program, a German applicant must be under age 32, have a graduate degree and a good command of both English and French

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(or another official U.N. language); be a German citizen and be in good health. Of the estimated 2,000 original applicants, about 600 will remain in the running after the application-screening process.

Several factors, all considered particularly relevant to a career in Germany's diplomatic corps, tilt the scales in favor of a candidate: grade point average on the *abitur*, the rigorous final exam at the end of high school; proficiency in "exotic" languages; extended stays abroad for work and/or study purposes; and work or work-related experience in the fields of politics, economics, public administration or culture.

The survivors of this first bureaucratic hecatomb are invited to a one-day written examination consisting of a test of English and French (or another official U.N. language); a one-hour essay on either foreign policy, domestic policy or economics; and four 30-item questionnaires to plumb the candidates' general-education level and test their knowledge of recent history and politics, economics, and German and international law. The written examination further decimates the ranks of aspiring diplomats, cutting their number to about 200, but the resilient ones will be afforded several other chances in their bid to eventually drape themselves in the pin-striped cloth of the trade — one try per year — until they reach the age limit.

Those who make it through the written exam wringer are invited to take part in a three-day oral examination administered in Bonn at the Foreign Ministry's training center. The federal government bears the travel expenses to Germany of exam candidates living abroad. The rigorous oral assessment, a no-repeat exam, consists of an introductory personal interview, the presentation of a short report on an assigned topic and a sub-

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sequent discussion with assessors, oral tests in the chosen language combination, a psychological test and a concluding personal interview with the selection committee.

Panel members then draw up a list of the 35 candidates they consider best suited for the country's diplomatic corps, which is submitted to the foreign minister for approval. The last survivors, now boasting the coveted title of attachés, are not yet out of the woods. For, in the spring of the following year, they will embark (provided they and their dependents pass a rigorous physical) on a demanding two-year training course at the Bonn *diplomaten-schule*.

At the school, the fledgling diplomats receive a thorough training in a number of job-relevant areas like modern history and politics, economics, law, area studies, public speaking, foreign languages, negotiating techniques, etc. The training is both theoretical and practical, with foreign language study abroad and economics workshops in German corporations and chambers of commerce at home and abroad. Tenure in the "higher" diplomatic service will not be given the young attachés until after they have overcome the final hurdle, the so-called *laufbahnprüfung*, or career examination, which caps the training period. Although the *laufbahnprüfung* is by no means a mere formality, all examinees usually pass it and graduate from the school.

While some may perceive the fairly low age limit for applicants and the limited number of repeat exams as somewhat unfair, no one can earnestly dispute that the Teutonic thoroughness of the three-day oral assessment and two-year training period imparts an aura of professionalism to the German diplomatic corps that the current U.S. Foreign Service — its long pre-tenure period notwithstanding — fails to convey. ■

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# GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

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DIVORCING WIFE OF ALLEGED SPY FELIX BLOCH  
FIGHTS FOR SHARE OF HIS PENSION, HEALTH CARE

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BY KAREN KREBSBACH



*Lucille and  
Felix Bloch  
pose on their  
wedding day on  
Sept. 13, 1959.*

**C**HAPEL HILL, N.C. — The posh country club community of Governor's Club is the kind of place where neighbors understand the craving for privacy. Wide, gracefully winding roads, fringed by huge shade trees, take visitors past enormous mini-estates and smaller, elegant colonials, most discreetly hidden

behind wooden fences or rows of trees.

It is here, in a modest three-bedroom, three-bath ranch one wag dubbed "the Ford Escort of the neighborhood," that Lucille and Felix Bloch intended to retreat in retirement as a reward for 31 years of service to their country. But it was not meant to be.

The house the couple built in 1992 and furnished with family heirlooms and mementos of their Foreign Service life in six countries, is now a sanctuary for only Lu Bloch, estranged wife of the country's highest-ranking alleged spy since Alger Hiss.

Clad in sweatpants and a sweatshirt, Lu Bloch rounds the driveway in her cranberry Gran Prix and eases it into the two-car garage, expertly avoiding her grandsons' bicycles. Inside the house, her playful white Kaluga, Mephisto, greets her at the door, tail wagging. She absently cuddles him briefly and glances at her watch, a Mickey Mouse design that marks time with a roving basketball, and heads for the answering machine.

"Onward with the fight," she says to a visitor in a low voice made raspy by years of heavy smoking, her one acknowledged vice. With one hand, she rewinds the answering machine tape, and with the other sorts the mail in search of correspondence from a host of pro-bono attorneys or some of the dozens of legislators she's contacted in her 5 1/2-year battle against the State Department.

All she wants is her half of her husband's \$50,000-a-year State Department pension and access to federal employees' health insurance, benefits denied to her husband by the State Department in the spring of 1992. Bloch has been estranged from her husband off and on since October 1989, and legally separated since March 1993. On the advice of her attorneys, she has delayed completing her divorce against Felix, 59, since his job as a Chapel Hill city bus driver allows her to be covered by his health insurance.

"To say the least, I am frustrated," Lu Bloch says. "First of all, because I have been forced to fight like a tiger for something I've already earned. Secondly, that heartless institutions of the U.S. government continue to play bureaucratic ping-pong with my life. And thirdly, that congresspeople are not being responsive to genuine requests for them to stand for some modicum of decency and justice for a citizen whose basic rights have been denied her."

This June will mark six years since the FBI and

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

State Department accused Bloch, a Foreign Service officer, of passing classified documents in Paris to an alleged Soviet agent, known as Reino Gikman/Pierre Bart, who has long since disappeared. Yet, to date, despite an intensive investigation by the FBI, the Justice Department and a grand jury, Felix Bloch has not been arrested or indicted and has always publicly maintained his innocence, saying he had only traded stamps with Gikman/Bart. FBI sources say the case is "still open" since there is no statute of limitations on espionage. And, as an agent told Lu Bloch in 1989, "Felix Bloch will be followed for the rest of his life."

The State Department suspended Bloch without pay from his \$81,400-a-year job on Feb. 7, 1990; on Nov. 5 of that year, he was fired under a little-used statute allowing dismissal of employees for "reasons of national security." Whether he would receive a pension or health benefits was debated among senior officials for three years. Under law, a divorced spouse who has been married to a Foreign Service officer for his entire career is entitled to receive half his pension.

Congress is now considering a bill, filed by U.S. Rep. Carolyn B. Maloney (D-N.Y.) on Jan. 25 and cosponsored by U.S. Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Col.), and now before U.S. Rep. Benjamin Gilman's (R-N.Y.) International Relations Committee. The bill would amend the Foreign Service Act to allow retirement, survivor and health benefits to spouses of Foreign Service officers who are disqualified themselves "due to misconduct or disloyalty to the United States ... if such spouse had no involvement in such misconduct or disloyalty." The Foreign Service Act of 1980 had recognized that spouses and divorced spouses of FSOs should receive these benefits in recognition for their years of unpaid service.

"The act left a loophole through which Mrs. Bloch has fallen," Maloney says. "She played no part in any

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*"Mrs. Bloch is being punished by a State Department that was never able to punish her husband," says U.S. Rep. Carolyn B. Maloney, D-N.Y., who has filed a bill to amend the Foreign Service Act on Lu Bloch's behalf.*

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alleged misconduct by her husband and no question has ever been raised against her. Yet she is being punished by a State Department that was never able to punish her husband."

Lu says other Foreign Service officers have speculated that Felix signed away the rights to his pension in return for immunity from prosecution, but his Georgetown attorney John M. Bray declined comment on the case.

For 3 1/2 years, she says she was stonewalled by the State Department in her quiet efforts to settle her case. Two years ago, she tired of the silence and began making noise, starting a grassroots legislative campaign and a media blitz to save her reputation and claim her share of her husband's pension. She has also repeatedly asked U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno for a long-promised letter of "exoneration" because she had cooperated with the 1989-91 FBI-Justice Department investigation. "I would put 'exonera-

tion' in quotes because I've always felt that I shouldn't have to ask for exoneration from something I never did in the first place," she says. So far, no reply.

State Department officials will not comment on the case, but a Justice Department spokesperson says Lu Bloch was never under investigation for espionage.

"If they have a case [against Felix], let them prove it," she says. "But I had no way of knowing. And now I have no financial security, even though I served my country for 31 years. I am not asking for charity — I earned it. Doesn't the State Department have a responsibility to spouses of Foreign Service officers?"

Lu Bloch claims she was the typical Foreign Service wife who "served my country faithfully, loyally and without compensation," helping her husband entertain the numerous dignitaries who visited their homes, serving on countless committees and boards

at each post, working without pay at the schools and hospitals of various host countries and volunteering as a teacher of the children of U.S. embassy personnel. She estimates her representational duties took up many hours, especially at foreign posts, during her husband's 31 years as an FSO.

She argues that she also "gave up my own career aspirations, my chances to develop my own pension and health benefit plans ... out of love for him and what I believed to be our mutual dedication and commitment to public service."

As Lu Bloch told NBC journalist Katie Courie in a 1993 interview, "Whatever I did reflected not only on my country, but on my husband. I was mentioned in his every annual efficiency report. I was graded as well. And we — even as women, we accepted the State Department's proposition, two for the price of one, which meant they got a free person



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married to a Foreign Service officer. In other words, uncompensated, but expected to do the job."

In 1973, the State Department announced that spouses' contributions and conduct would no longer be part of Foreign Service officers' evaluations.

Bloch's case is being backed by the Council of American Ambassadors, the National Conference of Women's Bar Associations and the American Foreign Service Association. And, though she may have her advocates, she also has her share of skeptics: Sen. Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) and former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, himself a former FSO, have both gone on record saying she is fighting a lost cause.

Still, Lu Bloch persists. She has grown used to waiting.

At eye level on her refrigerator door, covered with grocery lists, coupons, family photos and the handprints of her toddler grandsons, William and Peter,

is a magnet with bright red lettering. She keeps it atop the clutter, reading it for daily sustenance. "La patience est tout," it counsels in French: "Patience is everything."

**G**rowing up in Saluda, N.C., (population: 500) the blonde, athletic Lucille Stephenson realized she'd never be the demure Southern belle of her mother's dreams, because she had dreams of her own.

But it was too small a town for Lu Stephenson. "I was always in a big hurry to get out," she remembers. "I knew there was a bigger world out there that I had to see."

She graduated from Saluda High School in 1953, valedictorian of her class of 60. But her most treasured honor was the school's Best All-Around Athlete award of her senior year; she played in neighborhood co-ed football, baseball and tennis games, as well as leading the girls' basketball team her senior year,

where she garnered 44 points in one game, even though she stands only 5 feet 4 and 1/2 inches.

Although her mother, Kathleen Garren, a refined beauty active in community public service, counseled her on the social graces, her bond was strongest with her father, a car salesman who became a county commissioner and, later, a Democratic state senator, a man "who never stopped talking about politics." An old-time liberal to the core, Joseph Raymond "Ray" Stephenson, known as "R.J.R.," believed deeply in education. "Dad expected me to excel," she said. "I was taught that women were just as intelligent as men. ... I guess I wanted to follow in my dad's footsteps and go into politics." And as daddy's girl, she was pushed by him toward a career in law or public service.

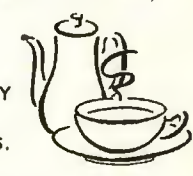
At age 18, a restless bundle of nerves, Lu Stephenson was anxious to fling herself headlong into life. And,

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although she knew she would get pinned, become engaged and get married after college, she still wanted to study, still wanted to be somebody on her own. "It was the '50s, remember, and my generation was apathetic," she says. "But I wasn't."

At the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina in Greensboro, N.C., she dove into class activities, becoming president of the Young Democrats Club, and joining Americans for Democratic Action, the student legislature and the Golden Chain Honor Society. After graduating with degrees in history and political science in 1957, she won a full scholarship to Johns Hopkins University and was accepted to two law schools. She decided to take the fellowship at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University in Bologna, Italy, and put law school on hold for two years.

In her heart, Lu Stephenson yearned for a diplomatic career, but she knew the U.S. Foreign Service accepted only single women. Already, in an informational interview with a career diplomat who was a friend of her father's, she was warned that she would never pass the Foreign Service exam because she was "too good looking" and the Service wouldn't want "to train and then lose somebody (to marriage). It's too expensive." But, she remembers thinking, "I bet I'd be a good diplomat's wife."

Indeed she would.

Lu Bloch recalls the spring when she realized she was in love with Felix Bloch.

They had met in 1957 in Bologna, both 22-year-old graduate students in the same program. He had just received his undergraduate degree in business from the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania. And though they had initially "fancied

other people," Lu recalls they eventually got together.

She remembers him as "handsome, more conservative than me, and idealistic — someone dedicated to becoming a public servant. All he would talk about was joining the Foreign Service." She was awed by his family's legacy — his Jewish parents had fled Vienna in 1939, with their four-year-old twins, Felix and Susi, immigrating to New York via China only a year after the Nazis marched into Austria. His parents, Frederick and Hetty Stein Bloch, changed their Jewish faith to Presbyterian and managed a successful paper export business. His mother still lives in an apartment on Manhattan's east '90s.

Felix Stephen Bloch had been different from the men she knew back home; he was more sophisticated, more worldly, more reserved. A lover of opera and collector of stamps and Gustav Klimt works, he was an enigma to her. "He didn't pester me and try to land me in bed," she recalled. "He was always a gentleman. He would always bring me pink and white carnations." During the school year, they met often over cups of steaming espresso. "It was then that I realized we were pretty much in love, although he says he has been from the moment we met," she says. "It was about then that I knew I'd spend the rest of my life with him."

She found they perfectly complemented each other, although she now laughs that "he was the only guy I knew who wore cufflinks on his pajamas." He was awed by this vivacious blonde belle with perfect manners and warm Southern charm. She loved his dark good looks, muscular physique and brooding intelligence and was touched by his deep devotion to his family: Felix was particularly influenced by his grandfather, a wealthy Austrian industrialist. His only flaw, as far as she could see, was that he was "a lousy tennis

player. I couldn't understand. He was 6 feet tall with a 3-foot arm span. What an advantage!"

After he proposed to her in 1958 on the shores of Lake Woerthesee in his native Austria, they had many discussions about their future together. He had his eye on a career as a diplomat and had already passed the written Foreign Service exam. Upon returning to the States, he passed his orals in the fall of 1958, entering the Foreign Service as an FSO-8 that November.

She moved back to Washington to finish her graduate degree, and then to her parents' home to await the wedding three months away. They both saved furiously: Felix, enrolled in the A-100 beginning officers' course at the Foreign Service Institute, was earning \$5,400 a year; she was earning \$2,800 a year teaching tennis to high school students.

It was a rocky period for the pair. "He was very moody, which later on would develop into a deeper depression," she says. "He was always getting upset about little things." It would only be later, long after their marriage began, that she would recall certain outbursts, hints of the "acerbic tongue and fierce, out-of-control temper that I hadn't seen earlier. But then, maybe that's why he was always impressed by my coolness. He was always the nervous one. ... It was clear it was indicative of his parents' criticism."

