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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

\$3.50/SEPTEMBER 1995

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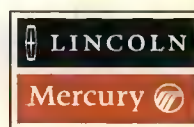
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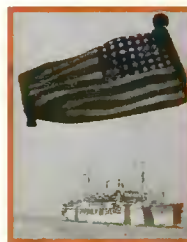
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Colorized cover photo of the diplomatic exchange ship S.S. Gripsholm, a neutral ship flying the Swedish flag, fully lighted to avoid fire from friend or foe. (January 1944 Journal)

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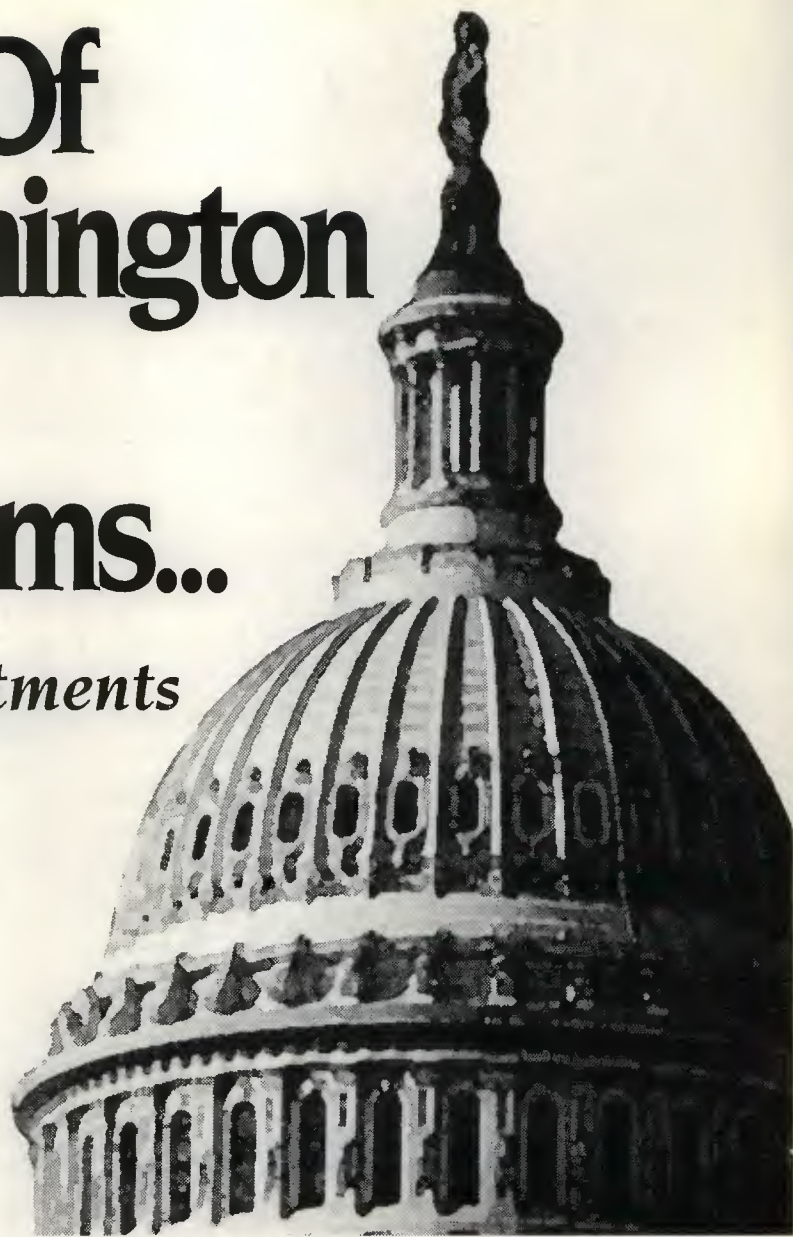
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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Moving Beyond Stalemate

By F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

Stalemate is everywhere — it's hot, it's humid — folks are snarly on Capitol Hill and in Foggy Bottom. Disagreements over Bosnia's intractable war have produced confrontation between the executive and legislative branches reminiscent of the South African sanctions debate of the 1980s and the Vietnam War debate of 30 years ago.

Alongside the substantive deadlock lurks a critical stalemate involving the proposed reorganization and scope of America's foreign affairs agencies. After the Senate bill on reorganization failed to obtain cloture and was taken off the calendar, a frustrated Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) said, "When [President Clinton] is in the mood to have some ambassadors confirmed or some treaties considered, all he has to do is send word that he no longer believes [that the way] to beat this bill is to 'delay, postpone, obfuscate, derail.' If [he] wants some ambassadors cleared and he wants his representatives in the Senate to jointly cooperate in producing a bill, that will be fine."

Within the administration things are also sticky. Foreign affairs agencies are grappling to be efficient and cut costs by combining 24-hour operations centers, some overseas administrative functions, diplomatic security organizations and, for State and the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), inspector generals' offices. Even the small effort to link bureaus within

*Diplomacy
has become
a non-issue.*



State to speed up processing of overseas travelers remains bogged down. Integration and downsizing are hard tasks. Turf protection and doing it the old way are still key values; efficiency is not — yet.

Meanwhile, the outside world has changed dramatically. Challenges to the foreign affairs agencies are growing, ranging from proliferation of nuclear weapons to peace in the Balkans to international crime to economic competitiveness and fairness in world trade. Every single item on the new foreign affairs agenda has an active and vocal constituency, but there is no central unifying theme today as there was in the past to bring about political support for the most critical instrument in addressing these challenges: American diplomacy. In fact, diplomacy is a non-issue. In the past, this nation rallied on a bipartisan basis to fight "godless communism" via integrated diplomatic/military/intelligence efforts around the globe. Today, congressional funders focus principally on cutting the budget, not on defending America's interests in the world.

The international diplomacy budget this year faces cuts of more than 20 percent from the \$21.2 billion request —

with a mandate of no cuts to the \$5.1 billion earmarked for the Camp David signatories: Israel and Egypt. In addition, Sen. Helms' bill would require major personnel cuts now: 50 percent at the Agency for International Development (AID), 25 percent at USIA, and 9 percent at State.

But even worse is that the budget ax would cut deeper over the next four years, reducing funding to 60 percent of today's foreign affairs budget without any provision for inflation and further decline in the dollar. In fact, Congress is halving U.S. diplomatic efforts at a time of unprecedented challenge and opportunity. Diplomacy is sadly an easy political target.

What to do? First, we must all loudly proclaim that the changing international environment requires more, not less diplomatic energy around the world. We must all write and speak out against the gutting of American diplomacy. We have friends and supporters. We must inform them and enlist their support. Second, it is imperative that experienced professionals lead in setting new priorities for U.S. international efforts. Declining resources will force some cutbacks; we must choose where to take those hits very carefully — and sensibly.

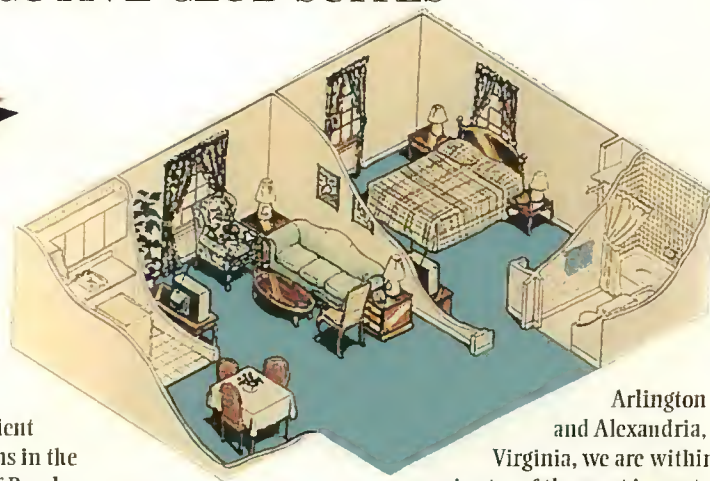
Finally, we must insist that our political leaders adopt as a key goal the establishment of the best diplomatic service in the world to advance and protect America's security and ensure its prosperity. Foreign Service professionals, active and retired, will play a key role in this debate. The future is ours to shape, if we act and speak out now. ■

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

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LETTERS

To the Editor:

At first I found Chester Crocker's article, "Why Africa is Important" (June *Journal*) compelling. Upon reflection, however, I think it would have been more accurate to call it "Why Africa Will Be Important." Right now, as the article illustrates, the ruthlessness of the sub-Saharan tribal mind-set, the corruption, ineptitude, instability and amorality that one finds throughout sub-Saharan Africa render the continent more of a liability than an asset in terms of U.S. involvement.