But his hot temper hadn't been enough to stop the wedding. The 24-year-old pair was married on Sept. 13, 1959, in a Presbyterian church near her hometown, followed by an outdoor reception. Guests shared the joke that many of her relatives had thought the groom was Australian, not Austrian.

**F**elix's first Foreign Service job was as an intelligence research specialist at State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR). They lived in a

one-bedroom, second-floor walkup at Porter and Connecticut streets in Northwest Washington and drove her father's beat-up Dodge.

She looked desperately for work, almost landing a job at the Bolivian ambassador's office, but the State Department ordered her not to take the job, since her husband had "a very sensitive position." It was a refrain she would hear often in the next 30 years. She finally found a job at Blue Cross Blue Shield, which she kept as they waited for Felix's first overseas assignment.

Though he was initially assigned to the consular section in Rome, the assignment was switched at the last moment to Dusseldorf, a post Felix accepted, since he preferred to be "a big fish in a small pond." He worked in the consulate's commercial section for 2 1/2 years, from December 1960 to April 1963.

Looking back, these were the years when Lu began noticing a change in the man she had married. In Dusseldorf, she remembers him as "very insecure, which manifested itself into a superior attitude; he was really quite a snob." He talked often about money, and though he was no miser, he was "a bit of a penny pincher." Still he always bought the best quality clothing and other goods, though frequently delayed paying bills until the last moment. He scanned the stock pages daily, constantly switching the couple's meager savings among various investments, aiming for the best returns. "For me it was ideal," she says. "He was so interested in money. My eyes would glaze over at stock portfolios." His temper would rear more frequently now, and he would sometimes fly into a fury "when I would put too much postage on an envelope," Lu says. His interest in money would gradually "move way beyond fascination. It became sheer obsession."

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collection, a massive collection of dozens of volumes of sealed pages of stamps, which he had begun at age 7. Clearly Felix's most valued possession, the stamp collection followed the family to each post, but it would "drive me nuts," Lu Bloch says. "It was totally boring to me. All I know is it took up a lot of our allotted (moving) weight."

They had two daughters by the time Felix started his next tour in October 1963 as a consular officer in Caracas, where they rented a penthouse apartment in Los Palos Grandes and she taught English at a private school near the embassy. Kathleen and Andrea were 2 years old and 3 months old, respectively, and, in the European tradition of his own father, Felix was a distant and aloof parent. Nevertheless, he tried to pass on to his daughters the values that had shaped his own life: responsibility, hard work, education and the worth of money.

In 1965, they returned to the United States, where Felix earned his master's degree in economics at Berkeley in one year, followed by a move back to Washington from 1966-70 for Felix's next job in the European Bureau dealing with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). It would be the first time the couple felt financially secure. They bought their first house — a \$46,900 two-story, five-bedroom home in Bethesda, and she took a job in research at the Association of American Medical Colleges. Lu Bloch remembers it as "one of the best times of our lives. We were very, very happy."

Everything changed when the family moved to West Berlin in 1970, as Felix became the No. 3 man in the economic section. This was a period the FBI would later study more deeply than his other postings, believing this is where the foundation was laid for the alleged espionage.

"Our relationship changed subtly," she says. "But I attributed it to the stress of Felix's job. From the moment we arrived in Berlin, it was a super-charged city, very vibrant. There, people were fabulous. Everything was political, the intrigue palpable. East Germany was surrounded by the Soviet army and our phone was always tapped. Before we hung up, we would say good night to François, Igor, John and Nevil, for the French, the Russians, the Americans and the British who were eavesdropping. You had to take it all with a grain of salt."

Felix thrived on the intensity, but they began living increasingly separate lives. Felix buried himself in his work, toiling long hours. She tutored students in English, practiced her German, did volunteer work, taught Sunday school and a course on Berlin history and became active in the German-American Women's Society. Their daughters, then 8 and 10, spent most of their time with their *au pair*, taking ballet lessons and learning horseback riding, that latter gratis because their mother traded tennis lessons to the stable's owner.

Other things changed, too. Although the family had been regular Presbyterian churchgoers, Felix now stopped attending services altogether, offering no explanation. When she pressed him, he would say only, "The whole idea of God is absurd. And I have nothing more to say. That's it." He just didn't want to be a part of it any more," she says. Nevertheless, she continued to take the girls, saying nothing more to him about the issue.

As the city's moral depravity and class consciousness began affecting him, she noticed other subtle changes as well. He began telling frequent off-color jokes at parties. He became increasingly disinterested in his daughters and their activities. She also noted his roving eye, and although she would never catch him in an affair, she often

voiced her suspicions. He would only scoff at her, saying, "You're just a jealous woman." The FBI would later confirm that his numerous affairs — including some sadomasochistic ones — had begun during this period.

"Was I supposed to believe the FBI or my husband?" she says. "The man I married would have had too much integrity for that. Nothing, nothing gave me cause to think he had those tendencies. ... What signal did I miss?" she asks. "I thought he was a workaholic," she mused. "A lot of things in his job were none of my business. I respected his profession."

Despite his reduced affections, she rejected numerous offers for affairs herself, mostly from German politicians, feeling herself "too moral." She was again noticing the gradual disintegration of Felix's moral fiber, attributing his growing dark moods and cynical remarks to his bitterness at being denied a promotion to the senior Foreign Service.

In the late summer of 1974, Felix was assigned to East Berlin in the first newly created European country since the Versailles Treaty. The family lived in East Berlin for seven months, a period that would create horrible memories for Lu and the girls. "Felix wanted the job," she wrote in her unpublished memoirs, *Subject to the Needs of the Foreign Service*. "[But] I couldn't stomach East Berlin. 'Its smell of ... Lysol and formaldehyde, its brown cold dust everywhere, its all-pervasive oppressive atmosphere, its Soviet 'protectors' on every street corner, its Stasi, its sad people — everything about East Germany repelled and repulsed me."

But, being a good Foreign Service wife, she dutifully set up house, continuing to shuttle the girls back and forth daily to their school and horseback riding lessons in West Berlin for the entire seven months.

In the spring of 1975, Felix received

a letter from the State Department, notifying him he was "gloppable," the term, short for "global outlook program," for a Henry Kissinger idea that FSOs needed global experience, not just geographic specialties. Lu and her daughters were grateful for a chance to escape "the East German hellhole" for Singapore, where Felix became counselor of economic, political and commercial affairs. In 1977, Felix asked to return to Washington, so the girls could finish high school in the States and have a better shot at U.S. college acceptances. As Felix traveled to various foreign posts for the Inspector General's office, it would be a period of loneliness and personal tragedy for Lu, including the brutal rape and murder of her sister-in-law and the nine-month hospitalization of her youngest daughter.

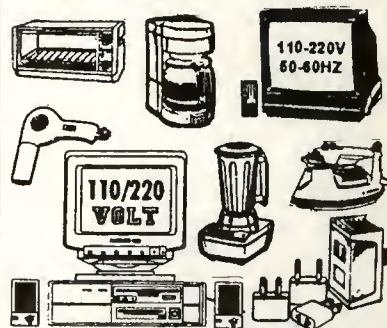
Life took another turn for the Blochs in 1980, when the family began a seven-year posting in Vienna. For Felix and Lu, it was a kind of homecoming, since many of the couple's old friends from Bologna were living in or near Vienna.

Felix was named counsellor for economic affairs and the Blochs moved into what Lu Bloch recalls as a "rather drab" 30-room villa with a huge garden; the family had use of a car and driver and a half dozen servants. Still, the Vienna post required "endless entertaining," including breakfasts, lunches and dinners for various dignitaries; at one point, Lu counted more than 5,000 visitors who had passed through their home. In a thank-you note to Lu from the visiting Barbara Bush, the vice president's wife penned, "You're a pro and it shows."

But in Felix, she noticed "a sadness. He didn't seem to be enjoying anything." Later she would learn from the FBI that this was the period during which he began his weekly, hour-long Saturday morning visits to the Austrian prostitute Tina Jirousek, who

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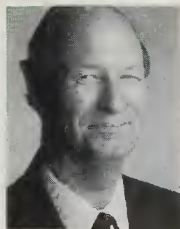
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would provide him sadomasochistic sex for an estimated \$10,000 a year for seven years. According to various press accounts, Jirousek said Felix Bloch "wanted to be humiliated." When he arrived at 10 a.m., she would force him to kneel, kiss her boots and, crawling on his hands and knees, bring the enveloped \$250 fee to her in his teeth. Jirousek would later be flown secretly to Washington in 1989 to testify about Bloch's sex habits to a grand jury.

But all Lu Bloch noticed about that period, during which she pined for her daughters away at U.S. colleges, was that her husband was a workaholic. She recalls he went to the office regularly on Saturdays and often on Sundays and he refused to take vacations, even in 1984, when his parents offered them a trip to Greece for their 25th wedding anniversary.

"Vienna is eating us alive," she remembers lamenting to Felix during those years. But he ignored her complaints and the couple lived increasingly separate lives. They both threw themselves into their work, he at the embassy and she as a U.N. consultant with assignments in Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City and Los Carlos Paz, Argentina.

In May 1983, Felix Bloch was promoted to deputy chief of mission at the embassy, his highest post yet, and he dreamed of an ambassadorship of his own. But for her, it meant the doubling of her representational responsibilities, so she reluctantly gave up her consulting work. "But I saw myself as a public servant," she recalls. "And I had a job to do."

Things changed, however, in 1986, with the political appointment of Ambassador Ronald S. Lauder, the billionaire heir to the cosmetics fortune that bears the name of his mother, Estee Lauder. He and Felix argued constantly; years later, Felix would call him "the laughingstock of Vienna," with Lauder retorting that

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Bloch was "a Benedict Arnold." Due to the acrimonious relationship, Bloch was withdrawn from the embassy, returning to Washington in 1987, where he did a year of senior seminar and, in 1988, was assigned as head of the European Bureau's Office of Regional Politics and Economics — his last job at State.

Looking back on it all, Lu Bloch wonders if she could have seen it coming.

That horrible day of June 25, 1989, is etched forever in her memory: She and Felix were returning from New York City, where they had visited their daughters and his parents. She had just flown in from Austria after a business trip for the American Austrian Foundation, where she had been executive director for nearly a year, moving its headquarters from New York City to Washington earlier that year.

As Felix steered their silver Mercedes toward Washington, she thumbed through the mail, smiling at finding the airplane tickets he had promised her for a birthday trip to Paris the following month. Their conversation suddenly slowed to silence. "Softly, he said, 'I'm in deep shit,'" she recalls. "Since he never talked like that, I knew something was wrong." Her Teutonic husband rambled on about "illegality" and "foreign contacts," but still she was confused. "I thought it was a bizarre joke, since he did have a weird sense of humor. Then he said, 'I received a call from a friend who said he wasn't feeling well and that he hoped I didn't have the virus.'" The call, reportedly from Glikman/Bart and recorded by the FBI, was the last anyone heard of the elusive Soviet agent.

Without saying more, he pulled over at a roadside shop for coffee, and when they were outside the car, she asked him, "You're not trying to tell me that you betrayed your country?"

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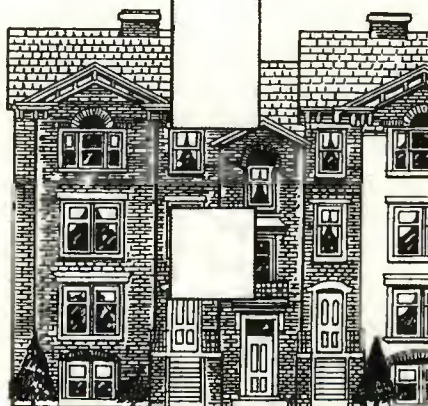
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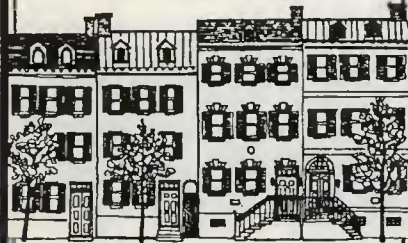
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His reply was quiet, but distinct: "No."

She asked him if he had been "compromised."

He said, "I can't tell you, but it's serious. Look around you." She was surprised to see 12 men who had emerged from cars parked nearby, who were waiting for them to resume their drive. It was then she realized their Mercedes was bugged, too.

"I remember feeling numb," she recalls.

But when she walked into their California Street apartment an hour later, her numbness turned to anger. Without a search warrant, FBI agents had rifled their two-bedroom condo, poking holes in bookshelves, ripping papers from bulletin boards, leaving windows open, breaking a chandelier while trying to install a bug, and confiscating the couple's computer, private papers, financial records and address books. Shaking, she poured herself a glass of wine, surveyed the damage and went to bed, falling into a restless sleep. Felix, she recalls, went immediately to bed, where he "slept like a baby." It would not be the last time Lu Bloch would be surprised by her husband's attitude.

When she woke at 7 a.m., her first thought was, "This all must be a dreadful mistake or a bad dream." But when she spied from her window 12 FBI agents watching from their cars, it became clear that this was the beginning of an unrelenting headache. Little did she know it would not end for six months.

On July 21, the story broke with "a tidal wave of press reports," Lu recalls. It was her youngest daughter's 26th birthday; Andrea vividly remembers watching the TV report and screaming at the screen, "That's not my father!"

In Washington, more than 100 journalists staked out the couple's apartment, swarming around them so often that they took to donning dis-

guises; she issued a statement through her attorney saying she was "distressed, but standing by her husband."

For half a year, she says agents followed her and her husband and "harassed" the couple's daughters in New York. Their mail arrived opened; taps were installed in their apartment, their car, their phone line. The couple's diplomatic passports were seized. She was forced to resign her job.

"Every day, there was another blow," she recalled. And still, Felix continued his stony silence. The State Department wouldn't return her phone calls. Friends stopped calling her. She was ostracized by the Foreign Service community she had known for 30 years — except for one friend, Kay Polansky, wife of Ambassador Sol Polansky, who wrote a warm note of concern and would later visit.

"She is a strong woman and she is a fair woman," Kay Polansky said in a telephone interview from her Bethesda, Md., home. "The question of her loyalty to this country, being the daughter of a North Carolina senator and her patriotism was without a doubt something she's felt very strongly about." Polansky said she was "disappointed" to see so many Foreign Service colleagues abandon Lu Bloch.

Lu Bloch understands, but bristles at the suggestion that, if she truly knew her husband, she should have at least suspected, if not known, about the alleged espionage. "People think I'm either a liar or stupid, and I have to say, I'm neither," she says.

In August, she left Felix and his "curtain of silence," fleeing to Cape Cod to a friend's house. Four agents dutifully followed. She needed to think, to sort out the details, to find her own lawyer, to figure out her options. "I felt like a ping-pong ball," she recalled. "I wanted to find out what was going on, I wanted to find my own anchor. All I wanted was to

*Continued on page 28*

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*Continued from page 26*

get into his head and figure it out, why he did it, what moral justifications he had. I wanted to, but I couldn't."

In September, she returned to the Washington apartment, moved into the den and hired her own lawyer to determine her next move. She told Felix she was going to divorce him because "I just couldn't continue to live that way anymore." Fearing they would be overheard, the couple wrote notes to each other, burning them afterwards in an ashtray. One day, he wrote her, "Come for lunch," depositing the ashes of the evidence in the fireplace. She remembers smelling the Juicy Fruit on the breath of the trailing FBI agents as the pair headed toward a nearby Subway sandwich shop, situating themselves under a loudspeaker so they wouldn't be overheard. "He was crying, begging me to reconsider my decision to divorce him," she said. "But I still didn't know what he did or didn't do. I always thought that, whatever he had done, he would fix it."

As Lu Bloch was entering the golden years of her retirement, she had never felt more isolated nor frightened. Felix's official dismissal brought the cancellation of their health insurance; the couple's insurance bill — which had been \$299.39 per quarter under the federal plan — ballooned to estimates of \$34,000 a year, with a \$5,000-per-person deductible. When she asked the insurance company how much it would cost if coverage was for one person only — herself — they quoted her a price of \$17,000 a year.

Meanwhile, the FBI continued to feed her tidbits of Felix's alleged espionage activities in Europe: For at least five years and possibly for up to 15 years, he was believed to have compromised his posts in Berlin and Vienna. They threatened to indict her as a co-conspirator if she did not cough up all details. Slowly, gradually, she submitted to questioning by FBI

and Justice Department officials, who quizzed her on every facet of their lives. Their last question, after four three-hour grueling sessions, was about the naming of their dog, Mephisto. "I just laughed," she recalled. "I knew it sounded sinister. I told them that I had found him, I had bought him and I had named him. I don't know if they believed me."

Still, none of it made sense to her. Felix had never expressed any sympathy for communism or the Soviet Union. And while she knew he had been angry and frustrated in his aspirations for an ambassadorship, she's not convinced he would commit treason out of spite. Later, FBI agents admitted they had two theories: Either Felix Bloch was being blackmailed by the Soviets because of his sexual habits or he was selling secrets to pay for sex. But Bloch didn't appear to want for money: Three years of financial disclosure forms from 1987-1990 placed the couple's assets at between \$300,000 and \$1 million, according to press reports.

Try as she would, Lu would not be able to convince Felix to be candid about the alleged espionage — or even the sadomasochistic affairs. Although he finally admitted to having visited the Austrian prostitute, whenever she pressed him about the alleged spying, his response was always the same: "There are certain secrets that will go with me to my grave," or "It's better for you not to know, and better for me, too." She remained uncertain about his innocence.

But why would he do it?

"Why? I don't know," she says, lighting another cigarette. "He had a wonderful family, two lovely daughters, a great career. I wish I knew. But his betraying his country — it is still inconceivable to me that he would have done that. I now know that he has not always told me the truth. He had lived a lie for a long time."

Still, the FBI continued its search for the elusive Reino Gikman/Pierre Bart. According to a March 17, 1994, issue of the magazine, *Der Stern*, the German equivalent of a cross between *People* magazine and the *National Enquirer*, the FBI took out an ad asking the spy to defect to the United States in the magazine *Der Spiegel*, the German equivalent of the *Economist*, which he was known to read regularly. The ad read, in part, that "the firm, Reino Gikman Industries, is seeking a skillful, international world traveler who is familiar with Eastern European methods but also had American contacts," promising "financial security and responsibility for all legal questions which might arise, and to take care of necessary preparations for resettling you and your family." Written responses were to be sent to Fernand Paul and Pierre Bart (both Gikman aliases) at a post office box in Washington, D.C. The ad brought no responses, according to the article. The FBI declined comment on whether agency officials placed the ad.

She doesn't care if her husband sacrificed his own career and disgraced himself, but she is angry that he has irreparably sullied her reputation, too.

Now, she says she's too young for social security and too old to get a job, even though she has plenty of job experience, holds a master's degree and can speak three languages. In the last five years, despite applying for nearly 200 jobs, she never received one interview. Friends and professional acquaintances dropped away; her Christmas card list, which once numbered more than 300 names, dwindled to 50. Alone and alienated, Lu Bloch brooded about her future and made herself believe that the entire ordeal may just have been a big mistake. In late 1991, Lu Bloch took her lawyer's advice and decided to live with her husband and try to make the marriage work.

"I didn't know anything anymore," she says. "I told myself I could live with it — I'm not going to get a job. ... Maybe he's not the biggest spy since Alger Hiss. I'll give it another try. I resigned myself to believing I would never know. After all, the FBI had come up with nothing in two years."

Assessing her limited options — to remain married or forego any chance of receiving a portion of Felix's pension — Lu reluctantly decided to follow through on their plans for retirement, Chapel Hill, a community of 40,000. "Felix always said he didn't care where it was, as long as it was with me," she says.

In May 1992, they moved into the home they designed together. The house, unpretentious but elegant on an acre of wooded land, sports a two-car garage, a study for each of them, three full baths, a living room with peaked roof, a small dining room, kitchen and a master bedroom with two single beds. From the beginning, Lu Bloch says, they slept in separate rooms.

A month after they moved in, the State Department denied Felix Bloch his pension. She remembers the following summer as one of the lowest points of her husband's life. By this time, "it wasn't important to me anymore if he was guilty or not, I just wanted some resolution. I was so disgusted. I just felt abandoned and betrayed." Felix was feeling equally isolated. One day, while visiting the Statue of Liberty together, Felix was so depressed that she offered to help him commit suicide. He didn't take her up on her offer, and they never spoke of it again.

But by February 1993, things between them soured again, and she found herself suspecting once more that he really had betrayed her and his country. Finally, the couple agreed to live separately, and he moved to a small one-bedroom apartment on the outskirts of Chapel Hill. They became legally separated in March 1994.

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After all the years of struggling against the State Department, Lu Bloch claims she has avoided becoming bitter. Angry, perhaps. Disgusted, surely. Paranoid, undoubtedly. But bitterness is reserved for those who have given up and Lu Bloch has not given up yet.

"In spite of everything that's happened, I still want the Foreign Service to be strengthened," she mused during a recent interview in Washington. "It's a matter of principle and justice. And what's so controversial about justice?"

Saddled with huge legal bills, Lu Bloch "has dwindling savings, no income, no job and no prospects," her Washington attorney Harry Hug wrote in a 1991 letter to the State Department. "[She] has earned her statutory entitlement to that pension and its cognate benefits, earned through her 30 years of service to her country and the two most recent years of Kafkaesque nightmare she has experienced. She has not simply earned her entitlement; she desperately needs it."

Says Lu, "I am an innocent woman being made to prove her innocence in an affair in which she had no part, of which she had no knowledge and for which she had no responsibility."

Since the Blochs have separated, he has been convicted twice of shoplifting and has held two jobs, one as a \$4.25-an-hour grocery store cashier and currently, as a bus driver for \$8 an hour. Access to his health insurance is the one bond, other than their daughters, that holds the couple together.

Their daughters, Kathleen and Andrea, now 35 and 33, remain in touch with their father, whom they affectionately call, "Bobo," an Italian term of endearment for "Daddy." However, their loyalties are with their mother. Kathy lives in suburban Chappaqua, N.Y., with her husband and two young sons. Andrea, who lives in New York City but visits her mother often, frequently rollerblades with her father near his apartment during their visits.

To the Bloch daughters, it does not

matter that the State Department has branded their father a spy: He is still their father. Neither daughter wants to talk about whether they believe the accusations, although Andrea admits she has had difficulty reconciling her feelings about the parent who patiently read her her favorite bedtime stories. Quoting from the Bible, Andrea says, smiling, "They say, 'The sins of the father are visited on their children'. But I don't know if I can say I believe that."

Asked if she still loves her husband, Lu Bloch smiles weakly, absently fingering the gold band that had been his wedding ring. "I don't know this Felix anymore," she says. "I would not call Felix a liar, no. He just was no longer the man whom I had fallen in love with or who was the father of my children. The man I knew I still love, but the man I was living with was the Felix Bloch I didn't know. ... I can't be unfair and hate and criticize him if I don't know. And I just don't know him anymore." ■

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# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association



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## CONGRESS EYES FOREIGN AFFAIRS ISSUES

BY KENNON H. NAKAMURA  
Director of Congressional Relations

**A**fter just three months of the 104th Congress, discussions have included a major restructuring of the foreign affairs agencies, deep cuts for foreign affairs programs, and changes in retirement annuity computations and Congress still has 21 months to go.

Consolidation of the foreign affairs agencies into a "super" State Department may be the hot topic of discussion, but there are still no details. There is still no legislative language from Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC) Chairman Jesse Helms (R-S.C.) — only a Feb. 14 op-ed piece in the *Washington Post*, a few pages of philosophy and a one-page organizational chart. Still, the consolidation proposal has received the endorsement of Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-Kan.), and House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Go.), and the possible support of House International Relations Committee (HIRC) Chairman Ben Gilman (R-N.Y.). Some are even suggesting that enough senators have privately agreed to the concept that the Senate's "Consolidation Special" may be leaving the station. In a March 5 interview with conservative

television host John McLoughlin, Helms declared that the restructuring "is alive, and more and more senators are interested in it. And I believe it's going to happen."

Hearings by both the SFRC and the House International Relations Committee began March 23. Those who are being invited to testify appear to be carefully selected for their views and are generally in support of consolidation. AFSA has not yet been invited.

Where are the Democrats in all of this? It seems they are waiting for the administration to take the lead in opposing this proposal, as they are not sure that this is no more than an exercise in "moving boxes" on an organizational chart.

While attention is focused on consolidation, there is a real danger that funding for international affairs programs could be severely cut. Funding for this account is less than 1 percent of the budget. However, while funding for defense and intelligence budgets are going up, diplomacy, the most cost-effective tool in the budget's international relations arsenal, is going down.

The Clinton administration request of \$21.21 billion for the foreign affairs budget was dead on arrival. HIRC Chairman Gilman recently recom-

*Continued on page 2*

## • AFSA Dateline •

● In an investigation of health issues, AFSA held discussions with the State Department on the procedures and rules for the application of pesticides in residences overseas. The association has urged revised rules for informing residents on the schedule and nature of any pesticide applications, in the aftermath of the December 1993 death of Coiro AID employee, Nancy Ferebee Lewis.

● AFSA has advised State management that it cannot require secretaries to accept compensatory time off rather than overtime pay for reg-

ularly scheduled overtime. A post assigned a secretary to the front office from 4:30 p.m. to 6 p.m., incorrectly stating that if the duty secretary reported to work at 8 a.m., he would have to accept compensatory time in lieu of overtime pay for the period from 4:30 p.m. to 6 p.m.

● Foreign Service Day events are scheduled for May 5 and 6. At an 11 a.m. ceremony on May 5, AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award scholarship winners will be recognized. At 5:30 p.m. that day, a ceremony of the memorial

*Continued on page 3*

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

## The Fairness of Selection Out

Oliver Wendell Holmes once noted that human beings naturally seek certainty and repose in their lives. But, he added, "Certainty is generally an illusion and repose not the destiny of man."

We pride ourselves on being on "up-or-out" service, but at the same time we expect a considerable measure of certainty and repose at the middle grades. For generalist officers (and analogous arrangements apply to most specialists), tenuring is understood to promise 22 additional years of service, assuming acceptable standards of performance, with the assurance of an immediate annuity thereafter if an officer is not promoted into the Senior Foreign Service. This is hardly unreasonable, for most officers have family commitments that involve the expectation of a continuing income. The question, however, is what constitutes the reasonable standard of performance necessary to fulfill that expectation.

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 provides that selection boards shall identify employees who may have failed to meet the standards of performance for their class. The act directs Secretary of State Warren Christopher to establish an administrative review, which today is done by the Performance Standards Board to determine whether these employees have, in fact, failed to meet those standards — which, incidentally, are not defined in law or regulation. There is also an appeals procedure, either to the Foreign Service Grievance Board or a special Review Board.

How has this system worked? Last year's Selection Board precepts required a board to low rank employees "only if the relevant performance record reveals areas of weakness which distinguish the level of competency, performance, and/or potential of the member from the members of

the class who were rated mid-ranked or higher." PER figures show the 1993 boards law ranked only 1.9 percent or 89 of the 4,625 employees in classes FS-07 to FE-MC; low ranking did not exceed 3.4 percent in any class. The annual figures for the five preceding years were not significantly different. In the 1988-93 period, on average of only 1.8 percent of rated employees were low ranked each year.

However, the test for low ranking is less stringent than the statutory requirement for referral to the Performance Standards Board (PSB) — i.e., that an employee may have failed to meet the standards of his class. That difference is reflected in the fact that the 1993 selection boards referred only 20 employees to the PSB — fewer than one quarter of those law ranked. The overall percentage for 1988-93 is about half that figure.

Of the 54 employees referred to the PSB in 1988-93, the board identified 19 for selection out — an annual average of .08 percent of the employees reviewed. Of these, four were separated; two were retired on a disability in lieu of separation; two voluntarily retired; one was separated for time-in-class; seven won grievances and remain on the rolls; one had the selection board's referral to the PSB vitiated by PER; and two have cases pending.

When it comes to selection out, then, it looks like Holmes had it wrong. But why so much certainty and repose? Are we so good that virtually no Foreign Service employee fails to meet the standards of his class? Or are selection boards failing to do their job in identifying sub-standard performers? If the latter is true, shame on the selection boards, for a failure to identify sub-standard employees shortens the careers of their competent colleagues.

## CONGRESSIONAL UPDATE

Continued from page 1

mended to the House Budget Committee (HBC) that the international affairs account be reduced by \$1 billion below current levels of \$21.3 billion. The HBC expected a deeper cut, and it seems more will be cut. Guesstimates range from \$2 billion to \$3.5 billion, leaving the funding in the \$17 billion to \$19 billion range. This means major cuts in programs and people.

If that is not enough, a third ball in the air now deals with retirement benefits. The new congressional leadership instructed the Civil Service Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight to reduce retirement costs to the government by \$17 billion over the next five years. The subcommittee's chairman, John Mica (R-Fla.), brought a bill from subcommittee to the full committee that would cut \$12 billion by increasing employee's annual retirement contributions from the current 7 percent to 9.5 percent, and by changing the annuity computation formula from the average of the current high three years to that of the highest five. Committee leadership said that its goal is to preserve the benefits package for all federal employees, especially if Social Security funds are untouched. The result, however, is that the burden of savings would be placed on working federal employees. This was viewed by apposing legislators as an attempt to split retirees away from employees.

AFSA and many other organizations had objected to the Mica legislation. With some Republican committee members breaking ranks, the Republican leadership did not have the votes to pass it. However, because of Congress's continuing efforts to balance the budget, the committee will still need to come up with savings. Other proposals may effect COLAs or the retirement age. Congress must realize that the GOP's "Contract with America" is not the only contract. There is one that preceded it — between the federal government and its workers.