In time, enough African nations may, indeed, come into their own and help shed Africa's current dismal image. Still, a positive prognosis for this pathetic continent is insufficient to justify significant U.S. expenditure or involvement right now. It might seem at first blush that early U.S. political and economic investment in a continent with such a large population, natural resources and political promise would be a manifestation of foresight and foreign policy wisdom. But, as many foreign affairs professionals are aware, acts of aid, support and friendship today have far less weight on a nation's actions and policies tomorrow than one would think. For now, one must agree with Sen. Mitch McConnell that it is hard to find a U.S. national interest in sub-Saharan Africa.

Yet one must agree with Crocker's statement that it would be counter to every humanitarian impulse to write off Africa. For this reason one hopes

that Americans will work for the betterment of the African condition through established charities and outreach programs run by churches and synagogues. But to incorporate such an effort into our current foreign policy on the basis of alleged U.S. national interest is indefensible.

*Christopher D. Costanzo
Retired CIA officer
Randolph, Vt.*



To the Editor:

Congratulations for your excellent coverage of Sub-Saharan Africa in your June issue. I just returned from a trip to Africa and agree with Chester Crocker and Hank Cohen that while most of Africa is going through a very rough patch, the United States must not lose hope and certainly must not stop helping African countries that deserve our support.

However, I must point out that your authors neglected to discuss — except in passing — what may all too soon become Africa's real Achilles heel: the failure of almost every African government to invest in increasing the capacity to feed rapidly growing populations. Population is growing faster in Africa than in any other part of the world. In almost every African country, agricultural production has lagged behind population growth for over 15 years. Already a quarter of all Africans go

to bed hungry. Without urgent action, the number of hungry will balloon. Food aid — U.S. and other — is being rapidly reduced, and African economies are having trouble generating the foreign exchange needed to buy food to meet production shortfalls. As a consequence, massive starvation lurks just ahead unless heroic measures are taken.

The United States has a strong political interest and humanitarian duty to add its weight to efforts to give a stern wake-up call to African governments seemingly unprepared to pay attention to their farmers and rural development. And for those countries who are ready and do respond, the United States must give substantive, continuing assistance — and fast. Most African countries are able to feed themselves, but with every lost day the problem of feeding their growing millions becomes more intractable.

*Robert O. Blake
Retired U.S. ambassador
Chairman, Committee on
Agricultural Sustainability
for Developing Countries,
Washington, D.C.*



To the Editor:

Francine Moddero's interesting article, "The Growing Clout of NGOs" (July *Journal*) neglected to mention probably the most successful and effective NGO of them all,

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IESC receives more than 50 percent of its operating funds from a yearly Agency for International Development (AID) grant. Other financial support comes from client contributions and the U.S. private sector.

Whatever the "new look" in foreign assistance one must hope that this valuable program will be recognized and continued. IESC is a unique partnership of American free enterprise, government and volunteerism.

*James Bailey Parker
Retired FSO
New York, N.Y.*



To the Editor:

I was pleased to read [Ellen Rafshoon's] "Inside the Carter Center" (*July Journal*), which details the important work being done by President Jimmy Carter and his colleagues, many of them former and

LETTERS

current Foreign Service officers. Carter's commitment to human rights and democracy and the personal example he sets in that regard are an inspiration to us all. In describing his initiative in Haiti, she mentions that he was joined by Belize's Prime Minister Manuel Esquivel. Although the prime minister is thoroughly supportive of the restoration of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's government — indeed, the government of Belize has participated in both the Multi-National Force and the United Nations Mission to Haiti — it was former Belizean Prime Minister George Price, not Esquivel, who has on several occasions accompanied President Carter to Haiti.

*George Bruno
Ambassador
U.S. Embassy Belize*

To the Editor:

I would like to comment on "Speaking Out" by Hans Tuch, "Two-Track Career Plan: Wrong Turn on Road to Personnel Reform," (June *Journal*). During the days of my 1951 Foreign Service training course, I recall being urged to participate in "people-to-people" diplomacy.

As I was to learn, there are lots of "publics" in this world. This complicates the tasks of diplomacy, especially the tasks of anyone encouraging public diplomacy as Tuch does. Which public do we emphasize, and how do we define it? Is success in our dealings with a public defined simply by the numbers we can muster, or is some effort involved to establish the qualities of the publics as well? For example, in Karachi in 1951-53, the U.S. Information

Agency (USIA) was sending out movie projectors mounted on trucks for moonlight shows to which indigenous Pakistanis were invited, coming in vast numbers from surrounding villages. It's now 40 years later. What practical effect have these movie showings had on U.S.-Pakistani relations?

In the days of the Soviet Union, an attempt was made to evaluate the U.S. Information Service's programs run for [foreign] citizens, including trips to the United States. The most objective evaluation possible was one of limited success, largely because beneficiaries of U.S. largess were assumed to be afraid to talk about their true feelings because of possible government oppression. Similar examples could be cited in Brazil and West Germany, as well as in numerous other countries.

It seems to me that there is a place for public diplomacy. However, I believe that it is also important to recognize that its major value will occur under special conditions. USIA will be required to target those conditions that appear to offer the best chances of success. The alternative is increasingly unacceptable: a world-wide shotgun approach of something for everyone. Governments must be responsive, responsible, and must accept a valid role of their citizenry in the conduct of foreign affairs. Even then, USIA's stress on public diplomacy seems to me likely to be at best a shot in the dark, perhaps minimally necessary as a supporting element of U.S. policy. However, one would have few expectations of success unless USIA becomes capable of defining precisely the public or publics with which it plans to deal.

*William B. Miller
Retired FSO
Winter Park, Fla. ■*

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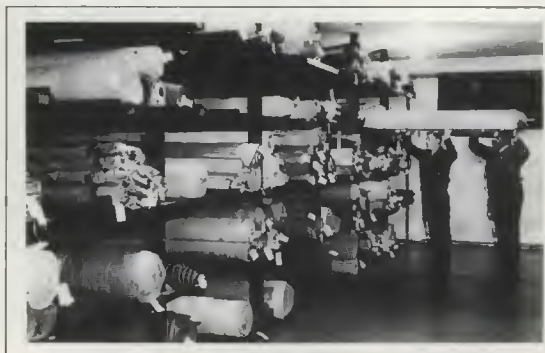
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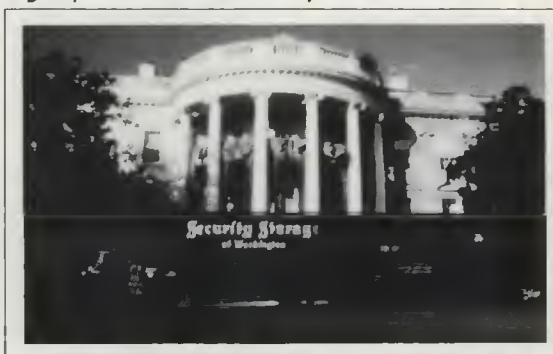
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SPEAKING OUT

Management Deaf to Hispanics' Complaints, Concerns

BY DAN SANTOS

Despite a recent Supreme Court opinion that many say will reduce affirmative action hirings in public and private jobs, now is not the time to abandon race and gender standards for the Foreign Service.

The June 12 decision, prompted by the *Andarand Construction vs. Peña* case, will toughen the standards for federal affirmative action programs. The majority opinion, written by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, appears to eliminate racial "set asides" for federal affirmative action programs, requiring the so-called "strictest scrutiny" standard, which state and local affirmative action programs have had to meet since 1989. Under this exacting standard, a race-based hiring decision is unconstitutional unless it furthers a "compelling" governmental interest, rather than simply a "significant" interest.

President Clinton recently affirmed the continued need for affirmative action programs in both public jobs and private industry, but some presidential hopefuls have announced plans to set back programs even further. In July, Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-Kan.) introduced broad legislation that would end the use of racial and gender preferences in federal contracting and hiring

Daniel Santos Jr. is the president of the Hispanic Employees Council of the Foreign Affairs Agencies (HEC-FAA), a minority advocacy organization representing more than 1,000 Hispanic employees at State, AID, USIA and FAS.

*Despite years of
alleged
affirmative
action, there has
been little
progress for
Hispanics.*

and would ban the government from specifically recruiting minorities and women for federal jobs. Hearings on the bill are slated for this month.

Although the Supreme Court decision is being hailed by affirmative action opponents as a remedy to reverse what they believe is a "quota system" for minority and women hirings, civil rights advocates regard *Andarand vs. Peña* as a significant obstacle to maintaining existing federal affirmative action programs.

Hispanics' grievances in the foreign affairs agencies have remained constant over the past 30 years. Hispanics remain underrepresented in the foreign affairs agencies, and many believe that they are not being fairly treated in terms of tenure and promotions.

The foreign affairs agencies have long stated that an effective foreign affairs apparatus needs to be represen-

tative of America's diversity. But despite years of management's alleged promotion of affirmative action policies in the Foreign Service, there has been little progress. For example, Hispanics accounted for only 1.4 percent of State employees as of Dec. 30, 1976. Currently, they account for only 4.3 percent of State Department employees; 3.2 percent of workers at the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID); 5.55 percent at the U.S. Information Agency (USIA); and 3.8 percent at the Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS). But, according to recent U.S. Census data, Hispanics represent 9 percent of the U.S. population.

Some progress has been made in the last 30 years, but it's not enough. And if, in fact, the foreign affairs agencies continue to use affirmative action hiring guidelines, it will not be difficult to prove under the doctrine of "strict scrutiny" that Hispanics are underrepresented.

A 1989 Government Accounting Office report on minorities and women at the State Department found that, while 20 percent of white applicants passed the 1987 Foreign Service test, only 5 percent of minorities taking the exam passed. Minorities also fared worse than whites in the oral exam for that year. The same report found that from 1985-87, minority men and women were not recommended for tenure at "much higher rates" than their white counterparts.

In 1994 the situation improved: 10 percent of Hispanics taking the written exam passed and 19 percent passed the

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oral assessment, compared to a pass rate on the oral exam of 8 percent for all applicants. Actual hirings are more problematic: In 1994 four of 131 new hires were Hispanic and in 1995 only two new hires out of 110 were Hispanic. Eight offers from the register were actually made; six declined for a variety of reasons, including job commitment, family concerns and continuing education, the same reasons expressed by other candidates on the register.

State and other agency officers often complain of being channeled into less career-enhancing jobs or exclusively into Latin America positions or bureaus more often than whites. Generalists with non-Spanish surnames can expect promotion to Class 1 within 13.3 years, while identifiable Hispanics wait an average of 14.9 years.

The Hispanic Employees Council of the Foreign Affairs Agencies (HEC-FAA), the oldest minority advocacy organization recognized by the foreign affairs agencies, is working to increase the percentage of Hispanics in foreign affairs jobs to 15 percent of the workforce by the year 2000, reflecting the expected proportion of American society at that time; to ensure that Hispanic tenure and promotion rates are equal to that of other racial and ethnic groups; and to keep management focused on the concerns of Hispanic employees.

In an effort to engage management in clarifying tenure and promotion discrimination perception issues, HEC-FAA in April wrote Genta Hawkins Holmes, who was the director general of the Foreign Service when this article was written last month, asking her to help determine if Hispanic tenure and promotions rates were on a par with other racial and ethnic groups. Holmes neither responded to, nor acknowledged, our letter. Instead, her staff provided Under Secretary of State Richard Moose a chart, which showed a positive

SPEAKING OUT

promotion rate for Hispanics from 1987-94 compared with other groups. However, the results were manipulated by only considering Hispanics who had been promoted, and ignoring those who had not. Such tactics only nurture the perception of unequal treatment for Hispanics.

The mere perception of discrimination is damaging to the morale of any organization, both public and private. And, if the government of a country with a worldwide reputation for racism doesn't care about the racial diversity of its public institutions, how will America's image abroad ever be changed?

For the 21 years of HECFAA's existence, the group has been more than willing to work within the system, choosing to do this rather than taking the matter to court or to another public forum. Last year, Rep. Robert Menendez (D-N.J.) successfully introduced legislation earmarking a portion of State's budget for Hispanic recruitment. Unsatisfied with the lack of results and management's poor response, Menendez and other members of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, including Florida Republicans Lincoln Diaz-Balart and Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, are planning to submit similar legislation. Non-governmental organizations such as La Raza and the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce have also expressed support for HECFAA's efforts. Though HECFAA respects and understands the fiscal and organizational problems that beset the foreign affairs agencies, management needs to be more responsive to Hispanics' concerns.

As to *Andarand vs. Peña*, call it culturally Quixotic, but the challenge posed by the Supreme Court's ruling does nothing to dampen the growing resolve of HECFAA. In the last three decades, affirmative action programs has proven to be good for business, good for government — and good for the United States of America. ■

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WWII CLIPPINGS



DOWN IN BURMA

John Davies, second secretary at Chungking, China, and William Stanton of the Office of Economic Warfare were among a group of 19 who parachuted from a crippled transport plane on Aug. 2, 1943, landing in the head-hunting territory of north-west Burma. American officials contacted the marooned party after a few hours, when searchers spied a message on the side of a cleared hill that spelled out with parachute cloth, "Send medical man with rescue party." While the men awaited rescue, planes daily dropped off guns, ammunition and food. Messages, transported by native runners to an American outpost 100 miles away, said "All comfortable, awaiting rescue party, natives friendly." (September 1943 *Journal* photo) ■

5,000 STATE WORKERS TOILED DURING WWII

The October 1943 *Journal* reported that Foreign Service employees stationed in Europe were some of the first Americans to experience the hardships and perils of World War II. For the American consulate in Warsaw the war began in September 1939, when German troops laid siege to the city; the embassy and consulate staff remained on duty.

"The spirit of the Foreign Service is like that of the armed services in that personnel must go where they are sent and perform their duties without regard to personal hardship or danger," wrote Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles in the *Journal*. In addition to the bombings and fighting, Foreign Service officers and staff also survived wartime conditions of near famine, the loss of personal items and long separations from wives and children. "There have been a number of breakdowns from excessive overwork amidst danger and privation," wrote Welles.

He reported that 5,000 men and women were stationed at 237 posts, throughout the world, ranging from one officer and one Chinese clerk at the Tihwa, China, consulate to 53 officers and 233 employees in London. The Foreign Service included 45 ambassadors, 850 Foreign Service officers, 1,200 embassy employees and 2,200 local employees and 650 auxiliary employees.

PRAISING THE FEMALE 'INDESTRUCTIBLES'

The December 1943 *Journal* reprinted an article from *Woman's Home Companion* by Robert Bellaire,

praising Foreign Service clerks as the "Forgotten Women's Army." These 800 women, who worked as embassy secretaries and code or file room experts, were on the front lines all through the war years. "Many of these women experienced devastating bombardments, death, panic, revolution, earthquake, famine, pestilence and floods before the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor — years before anyone thought of organizing the smartly uniformed Wacs, Waves and Spars who now serve our country," wrote Bellaire, who called these women "the indestructibles." He pointed out that "during the Nazi air blitz against London, more than 200 heavy bombs hit within 1,000 yards of the American embassy. Yet none of the many clerks there were even scratched. Every evening these women walked through flaming bomb-battered streets of London. People were killed within a few feet of them, but the clerks were spared."

GRAB A PRESERVER ENROUTE TO POST

In a "News from the Department" column in the March 1943 *Journal*, Managing Editor Jane Wilson reported that the hazards of diplomatic travel had forced the State Department to distribute life preservers to Foreign Service officers enroute to posts. The compact rubber belts were accompanied by the following notice: "This pneumatic life preserver is the property of the Department of State and is being assigned to you for use in a possible



WWII CLIPPINGS

emergency, which it is hoped will not arise." The note also urged the user to recycle the jacket by returning it to the State Department "via sea pouch" so it could be re-used.