These are difficult times for those in the Foreign Service, for its retirees, and for the United States to have the necessary leadership to protect U.S. interests overseas. AFSA is vigilant and is willing to state its case to Congress, the administration and the public. AFSA needs members' support to make this case.

## AFSA DATELINE

Continued from page 1

plaque in the State Department will be held. On May 6 AFSA will sponsor a brunch for retirees of the AFSA Foreign Service Club. AFSA award winners will be honored on June 29 at a separate ceremony.

- More than 580 AFSA members have contributed a total of \$6,600 for the Minority Internship and Mentoring Program and \$9,200 for community outreach initiatives, including the World Issues Forum, thanks to a December membership appeal.

- AFSA has advised communicators who are required to be on call for one week of each month that they are ineligible for premium compensation unless they are actually called back to work. However, premium compensation is authorized for "stand-by" duty, which has many more restrictions.

- AFSA has sent a cable to the field requesting help to tell the Foreign Service story. Any examples, stories, anecdotes – great and small – that illustrate how Foreign Service personnel contribute to U.S. national security, economic prosperity and U.S. overseas customers, would help in this effort. Please send all contributions to the AFSA Great Deeds Committee.

- AFSA has received complaints that Foreign Service officers stationed overseas have erroneously received D.C. income tax bills because they use the State Department pouch address. Members who have received a bill, but who have a domicile address elsewhere, may obtain relief by writing to Gerald Talliver, Associate Director, D.C. Department of Finance and Revenue, Suite 570, 441 4th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20001.

- AFSA recently became aware that Foreign Service employees domiciled in Virginia and paying state taxes there are unable to vote in state and local elections. The Virginia Office of Elections defined an eligible voter as one who is both "domiciled and having his or her abode" in Virginia. AFSA has written to Gov. George Allen and several state legislators to allow voting for those FS professionals, which is expected to be considered by the assembly in 1996.

## AID V.P. VOICE

• BY GARBER DAVIDSON JR. •

### AFSA Refutes Union Criticism

Recently the AFSA chapter in Amman blistered AFSA Washington with a message accusing the union and professional organization of "preemptive capitulation" on several key labor-management issues. They cited the 5 percent hardship differential reduction, the failure to achieve locality pay for overseas employees, random drug testing and the failure of true "Partnership," among other issues. There was much disappointment over what the post sees as a failure by AFSA to communicate important issues and events to the field. AFSA vice presidents considered the deficiencies and strengths of AFSA as a union before preparing a cable response.

Everyone recognizes that the AID Foreign Service is at a difficult crossroads. Even before the November elections, the Clinton administration was downsizing, reengineering and reorganizing bureaus. The AID administrator announced the closing of 21 posts, the freezing of overall hiring and promotions, and the reduction of positions in the AID Senior Foreign Service. After the elections came news of consolidation and rumors about cataclysmic budget reductions.

Internally the news was no better. State's divisive and ill-conceived reduction in the hardship differential, coupled with the lock of locality pay for overseas employees, has made it economic lunacy to serve overseas in some posts, given the danger and hardship of such locales. At the same time, State is proposing a broad fee-for-service formula for medical care. And on and on.

What is AFSA's record on these and other issues? First, we were deeply disappointed in the hardship differential reductions. AFSA and scores of chapters gave this one their

best shot, but under federal labor rules AFSA has no right to negotiate this issue. AFSA may only "consult" on such government-wide allowances. Moreover, AID was never brought into the matter in any meaningful way. I utilized all the communications channels possible to alert AID employees and urge messages be sent to AID management and the Hill. The result was overwhelming, and several congressional inquiries were made to Secretary of State Warren Christopher on this issue.

On locality pay, AFSA is seeking an amendment to the locality pay legislation to permit coverage for Foreign Service employees serving abroad. We have put this issue on the top of our list for legislative action.

AFSA representatives have spent considerable time on the new medical regulations as well. While I don't have space to cover the other union battles we have engaged in, including the representation of more than 600 grievants in the past two years, I want to assure AID members that we are vigorously engaged. We are currently working on the proposed EER and assignment system regulations. We have effected changes in agency recordkeeping for employees, which promises the restoration of due process to a badly broken system. We have achieved broader coverage for those attending the Career Transition Course. Finally, we have improved communications through the newly won worldwide e-mail capacity.

AFSA has a long way to go in achieving sustained results in what most would regard as an uphill struggle in a very tough budget climate.

AFSA has represented members with skill and vigor, but now, more than ever, AFSA needs member support and input to enhance its role.

RETIREE  
**V.P. VOICE**  
BY DON NORLAND

## Calling All Retirees

To keep members informed about what's happening, we can't avoid the all-consuming budget issues that drive all others. Even the much-touted merger of foreign affairs agencies is attributed by many observers to this urge to reduce spending. The proposed cuts threaten to dismantle programs of vital national interest that are indispensable in projecting U.S. interests, principles and values in a chaotic world.

A distressing by-product is the damage inflicted by budget cuts on our active duty members - especially those on the front lines overseas - who are seeing not only their effectiveness reduced, but their salaries and benefits relentlessly eroded. Virtually every report from our missions abroad echoes this sentiment. There appears to be an obsessive concern in Congress about the 1 percent of the annual budget that is devoted to international affairs.

This erosion thus becomes AFSA's central preoccupation, and one the retiree constituency is called upon to do something about. How? By speaking out and bringing home to the media, members of Congress, their key staffers and the general public why open diplomacy - in all its modern forms - is the least expensive, lowest-risk option in promoting U.S. political and economic interests.

As an example, I cite a draft letter that former FSO Jim Bullington is writing to the editor of his Norfolk, Va., newspaper: "Most global problems are simply not solvable by military means," Jim wrote, "and even when they are, armed intervention should

*We hope to reach some 400 retired colleagues and invite them to phone or write their senators or representatives.*

not be our first or only option. The more we eviscerate our diplomatic power, the more likely it becomes that we will some day have to use our military power, which is always much more costly."

AFSA retirees are undertaking the initiative to top the retiree constituency in a more organized way by organizing a phone bank of volunteers to contact colleagues, especially those who live in states or districts whose congressional

members have key responsibilities on international affairs issues. We hope to reach some 400 retired colleagues and invite them to phone or write their senators and representatives; to coordinate with other internationally-minded civic groups and leaders to do the same, and to undertake other forms of outreach. These include speaking publicly, writing letters to editors and appearing on radio talk shows about the imperative of strengthening open diplomacy in promoting U.S. interests and values in world affairs. AFSA will send materials to help make the case. If AFSA didn't phone on March 9, please give AFSA a call at (800) 704-2372. In short, it's back to the basics, pointing to the heavy cost - in resources and eventually lives - of turning our backs on global problems. Central to AFSA's concerns are the dedicated people of the Foreign Service, a service second to none in the world. And as one activist retiree recently reminded a U.S. senator, "It took years to build the professional competence of the U.S. Foreign Service. The nation cannot afford to lose it now."

## AFSA AND HARVARD TO CO-SPONSOR FORUM

BY JOHN J. HARTER  
Conference Affairs Officer

**A** FSA and Harvard University plan to jointly sponsor a two-part conference on world trade in services. Part I, a day-long program at the Department of State on May 2, will be hosted by Under Secretary of State Joan E. Spero, and will identify barriers that impede the expansion of U.S. exports of financial, professional, telecommunications, entertainment, and maritime services. Panelists will consider means of negotiating the reduction of those barriers.

Part II, to be based on the AFSA report of Part I, will be convened Oct. 26-28 at the Center for Business and Government, part of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, in Cambridge, Mass.

The recent Uruguay Round of trade negotiations established international rules for exports and imports of services, to be overseen by the World Trade Organization. The Uruguay Round also authorized a framework for clarifying the nature and extent of those rules during the first six months of 1995. The AFSA/Harvard conferences will assess the outcome for further liberalization of trade in services.

## AFSA PLANS RETIREE EVENTS

**N**orthern Virginia retirees are invited to lunch at the Ft. Myer Officer Club on both April 26 and May 31. Maryland retirees are invited to a speaker lunch at AFSA April 19. On April 26, AFSA is sponsoring a Reunion Evening for those who have served in Germany. AFSA would like to know about any country reunion associations, similar to the American-Tunisian Association.

If interested in any of these events, call Joseph Kemper at (202) 338-4045, ext. 514.

## FSGB HAS FINAL AUTHORITY

**O**n Feb. 13 the D.C. District Court ruled that Secretary of State Warren Christopher has no authority to overrule a decision by the Foreign Service Grievance Board (FSGB) when the board had ruled that cause for termination had not been established.

Foreign Service employees may not be separated for misconduct until an employee "has been granted a hearing before the FSGB and the cause for separation established at such hearing," according to the ruling. In this case, the FSGB found the State Department had not established a good cause for terminating the employee after a lengthy adversarial hearing. Despite the board decision, the secretary separated the employee from the Foreign Service one year later. The former employee filed a lawsuit seeking enforcement of the FSGB decision. AFSA worked closely with the employee's private counsel at each stage of the appeal process, and AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris submitted a sworn statement in support of the employee's position.

In finding the FSGB has final decision-making authority, the court wrote, "according to the government's view the board would merely hold a hearing, receive evidence, sit there like the now famous "patted plant" and cause would be established in some metaphysical fashion by the mere taking in of the secretary's evidence. This interpretation of the statute simply makes no sense."

This case establishes an important precedent and reaffirms the authority of the FSGB, although the State Department is expected to appeal the decision.

## MEMBERSHIP DRIVE KICKS OFF

**T**his month AFSA kicks off its annual membership drive in all the foreign affairs agencies. The new budget-cutting Congress threatens the rights and privileges of the Foreign Service. Simply put - united we stand, divided we fall. The cost of membership is small - about half those of other federal unions.

AFSA needs help to protect all our interests. Members can make a valuable contribution by actively asking associates to join. Please make a point today to talk with a colleague.



## No Substitute for Professional FS

**I**ncreasingly, AFSA and other professional organizations involved in the international affairs of the United States are engaged in efforts to inform new members of Congress about the role America's Foreign Service employees play in the daily conduct of U.S. relations with other countries. Just as no person would want a quack to perform surgery to remove a tumor, American taxpayers would not want nonprofessionals to conduct the complex and often frustrating procedures which enable our government to advance its political, economic and security interests around the world. The difficulty appears to be that most taxpayers are unaware of how much Foreign Service officers and specialists do in their interest in more than 150 countries.

We in USIA are proud of the fact that current public diplomacy efforts continue to attract thousands of foreign leaders, opinion makers, academic faculty, students and other influential persons to visit the United States, either as invited guests under one of our exchange programs or as students and faculty at many U.S. universities. They bring nearly \$7 billion to the American

economy yearly.

While USIA continues to be on the cutting edge of reinvention efforts in Washington and is engaged in President Clinton's partnership process to make government work better and cost less, the most important work is that of Foreign Service professionals from all 50 states, serving at diplomatic posts around the globe. They are the people who make it possible for tens of thousands of American citizens to connect with people in other countries. Although many in Congress may not be aware of this dimension of U.S. public diplomacy, millions of people have contact with current developments in the United States through USIA's binational cultural centers and daily information dissemination through the Voice of America, Radio and TV Marti in Cuba, the USIA Wireless File and Worldnet interactives. This network requires dedicated professionals capable of representing the American people in many, often hostile environments. There is no substitute for the professional Foreign Service, and we need to let our representatives in Congress know why.

## PARKING DECLARED TAXABLE BENEFIT

**E**mployer-provided parking has recently been declared a taxable benefit if its value is over \$155 per month. The IRS disallowed the State Department argument that the tax was not intended to be applied overseas and posts have gone through a complicated procedure to assess the value on the local market of any employer-provided parking, with this value reflected in the employee's W-2 form for 1994. This exercise yielded very expensive figures in cities such as Tokyo, London and Hong Kong where land has reached very high prices.

The department is seeking to include legislation in the Foreign Affairs Authorization Act for FY 96/97 that would exempt employer-provided parking overseas from taxes, but has failed to address the question of retroactivity. Information on this tax was only promulgated overseas in December, imposing the tax as of April 1, 1994. AFSA has requested that an exemption be sought for tax year 1994, since the late knowledge of this parking tax prevented employees in expensive locales from choosing other modes of transport to work.

## IN MEMORIAM

GARY C. DURELL  
JACQUELINE K. VAN LANDINGHAM

**U.** S. consulate employees Gary C. Durell, 45, a communicator, and Jacqueline K. Van Lanningham, 33, a secretary, who were killed on March 8 in a Karachi, Pakistan, attack, will be honored in a May 5 Foreign Service ceremony at the State Department. Their names will be added to the State Department plaque that bears the names of those U.S. government employees who are killed in special circumstances while serving their country abroad.

The two were killed when gunmen opened fire on a van taking consulate employees to work. The van was attacked as it stopped at a traffic light on a busy downtown Karachi street. A third American, Mark McClay, 31, a Foreign Service spouse and an embassy postal employee, was shot five times in the attack and left for dead. McClay is now recovering at Georgetown University Hospital.

U.S. embassy officials in Islamabad said the identity, affiliation and motives of the gunmen have not yet been determined. The attack is the first on Americans during a year-long spiral of violence in Karachi in which religious, ethnic and economic upheavals have left more than 1,000 people dead.

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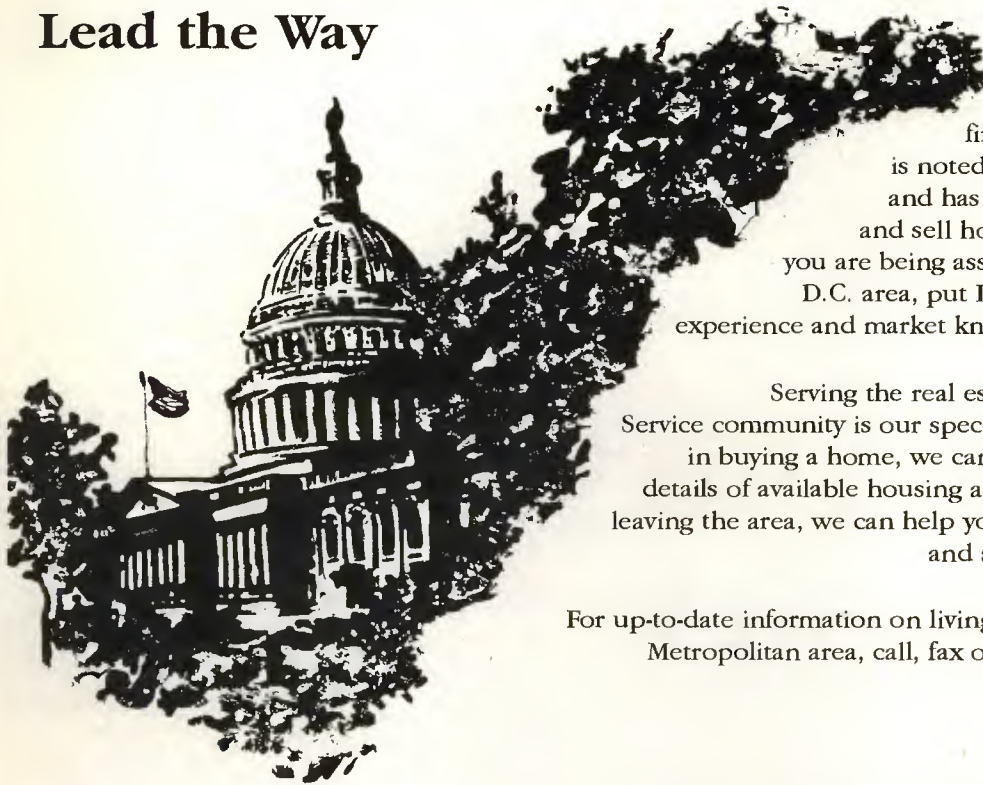
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# THE PLUMMETING OF YELTSIN'S STAR



AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

*Will President Boris Yeltsin's handling of the Chechen conflict cost him his reelection next year?*

**T**

CHECHNYA CRACKDOWN  
A POLITICAL LIABILITY  
FOR IMPERILED LEADER

*By Vladimir Shlapentokh*

he escalating Chechen war, criticized by the general public as well as the Kremlin's political enemies, is deflating President Boris Yeltsin's popularity, decentralizing his power and seriously jeopardizing his 1996 reelection bid. Once again, Russian politics are revolving around the preservation of authoritative rule, successfully achieved by Yeltsin in the last three years, with little regard for the country's long-term national interest.