SMARTEST MAN IN WAR: HIS NAME WAS HULL

"The same man who outguessed most of the administration last fall, warning that Japan would attack us before Germany, is largely responsible for the initial success of our North African offensive. His name is [Cordell] Hull. And he has been without honor too long among the bright boys in Washington," opined the *New York World-Telegram* in a December 1942 *Journal* excerpt. Secretary of State Hull was credited with maintaining friendship with the French people, even at the price of recognizing the Petain-Laval regime.

Hull was also praised that year in the *New York Sun*, which reported that "the main attack on Mr. Hull from the glib smart boys on the left was that he would not break off diplomatic ties with Vichy, France. He was labeled an "appeaser" and a "Fascist," while many called for his resignation. The main reason the United States did not immediately denounce the Vichy government, explained George E. Sokolsky in the Nov. 11, 1942, edition of the *New York Sun*, was to give the State Department and the U.S. Army a listening post and the ability to monitor Nazi activity. In addition, retaining diplomats in France allowed the U.S. government to recruit anti-Nazi

French officers before the Allied invasion of Africa.

CONSUL DISGUISED AS ITALIAN PARTISAN

After escaping from an Italian internment camp in the fall of 1943, U.S. Consul Walter Orebaugh disguised himself as an Italian citizen and led a band of Italian Partisans fighting the Germans in the mountains of central Italy, reported Garnett D. Horner in the *Washington Star* of May 13, 1945.

Orebaugh had opened the American consulate at Monte Carlo when the Germans and Italians occupied southern France in November 1942 and took him into custody, sending him to central Italy for internment. After the Italian armistice on Sept. 8, 1943, he escaped with the help of local officials, grew a beard, obtained a false Italian identity card and in time became a leader of the San Faustino Partisan band. The Partisans raided Nazi truck convoys and supply depots behind German lines. Some of these raids were organized by Orebaugh while he was hiding out in the homes of Italian peasants.

According to the report, published in the July 1945 *Journal*, Orebaugh left the Partisans when their ammunition was almost gone. He reached Allied lines on May 10, 1944, but before returning to the United States, he consulted with Army officers about providing supplies to the Partisans. After a stint in the State Department he was assigned to Florence as consul.



COURIER CAPERS

Communications Officer George Weber and Courier James Owen, pictured above, had car difficulties on a run near Rabaat. By 1946, the number of diplomatic couriers had reached 90 men, expanding with the increased volume of secret communications during the war. In Egypt a communications center was opened to cover such distant points as Capetown, South Africa, Moscow and Chungking, China. In Europe the couriers would usually follow in the wake of the Allied troops through the liberated areas.

During this perilous time, in all their travels around the world only one courier was lost, in a 1942 Clipper plane crash in Lisbon. (April 1946 *Journal* photo) ■

CLIPPINGS



*The FSO
"wears no
uniform, yet it
is a matter of
pride with him
to go wherever
he is sent."*

—REP. FOSTER STEARNS
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

AUGUST 1942

JOURNAL

FS WIVES SERVED IN THEIR OWN WAY

Foreign Service wives have written an important chapter in the story of the Foreign Service at war, according to author Frances Russell in an excerpt from the December 1941 issue of *Cosmopolitan*, as published in the March 1942 *Journal*. When the Nazis invaded Belgium, Consul Herve L'Heureux decided that his wife, Jeannette, and three children, David, Jeanne and George, must return to America for safety. She piled the three youngsters in a car, accompanied with some food, and started for Dunkirk, France, just ahead of the retreating British Army. She then turned toward Paris — just ahead of the retreating French. Next, she tried to get to Bordeaux, dodging Stuka bombs



U.S. Under Secretary of State Edward Stettinius and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill shake hands during Stettinius's mission to London in April 1944. Stettinius and Churchill discussed a wide range of policy issues, including peacekeeping and the proposed international security organization, the United Nations. (Journal, July 1944 photo)



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CLIPPINGS



HERBERT K. WHITEAR

Chief Justice Richard Whaley swears in new Secretary of State James Byrnes at the White House on July 3, 1945. Foreground, left to right: Justice Whaley, Maude Byrnes, Byrnes and President Truman. Byrnes replaced Edward Stettinius, whose legacy was an increase in State's appropriations from \$47 million to \$74 million. (August 1945 Journal photo)

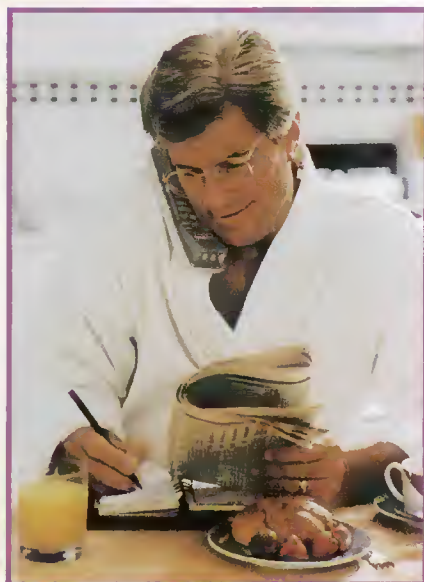
enroute. She would stop and herd the children into the nearest ditch until the danger passed, wrote Russell. Finally securing passage on the S.S. *Washington*, the family endured a close call by a Nazi submarine — they sat in a hanging lifeboat on the side of the ship until the danger of being torpedoed passed.

In Belgrade, in May 1941, Second Secretary James Bonbright and his wife drove around the city for two days during the worst of the bombings, rescuing American nationals, diplomats and wounded people. The two were cited by the Yugoslav government for their work during those days. Russell reported that “between rescue trips, Mrs. Bonbright served tea and cocktails to friends and strangers alike huddled in her cellar.”

“The American people are paying their diplomats too little and too late.”

— EDITORIAL,
APRIL 1946
JOURNAL

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CLIPPINGS

"The Pentagon should house State, which is now in 25 buildings."

— FACETIOUS
SUGGESTION FOR
IMPROVING THE FS,
APRIL 1945
JOURNAL

WASHINGTON JAMMED DURING WARTIME

Washington, a capital city of a few hundred thousand people before the war, had neared the million mark by September 1944. The influx of people was due primarily to the defense workers moving to the city from around the country, and refugees looking to escape the war in Europe.

According to *Washington Post* reporter Dudley Harmon's "Washington in Defense Time" in the July 1941 *Journal*, about 4,000 defense workers, from the industrialist to the stenographer, were arriving in Washington each month during the war. The organizations that brought in the largest number of workers were the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply, the Defense Mediation



PHOTO CREDIT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY JAMES C. DUNN

The three powerful allies — the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union — met at Potsdam in 1945 in what was officially designated "The Berlin Conference." Above from left to right: British Prime Minister Clement Attlee, President Truman and Russian Marshal Josef Stalin. Standing, Admiral William Leahy, British Foreign Minister Aneurin Bevin, and Secretary of State James Byrnes. (October 1945 *Journal* photo)

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President Roosevelt is shown on a warship anchored in Alexandria harbor on Feb. 14, 1945. Seated, left to right: U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain John Winant, FDR and Secretary of State Edward Stettinius Jr. Standing: Cecil Lyon, Hooker Doolittle and S. Pinkney Tick, FSOs stationed in Egypt; and H. Freeman Matthews, director of State's Office of European Affairs. (April 1945 Journal photo)

Board and the expanding War and Navy Departments.

British accents were heard everywhere, according to this report. The British embassy staff jumped from 40 to more than 200. To take care of the overflow, an annex was built on part of the carefully manicured embassy lawn, in which a large group of British volunteers, some of them titled, toiled night and day in the cipher room.

The increasing population resulted in less space for everyone. There were rarely vacant hotel rooms, and with thousands of automobiles blocking the streets of downtown Washington, many people were often up to an hour late for work. The traffic commissioner's office arranged a staggered schedule for government workers to drive to work, which considerably improved the traffic glut. ■

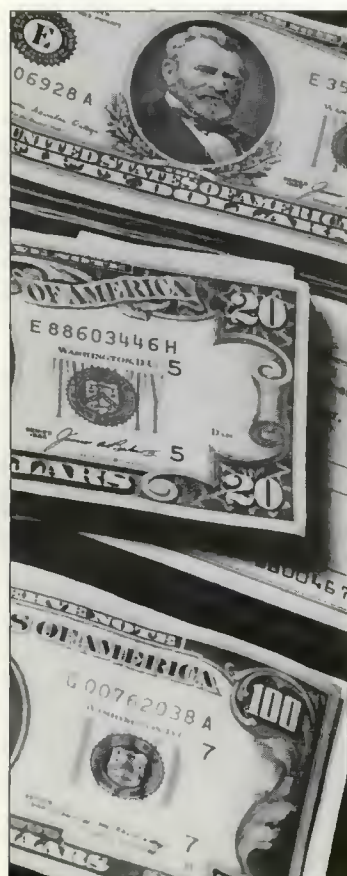
"A matrimonial agency should be set up for bachelor FSOs whose exposure to American beauties is limited."

— FACETIOUS

SUGGESTION FOR
IMPROVING THE FS.

APRIL 1945

JOURNAL



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WORLD WAR II & THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Although the Department of State and its Foreign Service hit their lowest level of influence during the World War II years, they began slowly moving in the post-war years toward a leadership role in creating and influencing U.S. foreign policy.

The conservative image of State and the Foreign Service, formally created in 1924, was fostered during the first few decades of the 20th century, when professionalization created a small, self-perpetuating elite drawn primarily from eastern universities. Diplomatic historian Waldo Heinrichs found that nearly two-thirds of the first groups of professional Foreign Service officers attended either Harvard, Yale or Princeton universities or comparable European institutions, and three-quarters of those recruited in the next decade began their exclusive educations at U.S. prep schools. Although this second batch included more Midwest-born recruits, such as the Princeton-educated George Kennan of Milwaukee, Wis., the Foreign Service's rigid entrance exam and its use of oral examination techniques ensured that new recruits were essentially drawn from the upper social classes. Reflecting the times, Foreign Service recruitment excluded large elements of

American society: women, Catholics, Jews, most eastern and southern European ethnic groups, Hispanics, Asians, and, of course, blacks.

Frequently caricatured as striped-pants dandies who cavorted with reactionary foreign elites, U.S. diplomats took a tremendous beating in the liberal press, which included some newspapers, and magazines such as *The Nation* and *The New Republic*.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's conservative appointees included: Cordell Hull, secretary of State from 1933-44; Breckinridge Long, who served as assistant secretary from 1940-44; and ambassador to

Great Britain Joseph Kennedy from 1938-40. They were balanced by the more liberal views of FDR appointees Sumner Wells, under secretary of State from 1937-43; Adolf Berle, assistant secretary of State from 1938-44; and Archibald MacLeish, assistant secretary of State from 1944-45.

The conservative views of these top officials and others clashed with the more radical vision of Roosevelt's Democratic New Deal. Although few FSOs displayed their political loyalties publicly, the State Department's top echelon, particularly in the European Bureau, included many Foreign Service officers politically to the right of FDR, such as Hugh Wilson, Hugh Gibson, James Dunn, Joseph Grew, William Phillips, Loy Henderson, H.F.



U.S. ARMY SIGNAL CORPS

AT 50-YEAR MARK,
CONTROVERSIAL ROLE
OF FS REEXAMINED

BY JAMES E. MILLER

F O C U S

President Truman and career diplomats would form a solid, professional partnership that carried the department and the Foreign Service to the height of their postwar influence.

Matthews, Alexander Kirk, Ray Atherton and Elbridge Durbrow.

FDR was frequently at odds with his State Department team over policy issues. During his first term the president clashed with top-level FSOs over the president's desire to recognize the Soviet Union. The issue of fascism came to the forefront during FDR's second term, as he focused on Germany as the primary threat to peace while diplomats warned that the Soviet Union and communism threatened U.S. interests. The diplomat's actions and reports frequently canceled out FDR's reluctant efforts to assist forces battling Fascists in Ethiopia and Spain, and later, to strengthen the resolve of the major democracies to confront Adolf Hitler.

It was during this period, from 1933-40, that the so-called "Black Legend" of the Foreign Service was nurtured — and amplified in the press and intellectual communities. Critics claimed that the State Department was filled with conservative reactionaries eager to appease the Nazi and Fascist dictators in Europe at the expense of American values and interests. A decade later, during the McCarthy era of the 1950s, this image would be inverted to create the myth of a "red" Foreign Service eager to appease communism in China.

The Foreign Service was not alone in its determination to downplay the Fascist threat to U.S. interests. Many powerful domestic interest groups such as America First, an organization of more than 800,000 that lobbied to keep America out of the war, were well organized on the grass roots level and well represented in Congress. Wide-spread public hostility

to any intervention in European affairs kept Roosevelt from pushing too hard to involve the United States in Europe. Throughout the late 1930s, FDR maneuvered cautiously, trying to provide backing to Hitler's enemies, even though he was restrained by isolationist legislation, public opinion and an uncooperative Foreign Service.

Antisemitism and a blind eye to the threat of fascism infected State's daily operations abroad. Diplomatic reports seemingly favoring Nazi and Fascist policies; for example, in 1938, U.S. ambassador to Germany Hugh Wilson worried that "certain elements" in the United States would "fanatically" try to drag the United States into war with Hitler. When Germany invaded Poland in September 1939, he suggested "a cessation of hostilities in the West to allow Germany to take care of Russian encroachment."

Liberal publications such as *The Nation* and *The New Republic* documented numerous examples of U.S. diplomats' refusals to assist European refugees from Fascist persecution even before the war began. Immigration quotas to the United States were cut in mid-1940 and again in 1941. The first cut halved the original 40,000 quota and the second cut slashed that number even further. After September 1939, the Department of State's strict enforcement of visa rules cut off thousands of Jews and anti-fascists attempting to flee to the United States. Between 1938 and 1944, only 10 percent of the legally permissible quota of refugees entered the United States, or 21,000 of the total 200,000 quota over a six-year period.

Historians agree that Long, a political appointee, was the primary roadblock at State to assisting Jewish refugees. However, the Foreign Service contingent did not support the relaxation of regulations either, even though FDR pressed senior State offi-

James E. Miller is an historian in State's Office of the Historian. This piece is based on documents in the series, Foreign Relations of the United States, his 1986 book, The United States and Italy, 1940-50 and other World War II scholars' works.

F O C U S

eials to help those fleeing Hitler. Individual officers, of course, responded in a variety of ways to the refugee crisis, with some bending the rules to aid more refugees. But in November 1943, sharp confrontations between the department and Jewish advocacy groups in the United States prompted FDR to transfer refugee matters from State to the newly created independent War Refugee Board. Although a higher percentage of refugees were now being admitted, the quotas themselves would not be increased until 1948, with the passage of the Displaced Persons Act. However, most Jewish groups felt FDR's move was too little, too late.

Beginning in 1939, the president increasingly reduced the power of professional diplomats by creating a rival foreign policy bureaucracy, heavily staffed with liberal critics of the department and Foreign Service. The Office of Facts and Figures, the Office of Lend Lease Administration, the Bureau of Economic Warfare and the Coordinator for Inter American Affairs all shared the common feature of reducing State's jurisdiction over critical areas of foreign affairs. Simultaneously, the president entrusted more authority over foreign affairs to existing agencies like the departments of Treasury and the Interior, led by New Deal stalwarts and State Department critics Henry Morgenthau and Harold Ickes. Following Winston Churchill's example, Roosevelt set up a White House "map room," the precursor of the modern operations center, to coordinate intelligence and communications. He moved his trusted lieutenant, the liberal activist Harry Hopkins, into the executive mansion to serve as a proto-national security adviser. When the United States finally entered the war in December 1941, the president created more new groups to carry out a war policy, including the Joint Chiefs of Staff, entrusting the chiefs and their planning

committees with major foreign policy responsibilities.