Until October 1994, developments in the separatist Chechen Republic generated little concern among most Russians, even though its president, Djofar Dudaiev, proclaimed independence in 1991. The issue had not been on

*Yeltsin's team saw a crackdown on the nearly four-year-old Chechen independence movement as a good opportunity to enhance the president's declining prestige.*

the Kremlin's front burner, either, until its December crackdown, which has quickly escalated into Moscow's bloodiest conflict since the nearly decade-long Soviet intervention in Afghanistan that left 13,000 troops dead. By comparison, an estimated 25,000 civilians and more than 2,500 Soviet troops are believed to have died so far in the Chechen war, although few reliable figures exist.

Despite several attempts at cease-fires in the last three months, none has held for more than six days and Yeltsin has been criticized by most politicians for his insincerity in reaching a political solution.

In fact, on March 21, Russian group troops launched an offensive against separatist forces east of Grozny, which followed an announcement that President Bill Clinton would join Yeltsin in Moscow for a May 9 celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Allied victory over Nazi Germany in World War II. Secretary of State Warren Christopher had warned in February that Clinton would not attend the festivities if the Chechnya war continued.

In the past, Yeltsin's decisions were made based on their ability to help expand or strengthen his power. His manipulations have included the hurried signing of the Belovezh agreement that ousted Mikhail Gorbachev from the Kremlin in 1991; his refusal to cooperate with a Parliament that limited his power in 1993; the army's shelling of the Beyli Dom, or White House, in October 1993 to gain his compliance; and the hasty adoption of a constitution in 1993, which has reduced legislators' role in decision-making. The decision to crush the burgeoning Chechen independence movement also falls into this category. Although Yeltsin has concentrated his power since October 1993, he has been unable to muster the support of the populace and achieve significant social or economic goals.

Russians are continually reminded of the growing ineptitude of the state machinery. The administration's announcement of an improved economic situation, mostly due to a

decline in inflation, was smashed by a new spurt of higher prices generated by the catastrophic fall of the ruble on Oct. 11, so-called "Black Tuesday." Despite a dramatic increase in crime, none of the murderers of the many prominent people slain in the last year has been apprehended. And society is becoming increasingly polarized by income level.

Within this bleak environment, Yeltsin faces the 1996 presidential race with little prospect of being reelected. Before the December crackdown, there were no signs that Yeltsin was considering resigning from the political scene. But despite the growing hostility of the populace, the Parliament and the army, and despite Yeltsin's failing health and his acknowledged alcoholism, his desire to retain power remained his top priority through 1994. He was actively supported by his team, who fear corruption charges if he is not reelected. Gennady Zuzanov, the leader of the opposition Communist Party, has bluntly warned Yeltsin that he will be jailed after his departure, regardless of what prompts his fall.

It is only natural that the Yeltsin team started several months ago to design a strategy to prolong Yeltsin's control of the Kremlin. Signs of the first scenario emerged in the summer of 1993, when Yeltsin's advisers sent out feelers to measure the public's reaction if the 1996 elections were canceled. At the same time, the second scenario — that the election, honest or rigged, would be held — was pursued by the Yeltsin team. However, regardless of which scenario Yeltsin's advisers choose, they understand the need for a loyal military to defuse any threat to the Kremlin.

Unfortunately for the Yeltsin administration, it cannot rely on the army, widely believed to be the most discontented of Russian institutions. Many Russian officers, if not most, voted against Yeltsin and for Vladimir Zhirinovskiy in the December 1993 elections. A recent survey of Russian officers conducted by a Moscow research firm found that only 29 percent of the army is loyal to Yeltsin. Officers and soldiers are furious about the declining economy, the downfall of the country's military-industrial complex, increased crime and the

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*Vladimir Shlapentokh is a professor of sociology at Michigan State University.*

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disintegration of the Soviet Union. They also are angry about the national humiliation of Russia, which forsook its status as a superpower and abandoned its position in East Europe and Germany; they view modern Russian foreign policy as one of groveling before the West.

Defense Minister Pavel Grachev has been blamed for the corruption of Russian troops in Germany and later for bungling the military operation in Chechnya.

The autumn 1993 confrontation with Parliament, as well as the subsequent developments named above, showed that Yeltsin and his regime cannot be protected against all-out mutiny by the army. This is especially true if the army decides to disobey Yeltsin's orders and join the opposition. Therefore, the Kremlin has developed a network of independent "power structures," each with its own military unit, to defend the regime and Yeltsin in the event of a crisis. Yeltsin's personal guard, the Presidential Security Service, also was made independent of other units, in stark contrast to the past when the Kremlin guard was a part of the KGB.

**A**lthough the creation of a special presidential military has strengthened Yeltsin's position somewhat, his team has long been looking for developments that could further enhance his prestige. The Chechen operation was chosen for this purpose. All other theories explaining why year-end 1994 was chosen for the crack-down after three years of tolerance for the region's independence movement are simply not plausible.

Indeed, a successful short military campaign to bring the rebellious republic back into the fold would have increased Yeltsin's status as a statesman symbolizing the integrity of mother Russia. A fast and convincing victory over Chechnya would be a clear signal to all separatist movements that all rebels can and will be crushed. Victor Stepashin, head of the Counterintelligence Service, promised to achieve this goal by exploiting the opposition to Dudaiev's regime inside Chechnya along with the help of a few hundred Russian volunteers. Grachev had originally believed that only a few military army units would be needed to bring Dudaiev as a prisoner to Moscow in a few days. But nothing like this has happened.

In fact, the terrible performance of the Kremlin in this war has dramatically changed the political situation in the former Soviet Union. As Otto Latsis, a well-known

Soviet journalist, said in the newspaper *Izvestia*, "The Chechen crisis turned out to be a crisis of the whole system of political order in the country." The operation has turned into a protracted war that, despite several failed cease-fire attempts, is without a visible end. In addition to high casualties, the conflict — as the world is witnessing via vivid media images — has destroyed the region's largest city of Grozny and prompted the flight of hundreds of thousands of refugees.

The developments in Chechnya also have uncovered deep disarray of the Yeltsin administration. Leaders of the country's major political institutions are divided over the conflict, but both the Parliament and its two chambers are too weak to exert even modest control over the decision-making process. All decisions concerning the war are made by the Security Council, a non-elected, extra-constitutional body.

The conflict also is underscoring the regime's willingness to resort to even more absurd lies than did the old Soviet regime. The Yeltsin administration seriously contends that the Chechens themselves destroyed their own homes and that Lithuanian female snipers played a crucial role in the resistance to the Russian invasion, but it is widely known that these are falsehoods. Numerous times in the last month, the administration has proclaimed victory, even as Russian casualties continued to mount. Nonetheless, the Russian public remains unimpressed at least and contemptible at best toward Yeltsin over the conflict; according to recent polls, only 10 percent of the population cares about what is happening in Chechnya.

Unexpectedly, the war has created an almost united front of varying political forces against the Kremlin. This is all the more amazing because the democrats, angry at the use of violence against Chechens, are forsaking their earlier support of Yeltsin and forgetting their endorsement of the shelling of the Parliament and of the authoritarian Constitution. At the same time, the Communists joined the opposition to the war, despite their claim to be strong advocates of a unified country. Never in the past — even considering the confrontation between the French media and De Gaulle in the late 1960s and the American media against the Vietnam War in the late 1960s — has the press been so hostile toward a government as the Russia media currently is.

*Continued on page 36*

# THE POWER OF PUBLIC OPINION

BY PETER SEMLER

Above all, the Chechnya conflict has demonstrated the increasing force in Moscow of public opinion — that of Russians themselves and that of countries in the West. The proverbial submissive Russians used all the freedoms of glasnost to condemn the misconceived Chechnya operation. The Russian people will decide what lessons to draw from Moscow's continuing failures in its use of military force. Their decision will for once take place in propitious circumstances: In this time of trouble, there are no German armies poised to move east, no Golden Horde galloping in the steppes, no Polish-sponsored pretenders to the throne, not even a Chinese army on the Ussuri River.

There is instead the urgency of economic stability. Too many Russians live under the poverty line, too many pensions have been eroded by inflation, health services and birthrates have crumbled, life expectancy has plunged, and crime has exploded.

At the same time the country is being transformed with the small elite in mind. Well-dressed young men embark on careers in finance, business and farming. Dachas large and small are going up everywhere, wainscotted cottages are being restored by former collective farmers, whole sections of Moscow have been spruced up — even though municipal services are degenerating.

What everyone wants is a Thermidor, a period of calm during which inflation can be reined in, wages and pensions increased and a sound financial structure built. Russians want the promising trend of 1994 — before Chechnya — to resume. However, the ex-manager turned entrepreneur has no wish to become once again a cog in an enormous bureaucratic machine. He wants the stock he now owns to appreciate

and provide the good life he has long anticipated — probably while living in the apartment assigned to him by a Communist Party housing board, but which he now owns.

Do these people really care much about Russian influence in the world? Would they vote for a nationalist leader intent upon restoring the empire at the risk of World War III? Hardly. An amazingly large percentage of Russians have declared themselves against the Chechnya intervention, even though it was intended to end a secession within Russia's accepted borders and even though the much disliked Chechens were the victims.

This not so silent majority would obviously benefit from increased cooperation with the West. There are some implicit limits: Russians do not want to be considered Third Worlders nor do they wish to see a disproportionate part of their country and its natural resources sold at derisory prices to carpetbaggers. They expect their leaders to know how to strike a balance between much needed foreign investment and fire sales. They want to see their country respected, not feared.

The West so far has reacted ambivalently to the horrors in Chechnya. At one level, the human rights violations involved in the disproportionate use of force have shocked American and European publics. The U.S. Congress, in a mood to bash President Boris Yeltsin, is threatening to cut off \$340 million in aid — already reduced from the 1994 figure of \$1.6 billion — and is calling on President Clinton to boycott the 50th anniversary of World II celebrations in Moscow on May 9.

Pressures have mounted for NATO to expand eastward. Private investment has dropped from an already slow pace. German and Austrian foreign ministers have snubbed Russian leaders, although Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has recently been received by England and France.

But in the long term, the Chechnya tragedy is likely to reinforce Russian cooperation with the world's major democracies. ■

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*Peter Semler, a retired Foreign Service officer who has served two terms in Moscow, is vice president of the Russian Farm Supply Fund, a non-profit group helping demobilized Russian soldiers become independent farmers.*

*Continued from page 34*

Liberal or conservative, the Russian papers are united in their opposition to the Chechen war. Only nationalists like Zhirinovskiy are staunch supporters of Yeltsin's adventures in Chechnya.

Even more important is the reaction of ordinary Russians. Despite the impact of nationalist ideology on Russians, most condemn the war and the Kremlin's policy, with no more than 20 percent supporting the Chechens. Moscow has been known to resort to brutal methods during times of war, but the cruelties of the Bosnian conflict pale in comparison to that of the Russian army against Chechnya civilians. Russians in all corners of the country have been horrified that the army can oppress its own people so brutally.

The war also exacerbated conflicts between Moscow and the regions, particularly in the national republics. At a January meeting in Cheboksary, regional leaders publicly denounced the Chechen adventure, which they viewed as a threat to their own autonomy. Indeed, the Chechen conflict has created tensions in the bordering Muslim republics of North Caucasia, particularly in Dagestan and Ingushetia. There is a great deal of evidence that signals the readiness of these republics to join their Chechen brothers in the war against the Russians. Even now, no one in Moscow is certain that the threat of a new Caucasian war has been averted.

The Chechen war has also drastically damaged the international image of both Russia and Yeltsin.

The sight of the beautiful century-old city of Grozny, mercilessly destroyed by the Russian army, will remain a symbol of the Kremlin's cruelty for years to come. No single public building in the city was left unscathed by Russian artillery. Most of the houses were also destroyed, forcing 80 percent of the city's 400,000 people to flee the city, joining the 250,000 other refugees who have also been victims of the war. The former Soviet satellites in East Europe, as well as Germany, are particularly stricken by the Kremlin's violence. It is not surprising that the Council of Europe decided in February to delay Russian entry in its organization until a political solution to the Chechen conflict has been found, an act that has deeply humiliated Moscow.

**T**he Kremlin's inability to defeat the Chechens thus far has immensely increased the tension on the

Russian political scene, despite longstanding political and economic disequilibrium. Each political actor is trying to exploit the debacle for his own purpose. Yeltsin continues to be the key figure in the country, and his handling of the Chechen affair continues to be an important factor in Russian political life.

If the Kremlin does not yield defeat, the most likely scenario in the Chechen war's aftermath will be the further evolution of Russia toward authoritarianism. It is easy to predict the gradual denigration of his opposition for non-patriotic behavior, making his enemies responsible for the demoralization of the army and its casualties. This campaign will most likely be accompanied by strengthened ties with nationalists who accuse democrats of betraying the army. The cancellation of the 1996 presidential election — or its being fixed — now seems quite likely, and this is especially so if Yeltsin's condition, both physically and politically, does not improve.

The radical purge of the media will be, of course, a very important part of the Kremlin's strategy to maintain power, since Yeltsin cannot retain support against such an arrogant and critical media. At the same time Yeltsin will probably try to create a professional army, a move supported by all political forces, including democrats, and use this occasion to purge soldiers disloyal to his regime.

Yeltsin will continue to support, if not publicly, the country's continuing reversal to the ideology of "besieged Russia." He is basing this on his belief that the West is trying to prevent the recovery of the Russian economy, isolating her while other East European countries and eventually Ukraine become part of NATO. All these developments will continue to push Russia away from democracy. The threat to cut off Western assistance to Russia will have little effect on this process. Moreover, many Russian politicians, even democrats, now call for diminished Russian dependence on Western assistance, in accordance with growing anti-Western sentiments throughout the country.