The Foreign Service and the Department of State lost ground in this bureaucratic infighting due to a poor public image and to the foreign policy necessity to join the war. As public opinion makers recognized that Hitler, not Josef Stalin, constituted the primary threat to the United States, they frequently and conveniently forgot their prewar positions of favoring Germany and Italy and singled out FSOs as apologists for appeasement. Finally, the triumphs of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Japan led the United States to close its diplomatic missions in enemy and occupied countries. Many FSOs stationed abroad unwillingly returned to Washington to take up distasteful roles of bureaucrats with no specific assignments.

During 1942, the first year of U.S. involvement in the war, Roosevelt managed to keep most of the main foreign policy lines under his control. Exclusion of the State Department and Foreign Service from policy formulation reached its height in January 1943 at the Casablanca Conference. Churchill announced before the conference that in view of the important political questions to be considered at the meeting, he was bringing British foreign office staff — the English equivalent of the U.S. State Department staff. The president protested, since he then would be required to bring along Hull and the diplomats, something he wanted to avoid at all costs. FDR won his point. As a result, key decisions, such as the policy of unconditional surrender

announced at Casablanca, were made without significant input from the U.S. diplomatic corps.

One of the major lessons learned by the State Department during the war years was the importance of the link between public opinion and foreign policy. Ironically, Under Secretary of

FSOs W. Stafford Reid, Kenneth Penda and David King are presented medals by Under Secretary Dean Acheson on March 13, 1946, for exceptionally meritorious conduct in connection with the Allied landings in North Africa. (April 1946 Journal photo)



MILFRED GALE

F O C U S

State Sumner Welles, the most prominent New Dealer inside the department, took the lead in improving the agency's ties with the public. In 1939, shortly after the war began in Europe, Welles created a group of "postwar policy planning committees" to consider what sort of international political order would favor U.S. interests. The committees and subcommittees involved in this planning operation were staffed with senior department officials, returning FSOs, key journalists and influential academics. The groups worked until mid-1943, producing detailed studies and proposals for political and economic reconstruction and ethnically and strategically sound boundaries between states. These papers provided a practical basis for U.S. postwar reconstruction efforts. And equally important, they built support among non-governmental participants for policies advocated by State.

The next step in capturing public support was enunciating American war and postwar aims. Roosevelt was skeptical about the public commitment to internationalism and wanted to avoid Wilson's error of proclaiming war aims out of proportion to national power. As a result, FDR conspicuously failed to address this issue in the first two years of the war. Secretary of State Hull stepped awkwardly into the breach, but his vague and wooden broadcasts failed to capture the imagination of opinion molders or the general public. The Department of State doggedly progressed with its public relations campaign. While the president gradually and carefully outlined the main features of national war aims, the department filled in much of the detail. Throughout the war, senior officials used the radio and public meetings to outline a vision of a postwar settlement. By 1945, the department was mounting a sophisticated and effective public relations program.

Simultaneously, the policy papers created in the planning groups began to appear more frequently in briefing materials for international conferences and in instructions to officials overseas. And, as the war neared its end, U.S. military chiefs were eager to hand responsibility for political and economic policy over to civilians. The Joint Chiefs, in particular, turned to the Department of State for guidance on

problems of occupied and liberated territory in Europe.

The effort to get the department and the Foreign Service more involved in U.S. policy found a supporter in Harry Hopkins. FDR's chief adviser on international affairs recognized the need for institutional continuity in foreign policy. In mid-1943, the president reshuffled the State Department leadership, attempting to reduce the influence of a number of senior diplomats. He replaced Under Secretary Wells with efficiency expert Edward Stettinius. When Hull's failing health forced his resignation in November 1944, Stettinius took over as secretary of state. Stettinius brought a new team of senior aides to the department's top positions. Hopkins, meanwhile, won FDR's approval for expanded State Department participation at major allied conferences.

Allied military success gave a further push to the reemergence of the Foreign Service and Department of State in significant policy roles. Military commanders abroad wanted experienced civilians to advise on difficult questions of local politics, economic assistance and allied relationships. The liberation of more territory from German and Japanese control, and the consequent reinstatement of local political control, meant that the United States had to reopen diplomatic and consular missions, which required more FSOs, and thereby, more aggressive recruiting by the Foreign Service.

By the end of 1944, the Foreign Service was back in a position of influence both at home and abroad and the department took a prominent role before and during the Yalta conference in February 1945. Two months later Roosevelt died, and Harry S. Truman succeeded to the presidency. The new leader, who had limited experience in foreign affairs, had been shaped in the Kansas City Prendergast political machine where loyalty was the supreme virtue. In the Department of State and Foreign Service, he found expertise, loyalty and a vision of reconstruction and relations with the Soviet Union that closely fit his more conservative outlook. Truman and career diplomats would form a solid, professional partnership that carried the department and the Foreign Service to the height of their postwar influence. ■

MEMOIRS OF DUTY, DANGER

W

ARSAW (September 1939) — When Germany invaded Poland, the Polish government directed all foreign missions to leave

the city. In the U.S. embassy we burned papers and shifted our personal belongings into the chancery basement, as we prepared to move out.

I was a civilian clerk-secretary to the military attache, Maj. William Colbern. At what is now Brest Litovsk, Vice Consul William Morton had set up a station to help U.S. citizens in eastern Poland, and we joined him at a run-down mansion on a farm five miles from Brest. On Sept. 7, German planes hit the town. Colbern and Morton decided to make a hazardous return trip to Warsaw to pick up clothing and effects, at times taking refuge under trees with bombs literally bursting in the branches. In Warsaw they found the consular staff and numerous refugees sleeping on the floor.

Two days later, Colbern set out for Krzemieniec, in southeastern Poland, where U.S. embassy personnel had followed the Polish government. I, along with Morton, remained at Brest Litovsk without any means of communication except my high school French and Morton's

Kansas English. We were desperate for news, relying on rumors passed to us by the American wife of a Polish farmer. A visiting priest told her that German tanks had just occupied a village only 25 miles away.

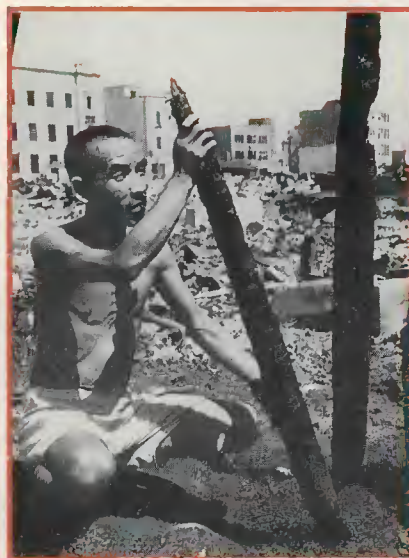
Morton and I decided we should follow the route of the embassy and headed toward Krzemieniec. The Poles had blown up a bridge over a small stream so we

hired horses, and early in the night, Morton's 1932 Ford and the major's V-8 were pulled up on the stream's steep banks. We drove until dawn, inching past cars, wagons, horses, motorcycles, trucks and troops, sleeping beside the road, and finally caught up with the embassy. But shortly after we arrived the embassy employees moved to Zaleszczyki.

The Polish government then evacuated to Romania, where our embassy followed, and Colbern and I drove to Bucharest on Sept. 20. No blackout, gypsy orchestras, *cafea cu lapte cu frisca* (Vienna has no monopoly on whipped cream), and the hotel has a real bathtub.

Edward Thrasher
Retired FSO
Washington, D.C.

An elderly Japanese man sits amid the rubble that was once his home in Yokohama. FSO U. Alexis Johnson was one of the first U.S. diplomats to enter Japan after its formal capitulation on Sept. 2, 1945. (July 1946 Journal photo)



FS EMPLOYEES RECALL STORIES OF US AT WAR

BELGRADE (April 1941) — A year before the United States was in World War II, I was dodging Nazi bombs in Belgrade. Hitler's infuria-

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tion over the ouster of Yugoslav Prince-Regent Paul caused the State Department to order officers with dependents to promptly leave Yugoslavia. I, a single FSO, proceeded from Budapest, my first post, to Belgrade to fill a gap.

I moved into the house of an evacuated family, and six days later the Germans, without any declaration of war, began to raze the city. Bombers destroyed the palace, the university, hospitals, churches, schools and many houses. One of the first bombs that early morning of April 6 landed just outside my house. I took refuge in the basement with the staff, listening to the screams of the diving Stukas. Later that morning I walked down rubble-strewn streets to find the legation building still intact. Luckily, no American had been injured, although some 25,000 civilians were killed in those four days of bombing.

Meanwhile all public services in Belgrade had become non-existent, including communications with the outside world. The State Department dispatched a legation officer from Budapest to work his way through the German ground forces advancing on Belgrade and to report on our fate. He, Outerbridge Horsey, arrived in the evening, stayed a day to witness the German occupation of the city, played poker with us that evening, and then returned safely to Budapest.

With the end of Yugoslavia as such, I was ordered to Zagreb, the capital of the then-emerging so-called Independent State of Croatia, a Nazi satellite regime governed by Croatian Ustashis. The small consulate general had no political section, and I worked to produce translations of the press and official communications and to piece together what was going on in Croatia. The Ustashis began to slaughter Serbs, Gypsies and others. On June 22, 1941, as our staff was pondering the news of the impending German invasion of Russia, armed Ustashi officers muscled their way in to the office and ordered us to close the consulate and leave Croatia within the week. They then began a search. I discreetly slipped some incriminating papers into my shirt and told a Croat officer I had to go down the hall to the bathroom, where I hurriedly tore up and flushed away the papers, finishing just as the officer demanded that I

come out. And so ended my first encounter with Nazi Stukas and stooges.

*Lee E. Metcalf
Retired FSO
Arlington, Va.*



SAIGON (November 1941 - July 1942) — By August 1941, the Japanese had gained effective behind-the-scenes control of French Indochina. On the night of Sunday, Nov. 23, the Saigon consulate was blown apart by a bomb placed against the door. From then on, it was obvious that the consul, Sidney Browne, and I, the vice consul, were being shadowed by the Japanese. On Dec. 8, the roar of low-flying Japanese planes awakened me in my apartment. "It has come," I thought. Shortly thereafter, a pounding began on my apartment door. I asked who was there. "A Japanese officer," came the reply. I slowly opened the door. Instantly a lieutenant and several men with fixed bayonets forced their way in. The officer handed me a mimeographed sheet. I put on a light to read: "1) The Empire of Japan has entered the warring state with your country; 2) Every communication with the exterior will not be permitted unless it is censored by the Japanese authorities."

I was kept in the apartment under guard until, on the afternoon of the third day, I was told to pack for transfer to the British consular residence, where I remained for nearly seven months along with our consul, an Associated Press correspondent, the British consul general and his wife; two British vice consuls and a U.S. tobacco company representative.

We could not go out of the yard except under guard to see either a doctor or a dentist. But the yard was large enough for considerable exercise, including deck tennis. There were food shortages, of course, but we had as much as anyone else, and our cooks did very well with what they had. Radios kept us in touch with events in the rest of the world. Our book supply for both pleasure and study was good, bridge was an evening ritual, and our existence, though monotonous, was largely without obligations.

After some postponements, the Japanese exchange ship, the *Asama Maru*, reached Saigon to pick us up. On July 4, we left the mouth of the Saigon River to begin the 18,000-mile trip home. Off Singapore we saw the last of

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Japanese military power as formations of some 60 planes roared in a demonstration above us. Then we traveled across the Indian Ocean to Portuguese East Africa for transfer to the *Gripsholm*, and via the Cape and Rio de Janeiro to New York.

*Kingsley W. Hamilton
Retired FSO
Washington, D.C.*



RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL (November 1942) — I was a brand-new just-hired young American diplomat, exhausted after a four-day trip with my wife that included a flight on a DC-3 from the United States to Rio de Janeiro. As I entered the U.S. embassy, which at that time was the second largest after London, I was escorted into the palatial office of U.S. Ambassador Jefferson Caffery. After several minutes, he looked up from his writing and in a matter-of-fact voice asked me if I spoke Portuguese. I replied stumbly that I did not, as I had been told only three weeks ago that I was going to Brazil. The ambassador interrupted me and said, "I do not wish to see you again until you do. Good day, young man." Notwithstanding this inauspicious beginning, Caffery proved to be the kind of ambassador neophyte officers should serve under.

Caffery had been given the almost impossible task after Pearl Harbor of persuading Brazil to come into the war on our side. The United States desperately needed airfields on the northeast hump of Brazil so its planes could fly to Africa via Ascension Island and then on to England, out of reach of the U-boats, which were sinking one Allied freighter out of three. The near-disastrous military situation of the Allies demanded exquisite diplomatic skills. The U.S. and British Pacific fleets had been almost destroyed by the

Japanese, who had taken Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines. Western Europe was occupied by Hitler's troops, and the Battle of Britain was being fought by a handful of British fighter planes. Brazil had more than a million recent immigrants from Germany, most of whom supported the German war effort. The Brazilian Armed Forces chief of staff, Gen. Gaspar Dutra, had just toured Germany as Hitler's deputy Hermann Goering's guest and had returned with his big chest dripping with German Iron Cross medals.

But Caffery prevailed; his famous telegram reporting his success was very short, saying in effect: "Foreign Minister [Oswaldo] Aranha told me this morning that President [Getulio] Vargas will declare war on the Axis in 10 days' time. He requested that we identify all the Axis spies we know of in Brazil so that he can arrest them on the eve of that declaration." What a diplomatic victory!

As a junior economic analyst in the Foreign Service auxiliary, I was assigned to the embassy's wartime section charged with identifying companies in Brazil controlled by the Axis and, therefore, suspected of harboring spies; it was illegal for U.S. citizens to do business with these firms. We also had a confidential list of suspects. When the Allies captured the German espionage headquarters in Berlin, they told us we had done very well.

*Sheldon B. Vance
Retired FSO
Chevy Chase, Md.*



FSO George Kennan bats and U.S. Army Maj. J.R. Lovell catches at an internment baseball game in Bad Nauheim, Germany. More than 100 Americans were interned at this site from Dec. 12, 1941 to May 12, 1942. (August 1942 Journal photo)



R. BORDEN REAMS

CARACAS TO ANKARA (June 21 - July 28, 1942) — A few months after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, I received urgent travel orders to depart Caracas by fastest means for Ankara. As a Foreign Service clerk specializing in code work, I was thrilled, and it only took me a few days to be on my way to Turkey. Little did the department

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realize, nor did I, that this transfer by the fastest means possible was going to take some time. Some may question my route to Ankara, but if one remembers that Rommel was pounding on the gates of Cairo and the Nazis were in a pinching movement towards Turkey, the detour that I had to make to get to Turkey will be better understood.

On June 21, 1942, I took flights from Caracas to Miami and from Miami to New York. Two days later I boarded a four-motored Yankee Clipper that was anchored in the New York harbor. We made two stops before crossing the Atlantic and skimming to the coast of the Emerald Isle at Foynes, Ireland. From there a land plane took me to Bristol, and then I took a short train ride to London.

With my urgent orders in hand I went to the U.S. embassy to ask for the most immediate transportation to Turkey. The transportation officer smirked. Finally, after two weeks of desperate waiting, I was given two hours' notice to catch a train for Poole, England; from there, I grabbed a Clipper flight to Foynes and then a long flight to Lisbon, where I had to spend three days. We finally flew southward over Gambia, Liberia, the French Ivory Coast, and the Gold Coast, before anchoring in Lagos.

The next morning I boarded a one-motor monoplane that took me across the heart of Africa, which stopped in Kano and Maiduguri, Nigeria; Fort Lamy, Chad; El Fasher, Sudan; and finally Khartoum, where the motor of our one-engine plane began to sputter. The plane flew just a hundred yards over the town, and then, most abruptly, bumped down hard and spun around twice. The dirt runway was 50 yards away. How beautiful it was to be alive.

Eventually, after seven days, we departed Khartoum and headed northwards towards Wadi Halfa, Sudan, and then straight to Cairo. After another seven days in Cairo, I boarded a one-motor plane, headed toward the ancient seaport of Adana, Turkey, where I spent the night. The next afternoon I boarded a modern train for the last leg of my trip to Ankara, arriving late at night. The date was July 28, 1942.