Neither Yeltsin nor his critics can overcome the schism created by the Chechen war. However, if reconciliation does not occur soon, and Yeltsin decides to observe the Russian constitution, then presidential elections will proceed. It is difficult to predict who among Yeltsin's critics would gain control of the Kremlin if he

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loses, but the victory of a general, a centrist like Victor Chernomyrdin, a moderate Communist with nationalist overtones like Gennadi Ziuganov or Peter Romanov, or even Zhirinovsky, cannot be excluded.

One also cannot exclude the potential of another political showdown like the one that crippled the Kremlin in October 1993.

The army's anger towards the existing regime due to the Chechen war has only increased. Two generals, Boris Gromov and Alexander Lebed, are considered by many Russians to be the best candidates for rescuing the country. Polls show that two-thirds of Russians believe in the need for the army's "iron hand," and observers say the public could be lured into supporting a military coup if the generals promise to eliminate or curb rampant crime and corruption. The Chechen conflict may be a key factor in setting a stage for such an operation.

A growing number of liberals and intellectuals are becoming increasingly disillusioned with Russian democracy and many have publicly argued that

Russians are unable to live under democratic rule. However, the intelligentsia supports neither Communists nor nationalists. Along with millions of other Russians, they now dream of a general, à la Chile's Augusto Pinochet, who will save the country.

While there is little doubt that most Russians would support a military coup, this does not imply that the generals would risk seizing power unconstitutionally, although certain conditions, such as the cancellation of presidential elections or a general strike by workers in a key industry, could set the stage for a forced action.

As of now, Yeltsin remains the key political figure in Russia. His health, his advisers, his strategies for retaining power, and his mistakes and miscalculations are important for the future of Russia. So far, the role of numerous other political actors in Russia is measured by their ability to support or fight the current master of the Kremlin and his handling of the growing escalation of the Chechnya conflict. ■

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# THE DEMORALIZATION OF THE MILITARY



AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

*Young Russian recruits take a break outside Grozny. Most of the Kremlin's soldiers are inexperienced and undertrained.*

## **T**HE ARMY'S AMBIVALENCE LEADS TO DESERTION AND INSUBORDINATION

*By Frederick J. Chiaventone*

The Russian army's ambivalence to the savage war in the separatist Republic of Chechnya is central to its inability to pull off the stunning military success the Kremlin anticipated when soldiers marched in nearly four months ago.

Most informed speculation revolves around the usual questions — the political survivability of President Boris Yeltsin, the future of U.S.-Russian relations, and how Russia will manage the cost of the war, currently projected at \$4 billion.

What most observers have missed, however, is a more critical — and much more sinister — development: the Russian military's conduct of operations. Here I refer not to the amateurish bungling of Russian tactics, although

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*With thousands of their comrades dead, wounded or captured, and under continuous attack by the Chechen rebels, soldiers felt betrayed by the politicians, so Russian commanders in the field began to take matters into their own hands.*

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shocking in itself, but rather the refusal of Russian field commanders to respond to orders issued by civilian leaders in Moscow. Russian leadership had erroneously believed that the Chechen resistance would crumble at the sight of Russian troops, thus the initial invasion force was made up largely of recruits with minimal training and no combat experience.

In this bloody and ultimately unnecessary conflict, something is going terribly wrong, as Russian officers openly question the legitimacy of political decisions and operational orders issued by the Kremlin. Initially this insubordinate behavior took the form of the refusal by Major Gen. Ivan Babichev to attack the Chechens in December; but other commanders followed his lead. And once the fighting had begun in earnest by January, this behavior quickly evolved into a general refusal to stop artillery and air attacks when ordered specifically to do so by Yeltsin himself.

The indiscretions of a few disgruntled Russian officers may seem merely troublesome, just another curious development in a puzzling little war. But, when viewed in a larger context, they have much deeper significance. After enduring nearly 50 years of nuclear madness and countless acts of Cold War bravado and brinkmanship, the populations of both the West and the former East Bloc felt they should be able to take a break, put their domestic affairs in order, and enjoy the fruits of peace. All parties to the Cold War agreed they should be able to demobilize the legions of warriors and consign the paraphernalia of superpower confrontation

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to the salvage yard. The unfortunate truth is that the respective arsenals of democracy and communism had become so extensive that the very act of demilitarization has proven a risky business indeed. Part of the problem is that these arsenals consist not only of weapons systems, but of people as well.

The problem with dissolving armies is that they tend to leave a host of social and political problems in their wake. Americans have been lucky. While U.S. armed forces have been reduced by over 330,000 over the past four years, U.S. society and the economy have thus far been well up to the task of returning discharged service members to civilian life.

The process has not gone so smoothly in the fragmenting former Soviet empire. Retired U.S. Lt. Gen. Bill Odom, a longtime veteran of the national security process, and now director of National Security Studies at the Hudson Institute in Washington, D.C., has noted the disillusionment of the Soviet military. Having experienced the traumatic "psychological shock of losing the empire," he notes, "[they] have had their mission taken away from them and now find themselves with a huge military staff and millions of soldiers all madly looking for a job." Odom's concerns are well-founded, especially when one considers that this psychological trauma extends well beyond the recently unemployed soldiery to the ranks of those Russian soldiers, commanders and staff officers still on active duty.

When the Soviet Union disintegrated in 1989, its successor Commonwealth of Independent States did not so much reduce its armed forces as dismember them. Thousands of soldiers were released into society only to swell the ranks of the unemployed. As the former Soviet Union's complex control network began to collapse, the central government in Moscow became ever less capable of supporting, let alone controlling, the far-flung military garrisons that remained on active

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duty. Entire units, from the Baltics to the Caucasus, found themselves increasingly isolated and left to their own devices.

Moscow, in many instances, was unable to either pay or supply its troops. An entire segment of Russian society, which had become accustomed to a relatively good life and an elevated social status, suddenly found itself disenfranchised and relegated to the margins. Military families were crammed into abandoned barracks and railroad cars, and left to fend for themselves.

In an interview, one Russian lieutenant colonel, a veteran of operations in the Afghanistan war who requested anonymity, talked of his difficulties as a regimental commander during the turbulent period following the collapse of the Soviet systems. Left high and dry by Moscow, without funds or supplies, he said his regiment was forced to form its own farm collective — raising pigs and selling them on the local market — to feed the troops. Other regiments sold off their military hardware to a variety of weapons entrepreneurs, who would sell them to organized crime syndicates, the Serbs or rebels in other independence movements in Europe or Asia. Virtually anything, from AK-47 assault rifles to T-72 main battle tanks, was available for the right price. AK-47s could fetch \$25, a relatively new tank went for \$300,000 and a Russian Hind helicopter was priced at as little as \$2 million.

Other units dealt with the problem in less benign ways. One regiment in Azerbaijan found that the civil war raging around Nagorno-Karabakh presented a golden entrepreneurial opportunity. Entire combat units, from Hind attack helicopter squadrons to artillery batteries, were made available to the highest bidder on a day-to-day basis. If Russian helicopters strafed an Azeri village on Monday, the Azeri village elders could hire the same unit for a retaliatory attack on a rival Armenian village the following Tuesday. When the Russian lieutenant colonel was asked his opinion of this business arrangement, he shrugged and observed wryly that it appeared the West had accomplished its goal of bringing free-market capitalism to the former Soviet Union. He admitted being dismayed by such blatant mercenary behavior, but could, however, understand what drove some units to

these extremes. "What did you expect?" he said. "In a sense, it's free enterprise gone mad."

For a demoralized and angry Russian military, the war in Chechnya may well be the last straw. Given a mission that initially had been described as a simple matter of "peacekeeping," Russian forces sent to Grozny quickly found they had neither clear instructions nor full support from their political leaders in Moscow. Initially, troops were confused and disgruntled. In early January, however, Moscow's misguided attempt to increase pressure on the Chechens misfired when precision air strikes went awry and struck some distinctly non-military targets, such as an orphanage, an attack that received wide media coverage.

The Chechens responded furiously and, by mid-January, the "peacekeeping" mission had devolved into a full-scale war. Mauled by the Chechen rebels, inexperienced and frustrated Russian troops lashed out with tanks, artillery and more air strikes. Chechen resistance stiffened and the Russians responded with a series of ill-planned armored assaults to the heart of the city. Ignoring a cardinal rule of urban warfare, Russian commanders pushed armored units into the city without infantry support and found themselves at the mercy of the Chechen fighters.

The Chechens simply lured the heavy armor deeper into the urban jungle and then unleashed a firestorm of rocket-propelled grenades and Molotov cocktails from rooftops and basements. Entire Russian units disappeared into the death trap, as television cameras recorded the scene. As international and domestic protests began to mount, Yeltsin tried to back off and ordered a halt to air and artillery strikes. But by now the situation had spiraled out of his control. Yeltsin's "splendid little war" had taken on a life of its own and, to the forces in the field, Moscow had become irrelevant.

As amply documented by television, radio and print journalists, and even Yeltsin's own human rights commissioner, Sergei Kovalyov, the army ignored orders to cease and desist. With thousands of their comrades dead, wounded or captured, soldiers felt they had been betrayed by politicians in Moscow, and under continuous attack by the Chechen rebels, Russian commanders in the field began to take matters into their own hands. While many news reports indicated the assault on Grozny is being directed from Moscow, more seasoned analysts believe

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civilian authorities are no longer calling the shots. Few will dare to admit it, but an estimated 3,000 of the 40,000 troops in Chechnya have deserted, according to the U.S. Foreign Military Studies Office at Fort Leavenworth, Kans. Indeed, between 60 and 80 percent of the heavily fractionalized troops support ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, according to 1993 election figures. Defense Minister Grachev, widely despised as "Pasha Mercedes," a pejorative term alluding to his reputation for corruption and excess, enjoys virtually no support among soldiers.

This disintegration of command and control in the Russian military seems to be a sudden development, a direct outgrowth of the bungled Chechen adventure, but it has been building for many years. For those who were watching carefully, the warning signs were evident long ago. Jacob Kipp, senior East European analyst at the Foreign Military Studies Office, and editor of *European Security* magazine, has long warned of the dangers of Soviet demobilization. He said the collapsing Soviet bloc, with its economic, political and social systems in chaos, would be ill-equipped to handle an accelerated dismantling of its armed forces. He warned that this, coupled with a resurgence of long dormant or suppressed cultural hatreds and a surfeit of sophisticated weaponry on the open market, could easily lead to decades of ethnic conflict and the radicalization of the Russian military.

Almost three years ago, in a meeting with Kipp and Col. Vladimir Rubanov, a former KGB officer who has since risen to become deputy secretary of Yeltsin's Security Council, a colleague brought in a report claiming that Lt. Gen. Aleksandr Lebed, whose troops had rallied around Yeltsin in 1991, had taken the former Soviet 14th Army, seized control of part of Moldova and declared the independence of the Republic of Trans-Dniester. I asked Kipp if Lebed had become a sort of warlord, but he just nodded his head and observed that Lebed would probably be just the first of many. "Idle hands," he said, "are the devil's workshop, you know."

Rubanov, intimately familiar with the 14th Army and Lebed, was not nearly so blasé, noting that the latter retained operational control of a number of tactical nuclear weapons, and warned that even more disconcerting developments could be expected. The Russian army, he asserted, was in danger of becoming a "masterless army," with all that the term implied. Europe, which faced the problem of "masterless armies" at the height of

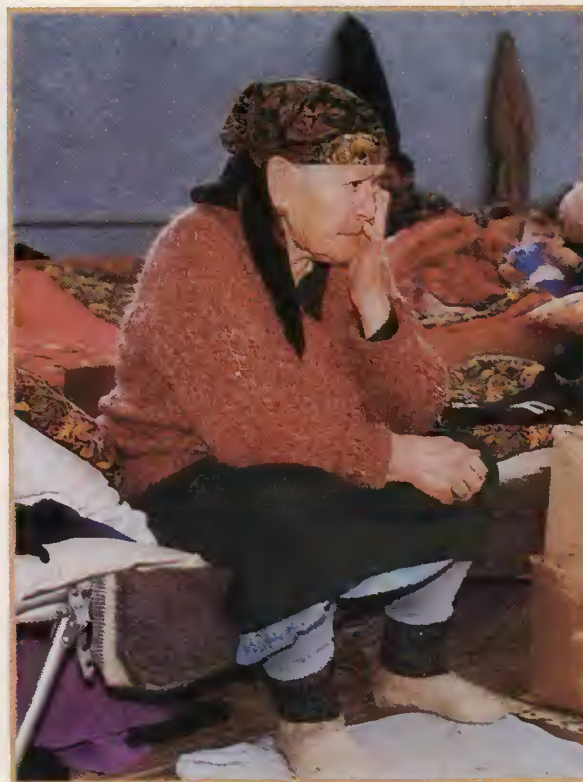
the Renaissance, should recognize the inherent dangers of this phenomenon.

Although the Renaissance was a time of marvelous advances in art, music, literature and science, it was also a time of extreme violence and internecine warfare. The continent was ravaged by the savage Hundred Years War. Taxed by the protracted nature of this conflict, nations, city states and petty nobility found that they were unable to rely upon the questionable military skills of short-term feudal levies. As a result, warring factions began to depend more and more on the services of mercenary armies. These professional soldiers provided their leaders with the continuity and experience needed to wage war for extended periods of time. The problem was that these bands were always for sale to the highest bidder.

As noted military historian T.N. Dupuy has observed, "No soldier, from the lowest private to highest general, felt the slightest stirrings of patriotism or personal interest in success or victory, other than as a contribution to personal profit." A consequence was that these "free companies," as they came to be known, quickly became a scourge to civilization. Unemployed, unskilled for any pursuit but war, they frequently preyed on the very citizens who had employed them. Raiding, looting and extorting monies for "protection," they became little more than a loose network of heavily armed and competing criminal cartels. At the time the most sophisticated weaponry available was the crossbow, it is frightening to imagine the Russian military as a sort of late 20th century "free company" armed with T-80 tanks and nuclear weapons.

With almost 2.5 million men still under arms, the Russian military remains one of the largest and most powerful armed forces in the world — and it may be out of control. It is a fearful prospect indeed — a disgruntled soldiery loyal only to local commanders, contemptuous of civilian control, poorly paid, badly used. At their disposal are some of the most powerful and destructive weapons in the history of the world. As evidenced in the siege of Grozny, portions of that military have thrown off the yoke of civilian control and indulged their baser instincts — survival and vengeance. No matter what the final outcome of the war in Chechnya, Yeltsin and Russia will not be the only losers. If the capitals of Europe are not already trembling, they should be. ■

## THE LEGITIMACY OF SEPARATISM



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*An elderly Chechen woman waits at a local school that houses refugees, one of the many for hundreds of thousands of refugees left homeless by Moscow's four-month-old crackdown.*

### **T** DOES CHECHNYA HAVE A RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE?

*By Doug Ford*

The Chechen conflict spotlights some potentially cataclysmic conflicts among Russians' basic rights, as protected by their new Constitution, formally adopted after a public vote in December 1993. Not only is it a fight over the institutional rights of self-determination and sovereignty by Chechen and Russian governments, but a daily challenge to ordinary citizens' rights, such as rights to life, liberty and free expression.

The Chechens are pursuing their perceived right of self-determination, one of the underlying principles of the new Constitution, even though it has no language on the right to secession. And, in pursuing its four-month crackdown against the breakaway republic, the Russian government is pursuing its right to preserve the union, which the new Constitution also allows. Although Chechnya first declared its independence in 1991, the issue was not addressed under the former Soviet Constitution.

*Polls show that Russians believe everyone has the right to organize resistance against government policy, says William Reisinger, a University of Iowa political science professor who conducts public opinion polls in Russia.*

The crackdown, which produced graphic media coverage of the carnage and generated a general public debate over the Kremlin's brutal treatment of Chechens, has demonstrated how Russians are trying to exercise their newly found rights, finally allowed after centuries of authoritarian governments that acknowledged no individual rights. And both governments have been criticized by the media for trampling each other's rights.

Russia's new Constitution guarantees basic rights expected from a document drafted with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international agreements in mind. However, it has not yet proven to be the venerable source of rights one might expect, given its explicit language on the subject. Specific individual rights now protected include the right of free speech and association; participatory rights in government, such as voting and the right to criticize and pressure the government; and rights protecting the individual against government, such as due process and a day in court.

These rights struggles show Russians are responding to their ability to use their Constitutional rights, though few would count the Constitution as the fountain of these rights. Yet, despite official transgressions and minimal public confidence, the Constitution is a long step beyond anything drafted during the Soviet era. "It is changing political behavior at a national level," says Blair Ruble, director of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, D.C. Furthermore, it has channeled political opposition through the democratic process:

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*Doug Ford, a former journalist, is a law student at Northeastern University, where he is specializing in constitutional and human rights law. Last fall, he worked for the American Bar Association's Central and East European Law Initiative, which provides legal assistance to Russia.*

President Boris Yeltsin's opponents are jockeying to unseat him in the next election but not to overthrow him, Ruble points out.

For most Americans, constitutional rights have shadowed them throughout their lives, protecting them from government and other societal forces. Ordinary Russians have no such illusions. "They don't have the sense of outrage at the ridiculous positions taken by government officials," notes Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Judith Chirlin, who is of Russian heritage and has traveled to Russia frequently in the last two years as a consultant to several courts. Lilia Shevtova, a Russian diplomat and journalist on fellowship to the Woodrow Wilson Center, agrees. "The achievement of the changes [since the mid-1980s] is in Russians' expectations of rights, not in the rights they actually have," she says.

The roots of the rights consciousness date to former President Mikhail Gorbachev's rise to power in the mid-1980s. Most observers cite the twin mantras of Gorbachev — perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (openness) — as the sources of the current sense of rights. Russians' attitude toward the government and their legal rights has perceptibly changed, says Keith Henderson, acting division chief and senior adviser to the Office of Democracy and Governance at the Agency for International Development's (AID) Bureau for East Europe and the New Independent States (NIS). "A lot of our programs in Russia now are focused on improving Russians' access to the legal system.

In the old days they didn't want access, they wanted to stay far away from the legal system."

But a great deal of improvement in the Constitution and the Russian legal system is still needed. "We have a democratic Constitution by all international standards, but the problem we now have is: How do you put it in practice?" asked Yuli Vorontsov, Russian ambassador to the United States, during a recent public forum in Washington, D.C.

The Chechen war has undermined the right of self-

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determination and created several other rights struggles. Yeltsin's own human rights ombudsman, Sergei Kovalyov, has spent weeks in the war zone and lambasted Yeltsin's government for the military's violation of civilian life and property. The Committee of Soldiers' Mothers has demanded government accountability for the thousands of dead young men in what many view as an illegal war. The news media and even government television have defied Yeltsin's official press committee by offering their own critical reports of the Russian campaign.

Many Russians appear to toss off their new rights as irrelevant. "You can't eat freedom," is the cliched response of many to questions about the effect the changes have had on their rights. Although they are consumed by the economic difficulties that the changes have wrought on their lives, ordinary citizens remain conflicted. On the one hand, they retain a desire for Soviet-era rights to employment and social security, which imply government control of the economy. On the other hand, they

believe the right to economic freedom — to be more than just a government worker and to be able to start their own business — is a crucial new right. But this second right requires a government retreat from the economy and implies a new emphasis on individual liberty.

But ordinary Russians clearly prefer the new emphasis. "If workers were to choose between the freedom of today and the previous situation, they would choose [today's] freedom," says Shevtova. But workers do not share the typical western democratic hierarchy of rights that places individual, political rights at the top. Without some economic means, Shevtova says, workers have no meaningful political rights.

Polls document Russians' expectations for individual and political rights, albeit with some reservations. Jim Gibson, a political science professor at the University of Houston, says public opinion polling during the past couple of years shows Russians demand the same sort of rights westerners do. However, many would limit the rights of minorities and of their political enemies. In

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opinion polls, Russians have consistently supported free speech, says Steve Grant, head of the Russian, Ukraine, Commonwealth Branch of the Office of Research of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), which polls Russians on their attitudes about rights.

USIA's August poll found that most Russians support the principles of democracy, but the findings question their commitment to those principles. Most Russians want free speech, fair elections and an independent media, while, at the same time, many believe these freedoms create disorder.

The Constitution and its free speech provision likewise reflect some of these tensions. Article 29 protects not only speech, but thought, mass information and the right to seek, produce and disseminate information by any legal method. But it also prohibits propaganda of social, racial, national or religious hatred or supremacy. Though the media is ostensibly independent, the federal government still controls most television programming, and many provincial governments control the local print media. In Vladivostok in September, for example, the

provincial head of administration for Russia's Primorski Krai closed the leading independent newspaper. As part owner, the Krai administration claimed the right to fire editors it found to be critical. The staff rebelled, but the administration prevailed on the printing house not to publish the paper. In contrast, the powerful television images of the carnage of the Chechen war have demonstrated a shocking freedom when compared to past coverage of the military. Even some government-owned media did not suppress coverage to comply with Yeltsin's official line.

Ordinary Russians see the same people controlling the system and excluding them, regardless of elections. Even though the new Constitution gives citizens the power to structure provincial and local governments, President Boris Yeltsin continues to appoint those who run the provinces. Even where people voted for local officials, many candidates came from the *nomenklatura* and managed to win election with a network of cronies.

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Furthermore, the bureaucracy has largely stymied people from Yeltsin on down who try to reform it. "People still have to get all manner of approvals, authorizations and licenses to do just about anything," says Michael Zarin of the International Republican Institute (IRI), the Washington, D.C., counterpart to the National Democratic Institute, which both help develop democratic institutions, such as political parties. In contrast, where a new institution invites public input, ordinary Russians participate. "With the jury trial project, initially one of our biggest concerns was how we were going to get people to participate in the process," says Henderson of AID. In fact, people willingly participate and, after seeing the system work, take more responsibility for their rights, he says.

Visionaries and dreamers were the types who first risked jumping into the new political parties and NGOs, but their support base has broadened to workers, school teachers and salaried people from the new middle class. Political parties attract a wider and wider cross-section of

the population, despite the prevalence of the *nomenklatura*. "A lot of people were thinking of running for local level positions, not the *duma* (federal parliament), because local decisions are going to affect things more directly. Implicit in this thinking is the sense that these people can do more for the people this way," says the U.S. State Department's Nick Klissas, NIS bilateral affairs officer in the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.

The fact that some view participation in the political system or public organizations as a risk highlights the tentative nature of participatory rights. Nevertheless, ordinary Russians are participating more frequently in society's institutions, whether solicited as in the jury trial or unsolicited as in NGOs. And polls show they believe they should have these participatory rights. "We found that people believe anybody should have the right to organize resistance against any government policy," says William Reisinger, University of Iowa political science professor with a history of polling Russian public opinion. "We



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would have thought that maybe Russians did not believe in this because of their sense of the collective. But they overwhelmingly supported this. Politicians, however, were much more cautious," than ordinary Russians in supporting this right.

Ordinary Russians have that seemingly universal yearning for justice and restraints on government power. Two gangland-style murders of journalists during the past six months drew thousands of people to public mournings, turning the events into public condemnation of corruption.

Before his critical Chechnya report, Kovalyov, a former dissident and current parliamentary deputy, issued a seathing report in mid-1994 on Russia's observance of human rights. Though many Russians support crushing Chechen claims to independence, Kovalyov's reports — along with political and media criticism — have led most Russians to debate the propriety of a government action that would not have been publicly questioned in the past.

Shevtova says Russians "have no sense of justice. There's no sense of stable rules of the game among authorities, so why should they follow the rules? So you have the criminalization of society." Criminal gangs reportedly control not only the drug and prostitute trades, but whole territories, effectively putting both law enforcement and business enterprises in their pockets. The USIA poll revealed that a majority of respondents were disturbed at organized crime's influence over government. The pervasiveness of crime reveals some of the ironies of ordinary Russians' sense of rights. Few fear the KGB or other government agencies knocking on their door in the middle of the night, certainly an improvement over the Soviet era. Yet they would fear such a knock from a member of a criminal gang, who may want anything from the apartment to privatization stock coupons.

Ordinary Russians are suspicious of the police and the justice system in general. But that attitude can now lead to greater justice through the jury trial, a growing phenomenon of Russian criminal law. "The prosecution is losing a lot more cases than around here [in the United States]. They would say the defendant confessed but the defendant says, 'they beat me.' And everybody knows the police beat people," so the ease is lost, says Chirlin, the Los Angeles judge.

"Telephone justice," where a government official calls

in his decision to the judge, who then delivers it, has largely disappeared, according to Judge Chirlin. In addition, Yeltsin and the legislature have reactivated an ostensible check on power, the Constitutional Court, which Yeltsin dissolved in 1993. In fact, ordinary Russians recognize they have new protections against the government but that these protections also benefit criminal elements, who contribute to public disorder. The result is an ambivalence about government crime-fighting powers common to Americans and other westerners. For example, the USIA poll indicated that 72 percent agreed that Russia needs a leader "who will put things in order and rule with an iron hand." Yet that poll shows that many people oppose a dictatorship.

The Chechen war fuels dismal comparisons to totalitarian historical periods, such as the rise of Adolph Hitler. Yet the criticism and debate surrounding Moscow's crackdown against Chechnya illuminate ordinary citizens' new awareness to the right to govern themselves. ■

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# THE FOGGY BOTTOM BORE

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ROAMING HIS STATE DEPARTMENT BEAT,  
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BY GEORGE GEDDA

**I**t was a Saturday morning, and I was in a pensive mood. I was thinking, "Maybe it's time for a change."

I've been wandering State Department halls too long. I go in early, stay late. The other day I told my family I was going golfing with my buddies. I lied. I went straight to the office to catch up on my reading.

Last week, I told my wife to start getting tough with our rambunctious 10-year-old. "Power in the service of diplomacy," I advised, nodding knowingly. How's that for pomposity? I'm becoming a bore.

There's a knock at the door. My neighbor Al wants some sugar. He inquires about my well-being.

"Maybe 25 years is enough," I tell him, my thoughts still on my job. "I'm having trouble sleeping at night. I keep worrying about Bosnia. The night before the GATT vote I was a nervous wreck. I mean, if the vote had gone the wrong way, all those years of work would have gone down the drain along with all those dreams about open markets leading to a new era of global prosperity."

"Hey," Al says. "Lighten up. Don't worry about things you can't control."

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*George Gedda has been covering the State Department for The Associated Press for too long.*

"My insomnia is not the only problem," I whine. "I need some Mike McCurry in me. Remember him? Right before Christmas, he showed up at a briefing dressed up as Santa Claus and tossed candy canes at the press. The only thing I toss around are bureaucratic clichés. I need to get a life. Instead of a 'Go Redskins' bumper sticker, I have one that says 'Partnership for Peace Now!' Another says 'Support The Missile Technology Control Regime.' What happens at work infects everything I do. The other day Fred came by and asked if I had seen his missing dog. I said, 'Well, I've heard the reports but I have nothing for you on that.'"

"You're right," Al agrees. "That was a pretty lame answer."

"That's not all," I continue. "Fred said he was worried that some young punks might have come into the neighborhood and kidnapped the dog. I told him 'I think we should monitor the situation closely. We have to be prepared to protect and defend our security.'"

"Right on," Al replies. "Eternal vigilance is the price of freedom."

"Now you're starting to talk like me."

"I've known you for too long. By the way, did Fred ever find his dog?"

"The answer is the same one I gave him. I have nothing for you on that. I can say, though, that I've been in close consultations with the neighbors. We all agree we have to monitor the situation closely."

"Maybe we need a neighborhood NATO."

"As a matter of fact, we are forming a 16-house grouping. We've decided to draw up a framework to ensure the integrity of the neighborhood is preserved."

"Hold on. A dog is missing and you're ready to go out and form a defense alliance?"

"Problems become crises unless they're nipped in the bud. Weren't you the one who was just warning about the need for eternal vigilance?"

"Hey, I didn't think you would take me so seriously."

"Maybe you're right. I've got to be a bit more laid back. I sound like such a bureaucrat that some people can't understand what I'm saying."

"What do you mean?"

"The other day, I told a colleague at the office, 'I wanted to give the TQ on UNPROFOR to the DAS but he was at a CSCE MFM so I gave it to PM.'"

"What's that supposed to mean?"

"That's my point. I'm just totally programmed. Last week, a few neighborhood teenagers got into a shouting match. I should have said, 'Hey, fellas, cool it.' Instead, I called for all parties to exercise restraint. I warned them against the specter of an escalation leading to a cycle of violence. I also have a thing about acronyms. At work, we have acronyms for everything. I'm even inventing acronyms for things around the house."

"Like what?"

"Well, the other day I asked my 12-year-old if she had fulfilled her duties under the TOTT program."

"What's that?"

"I'm embarrassed to admit it. 'Take out the trash.' Poor girl. I was on her case last Tuesday because she thought GATT meant 'Grab all the tacos.' I have to remember, she's only 12. Last week, I said to her, 'Clean your room, *inter alia*.'"

"You have to be kidding."

"No, that's the problem. There's no more levity in my life. I recently found myself putting to music the secretary's latest 'core values we hold dear' speech. The only relaxation I get is at the

Wednesday night card game. Last week, a new player showed up and I wanted to make sure it was OK to socialize with him. I started asking whether the president had his full backing on sustainable development and on the nuclear agreement with North Korea."

"Hey, this is a free country. Everyone is entitled to his own opinion."

"Yeah, but I don't want deviationists taking my money at card games."

"Did the new card player pass muster?"

"Well, he irritated me at one point when he said the whole State Department should be replaced by temps. He said he was kidding. He was a bit soft on Saddam Hussein but he said all the right things about peace through strength. So I guess he'll make the cut."

"Maybe you should take a trip. The Caribbean is nice this time of year."

"Hmmm."

"But you could even sneak into Cuba. Some of the best beaches in the world."

"Did you say Cuba? Are you suggesting I go there and provide aid and comfort to the last bastion of one-party rule in our glorious hemisphere?"

"No, I just wanted to get a rise out of you and I did. Seriously, have you thought about a career change?"

"Well, I have thought about going into the export business. After all, the name of the game these days is exports. GATT, NAFTA, APEC. More jobs, high-paying jobs for our citizens."

"My gosh, let's not get started in on that one. By the way, where's my sugar?"

"Here. Take it. I can assure you it's not Cuban sugar."

"I'm not surprised." ■

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*Remember when  
Mike McCurry  
dressed up like  
Santa Claus and  
tossed candy canes  
to the press? The  
only thing I toss  
around are bureau-  
cratic clichés. I  
need to get a life.*

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## BOOKS

### THE POLITICS OF TOO MANY PEOPLE

#### Critical Masses

George D. Moffett, 1994, Penguin Press, \$26.95, hardcover, 300 pages.

BY J. BRIAN ATWOOD

The recent Cairo conference on population and development highlighted the increasing importance of sheer human numbers to world affairs. In his book, George Moffett, diplomatic correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, shows us the human faces of the population challenge. Through the eyes of local people, Moffett examines urban crowding in Cairo, straining agricultural systems in Kenya, rain forest destruction in Guatemala, family planning success in Thailand, women's economic empowerment in Bangladesh, religious views in Mexico, and, finally, population policy in Washington.

All weave into the population story, but also buttress a fundamental point: Population growth matters not for its own sake, but for its impact on human welfare. Here, Moffett aptly surveys the often conflicting views of influential experts, from "Cassandras" who predict environmental, economic, and political collapse, to "Panglosses" who see human ingenuity accommodating — and even benefiting from — population growth.

Moffett concludes that either outcome is plausible. Humankind may

muster the ingenuity to feed and care for a doubled population; we may manage to contain the attendant environmental and political stresses. Or, great numbers of humanity may sink into a Malthusian decline of hunger, poverty, squalor and violence, with destabilizing impacts on the rest of us.

The challenge, he argues, is to adopt "enlightened policies" that encourage the former and avoid the latter. These include population policies to limit growth to the United Nations' "medium" forecast of 11.5 billion people on the planet in the 22nd century. Meanwhile, governments also must improve policies in agriculture, environmental protection, urban development, health, education and international trade to accommodate the growing numbers. In the words of the United Nations, we all must do "most things right most of the time."

Moffett outlines a compelling charge for American diplomats and development professionals, who are on the frontlines of the population challenge.

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encourages women's education and economic empowerment.

*J. Brian Atwood is the administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development. He served as a Foreign Service officer from 1966-72.*

### US-EUROPE HISTORY: ANALYZING 3 VIEWS

#### American Visions of Europe:

Franklin D. Roosevelt, George Kennan, and Dean G. Acheson

John Lamberton Harper, Cambridge University Press, 1994, hardcover, 341 pages.

BY DAN SIMPSON

John Lamberton Harper's wonderfully erudite work can be read on four levels. The first, his set task, is as a comparative historical and biographic account of how three of the great foreign policy figures of the 20th century — Franklin Delano Roosevelt, George Kennan and Dean Acheson — made and implemented U.S. European policy. The second is as an analysis of the basic issues of U.S. European policy. The third is an account of how the Department of State and the U.S. foreign policy mechanism worked including some sly but pungent snapshots of flashing fangs inside State and between U.S. foreign and domestic policy. The fourth level is in the implications of the past for the present.



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## BOOKS

FDR, Kennan and Acheson were very different people, to say the least. One of Harper's clear convictions is that the differing approaches of these three to Europe were greatly shaped by their own personal backgrounds, as well as by their experiences. Roosevelt had traveled in Germany, came from New York Dutch stock, wasn't crazy about the British, and, in general, subscribed to the Washingtonian point of view that the best place for America to be, with respect to Europe, was out.

Kennan, a Midwesterner, was Central Eurocentric in his general view. He had studied in Germany, was fascinated by Russia, and seemed to have been troubled, at least in his younger years, by a lack of comfort in his American skin, leading him to believe that Europeans knew what was best for them.

Acheson was what the British call "more British than the British." He apparently had a lot of trouble reconciling a resolute Anglophile posture with dealing with the real problems of post-World War II Europe — European unity, what to do with a vigorously convalescing Germany — and with the problems presented by the 1947 Congress, which was controlled by an inward-looking, budget-cutting opposition GOP majority. The 1947 Congress was not at all convinced that Europe was worth much anyway, not to mention becoming increasingly annoyed with European countries' demands for an American military, economic and political "umbrella."

The second level of John Harper's book is a brilliant exposition of the basically unchanging problems of U.S. European policy, from Wilson through Truman, by means of the study of the approaches of three very major practitioners. Far too simply put, is it Britain, or Germany, or Russia? Do we go for what remains of



our Anglo-Saxon tradition? Or economic might in the form of Germany pulling the European train, crossing our fingers about the lessons of the 1848-1945 period? Or mighty Russia, the "counterpart" of the U.S., at least in size and sprawl, a European and Pacific power?

The third level is, for the foreign affairs practitioner, a tantalizing glimpse. One sees the Foreign Service described as "a pretty good club," FDR abolishing the Division of Eastern European Affairs, down to getting rid of even its files and library; Kennan joining the Foreign Service because Milwaukee "held no charms;" and Acheson not even feeling the need to set foot in Europe between 1938 and 1949.

The fourth level is, in my view, Harper's subtle commentary on current issues in U.S. foreign policy, U.S. European policy and people. FDR was Jeffersonian. Roosevelt believed the only ealanity worse than entanglement in Europe was the one likely to ensue from leaving the Europeans to their own devices. Kennan saw the U.K. as a fundamentally decadent power, but still strong enough to undermine an emerging European structure.

Flaws in the book? It could have used a bit more editing. There is too much about authors who may have influenced the three leviathans. I could have used a bit more on the interplay between U.S. foreign policy and domestic political developments. Harper's discussion of Kennan contains extravagances of amateur psychoanalysis. But some of the details are marvelous — Acheson calling Vishinsky "a louse," and one of Roosevelt's advisers "that little rat."

*Dan Simpson is U.S. special envoy to Somalia.*

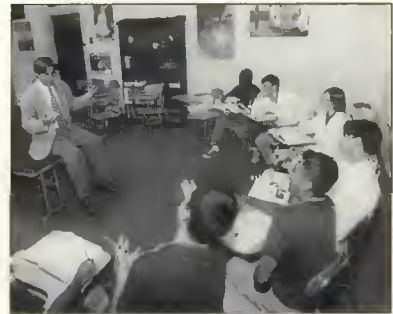
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## IN MEMORY

**Ernest Lewis Crosson**, 74, died October 13 of a heart attack.

He joined the Foreign Service shortly after marrying Margaret Eleanor Brogan in 1958. During his career, he was assigned to Manila, Nassau and Tokyo. He also served as attorney advisor and deputy chief of regulations and legislation for the Visa Office and later as chief in the Regulations and Legislation Division of the Visa Office. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1978.

Survivors include his son, Dean of Van Alstyne, Texas; two daughters, Nancy Starr of Houston, Texas, and Miki Tiechmann of Germany; two sisters, Rosemary Moehr of Cypress, Texas, and Sally Carter of Tennessee; and eight grandchildren and five great-grandchildren.



**Annette Mannoia**, 37, of Centreville, Va., died Nov. 29 in Bern, Switzerland.

She was born and grew up in Hilden, Germany, and pursued studies in sociology and audiology while taking business courses in Duesseldorf, Germany.

She accompanied her husband, Earl Mannoia, a retired Foreign Service officer, on tours in Djibouti, Vienna, Washington and Bern. She worked at the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna and the International Finance Corporation in Washington.

She is survived by her husband, Earl D. of Bern, Switzerland; and her mother, Elizabeth Wiese of Hilden, Germany.

**John W. Shotwell**, 76, died Sept. 3 in Tallahassee, Fla.

Mr. Shotwell graduated from New Mexico State College and received his master's degree from the Wharton School of Finance. After serving for four and a half years in the Pacific during World War II, he retired from the U.S. Navy in 1946 as a lieutenant commander.

In 1958, he joined the Agency for International Development (AID). He subsequently served in Bolivia, Guatemala, Brazil, Indonesia and later with the United Nations in Nigeria, Dominican Republic, Costa Rica and the Trust Territories of the United States in Saipan.

He is survived by his wife, Pearl K.



**Harold B. Snell**, 88, died Dec. 24 at his home in Silver Spring, Md.

Born in Dayton, Ohio, he worked in the steel industry for railroads and served overseas with the U.S. Army in World War II. He became executive secretary of the NAACP's Cincinnati branch before returning to the United Transport Service Employees (UTSE) of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). He left the UTSE as executive vice president to join the Foreign Operations Administration as regional labor adviser for the Near East, South Asia and Africa in 1955.

As the Foreign Service's first regional labor attaché, Mr. Snell served nine years in Beirut and then went to Nairobi as director of the AID mission to Kenya. Before his retirement in 1973, he served briefly in AID's Washington office. For the

succeeding nine years, he was a member of the Foreign Service Grievance Board.

He was awarded the State Department's Meritorious Honor Award. He is survived by his cousin, George L.P. Weaver of Washington, D.C.



**Harold Newton Waddell**, 82, died of congestive heart failure on Sept. 17 at his home in the Jefferson Retirement Community in Arlington, Va.

Mr. Waddell, a Georgia native, began his Foreign Service career in 1938 in Moscow, serving in the Soviet Union during World War II. He was one of five American embassy employees who remained in Moscow to look after U.S. interests when the diplomatic corps was evacuated to Kuibyshev during the German threat to capture the city. He was awarded the State Department Medal of Freedom, established by President Harry Truman in 1945. Mr. Waddell held a variety of consular and administrative assignments in Cairo, London and Brussels before 1947, when he was assigned to the department as a foreign management specialist.

After serving as a post management specialist and foreign affairs officer in Washington, he went to Tokyo as first secretary and consul in 1956. He became supervisory administrative officer in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs before retiring in 1966.

Survivors include his wife, Edith Ball Waddell; his son, Harold Jr. of Arlington, Va.; his daughter, Susan Purkrabek of Chicago, Ill.; his brother, James C. of Atlanta; and one granddaughter. ■

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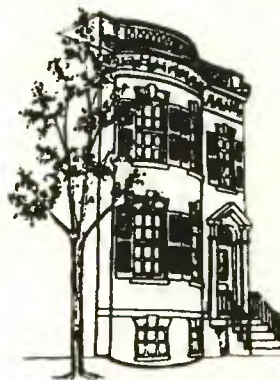
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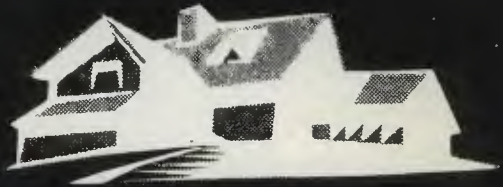
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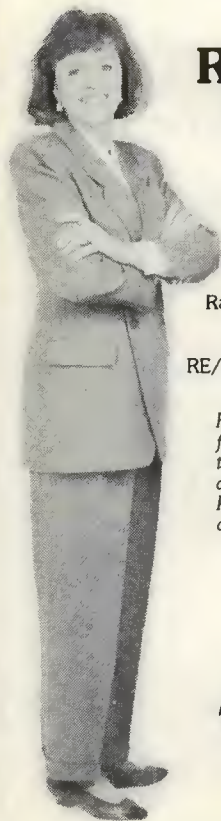
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# POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

## *Returning to an Indonesian Childhood*

BY AMANDA GARDNER

Except for three years when I was very young, I lived my whole childhood overseas — in Indonesia, Thailand, Australia and Cambodia. My father was in the Foreign Service, and we had spent most of this time — 10 years — in Jakarta. In fact, I spoke Indonesian before I spoke English. And now I was on a 30-hour flight from New York to Jakarta, a sentimental journey to the city of my childhood.

As we approached Jakarta, I could see red-tiled roofs and tropical greenery rushing to meet our jet. It was the same scene I had witnessed when Garuda Airlines took us away almost exactly a decade ago.

On the ground, though, Jakarta seemed completely different from the city of my youth. The airport was new. So was the speedway that led into town. Downtown Jakarta appeared to have everything we had wished for as teenagers — fast-food restaurants, shops, cinemas. When I lived there, the closest hamburger was in Singapore, an hour and a half away by plane. We teenagers didn't think there was enough to do. And even when a western movie was shown in a local theater, it never turned out quite right. When "Superman II" finally arrived in town, a group of expats rushed to see it.

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*Amanda Gardner spent her childhood years in Indonesia from 1964-68 and from 1976-81, where her father Paul's last Jakarta tour was as deputy chief of mission. She is now a freelance writer in New York City.*

*The hibiscus and  
plumeria trees were  
as beautiful as ever.*



Years later, when I saw the film on video, I realized the Indonesian censors had gotten to the film before we did: In Indonesia, the kissing scene was like magnetic repulsion, with their lips coming toward each other and, just before touching, floating away again.

On my first day back, I walked toward Menteng, the tree-shaded district known for its colonial Dutch mansions where both the foreign and Indonesian elite lived. Our first house was just down the block from the home of an Indonesian general who had been killed during an attempted Communist coup in 1965. The country had been tense for weeks and every night my mother, anticipating trouble, had moved me and all the dining room chairs into her bedroom. If there were gunshots, she reasoned, she could throw me under the bed and use the chairs as bunkers. She would return the chairs to the dining room before the servants got up in the morning. When gunshots were actually fired, we were fortunately too far away to hear anything, but soon after, my mother and I were shipped to Australia for three months of safekeeping.

That episode would haunt me.

During our second tour in Jakarta, when I was 13, the school scheduled a field trip to the well where the bodies of that general and four others had been dumped. The museum included the blood-stained sheets that had wrapped the bodies. I remember asking to be excused.

When I got to Menteng, cars and motorcycles jammed the area's main thoroughfare. This was familiar. So were the large white houses and the laborers in straw hats stooped over the median strip, tending shrubbery. The McDonalds, a shopping mall and several movie theaters were not familiar. I saw no *becaks*, the ubiquitous three-wheeled pedicabs that were the common mode of taxi transport in the 1980s. In fact, we have a painting of our Menteng house, rendered by an artist whose specialty was the vivid scenes on the backs of these bicycle taxis. This particular artist required more than money for his efforts: We had to supply him with enough beer to work productively but not so much that his hand faltered.

I turned left into the small horse-shoe-shaped road where we had lived. The hibiscus and plumeria trees were as beautiful as ever. I stared for a while, then crossed the street and approached the gate, standing transfixed before the guard with his rifle and suspicious gaze. I decided too many years had passed to go further. I stood awkwardly for another moment, then turned and walked back to the neon lights. I no longer had a place here. ■

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