I look back on my trip and recall moments of astonishment and delight: in London, the pitch black nights and bumping into friendly people; beautiful Irish villages and magnificent cottage gardens; the primitive world of Africa, where night tom-toms and the shrill cry of wild animals were common; in Khartoum, eating lamb day after day and listening to the call to prayers; in Turkey, the astonishment of seeing Nazi flags flying over many buildings; and the liveliness of Cairo. How proud I was to have completed my

transfer to Ankara — 36 days after receiving my urgent travel orders.

*By Weikko Forsten
Retired FSO
Boca Raton, Fla.*



BASEL, SWITZERLAND (September 1942) — I assumed my consular duties on the day following my arrival in Switzerland. The consulate staff consisted of three American officers, another female clerk, and one charming and polished French-American gentleman, who was our messenger. He rode the consulate's bicycle daily delivering papers in a most elegant manner, always properly attired, even as to hat and gloves. I was in charge of the confidential files. I also did some code work, dictation, preparation of reports on firms shipping to the enemy — and therefore on our blacklist — and intelligence coverage.

Despite my active and interesting life and work, there were continual sad reminders of the war. Air raid alerts were so frequent that we could have been going in and out of the shelters most of the day and night, but we usually ignored the sirens and went about our business.

Many children were sent into Switzerland to escape the war. It was a heartbreaking experience to visit the French side of the Basel railroad station, where the slowly puffing, rickety trains crawled in, loaded with homeless, crying, cold and hungry little ones from Holland, Belgium and France. They were so poorly clothed, wooden shoes or none at all, bare legs, no gloves, crying for parents, or calling out, "Where is my brother; oh, where is my little sister?" The Swiss were most kind and helpful. The children were immediately warmed, washed and fed. After the formalities of health inspection and record-keeping, these little ones were assigned to families all over the country for the duration of the war. In time, they all were returned to their homes and, hopefully, reunited with their families. Many fine friendships resulted between these parents, real and foster, after the war.

*Janice Plowman
Retired FS Staff
St. Louis, Mo.*



TORONTO TO DAKAR (November 1943 - July 1944) — I was a member of the last pre-war class to take and pass

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the Foreign Service exam. Early in 1942, I survived the oral exam — the final ordeal — and was promptly sworn in as an FSO Unclassified C, with the munificent salary of \$2,500 annually. In the autumn of 1943, after visa and passport training at the consulate general in Toronto, I was ordered to board a slow-moving Liberty ship from Charleston, S.C., which then joined a convoy at Norfolk and proceeded east at a time when the German U-boats were taking a heavy toll of American merchant shipping. My Foreign Service cabin companion and I had more faith in our escorting destroyer and the watchful blimp patrolling overhead than did our ship's first mate. But then, he had already been torpedoed once.

For some reason the U-boats spared us, and at long last our convoy reached Casablanca in time to spend Christmas, and then we headed off to various ports on the west coast of Africa, including Dakar, my destination. Dakar was a combined military-naval consular establishment headed by Vice Admiral Glassford. In view of the size of our air base, which was a major transit point for planes going to and from the main theater of war in Italy, I was not surprised to find myself as a relatively humble vice consul attending to the needs of the few American civilians in the territory. I would have been astonished had I then been told that within a few short months, after the Allied landings in Normandy when Dakar reverted to the status of consulate general, I would be left in charge of the post for six long weeks. I was then the only American Foreign Service officer in the entire federation of French West Africa, an area now served by nine embassies.

Despite its loss of diplomatic status, our little post was busy, as our office was the channel of communication with the air base. At one point we achieved a moment of importance when Secretary of State Edward Stettinius and his party stopped in Dakar on their return from the Yalta conference. I sat up most of the night encrypting urgent telegrams to the depart-

ment handed to me by the secretary's aide, Alger Hiss.

It was in the midst of an epidemic of bubonic plague, a full year since my first arrival in Dakar, that my wife and infant daughter were allowed to join me, finally arriving by Pan Am flying boat from Lisbon. She was greeted by a French official who informed her that the port was closed because of the plague. In her despair she could see me waving to her on the dock but could not communicate to me. But then the official happened to look at her passport and promptly broke into a broad smile as he shouted, "Ah! *Passeport diplomatique! Entrez, Madame!*" He gave a new meaning to the expression "diplomatic immunity."

Armistead M. Lee
Retired FSO
Arlington, Va.

The 1941 German bombings damaged hundreds of buildings in Belgrade, although the American legation chancery next to this building was left unscathed. (January 1942 Journal photo)



ROBERT L. FERGUSON

ment handed to me by the secretary's aide, Alger Hiss. It was in the midst of an epidemic of bubonic plague, a full year since my first arrival in Dakar, that my wife and infant daughter were allowed to join me, finally arriving by Pan Am flying boat from Lisbon. She was greeted by a French official who informed her that the port was closed because of the plague. In her despair she could see me waving to her on the dock but could not communicate to me. But then the official happened to look at her passport and promptly broke into a broad smile as he shouted, "Ah! *Passeport diplomatique! Entrez, Madame!*" He gave a new meaning to the expression "diplomatic immunity."

I arrived in Lagos at noon next day. Lagos had a small U.S. air base, as well as a British naval base and a British

LAGOS (March 1944) — This part of Africa was known during that period as "the white man's graveyard" because malaria as well as other tropical disease was common. Thus, on little more than two days' notice, I was ordered to proceed overland from Accra to Lagos to replace the senior vice consul, who had to suddenly depart post. I set out alone in my 1937 Pontiac, crossing Togoland and Dahomey, which were controlled by Vichy France. I was advised to follow the crushed stone road but was not aware that the Volta River separated Togoland from the Gold Coast. The river looked like an impossible obstacle until a group of tribal people appeared. They lashed together three dugout canoes and covered

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army prisoner of war camp for Italian troops captured during the Ethiopian campaign. After lunch with Consul General Andrew Lynch and his secretary, Harriet Thurgood, I was given a copy of the two-volume Foreign Service regulations and instructed to spend the rest of the day reviewing them. Since I was the only officer, besides the consul general, I soon knew the book by heart and learned every aspect of consular operations.

Harry F. Hemmerich
Retired FSO
Washington, D.C.



ANKARA (April - September 1944) — On April 6, 1944, Gen. Tindall, the military attache in Ankara, asked me and my roommate, Martha Price, whether we would hide a female German embassy defector in our apartment while arrangements were being made to get her out of neutral Turkey. On my first assignment as a Foreign Service secretary, I readily agreed to accommodate a "Miss Helen Jackson" for a week, and she was brought to our apartment at 1:30 a.m. the next morning.

Miss Jackson was a 24-year-old blonde who had lived in the United States for five years when her father was German consul in Cleveland, and she spoke flawless English. Her father had recently been transferred to Budapest. She said she was fed up with the Nazi regime in Germany and longed to return to the United States, although she was concerned about what might happen to her family because of her defection.

Martha and I normally led busy social lives despite our 48-hour work weeks. As it was important that no one suspect anything out of the ordinary, we kept the social engagements to which we had already committed ourselves. When our dates called for us, their knocks at the door were ignored until we had hidden our guest in Martha's bedroom.

One Thursday, the assistant military attache brought a dark-brown hair dye to the apartment, and I dyed and curled our guest's blond tresses. We completed her disguise with one of my coats and attached an American flag pin to it. With traces of the indelible dye still on my hands, Martha, Miss Jackson and I were ready to be picked up by 7:30 p.m. by the general for a somewhat tense drive to a small railroad station just outside Ankara. Another military

aide followed us at a discreet distance.

In short order we were saying goodbye to Miss Jackson and the assistant attache, who were safely settled in the *Wagon-Lits* car headed for the seaport town of Iskenderun. We did not talk on the drive back to our apartment.

In September 1944, we received a note from Miss Jackson, dated July 1944. She said it took her only three days to reach the United States, and she sent us her love. Various books and magazine articles, including Barry Rubin's *Istanbul Intrigues*, have detailed defectors' stories. Based on this book, I believe our Miss Jackson married and is living happily in her adopted land.

Eleanor Bergmann Clark
Retired FS
Hendersonville, N.C.



ANKARA (February 1945) — As a diplomatic courier stationed in Cairo during the last year of the war, I often stayed overnight in neutral Turkey and had dinner in Karpie's restaurant in Ankara. Tall, stocky White Russian Papa Karpie didn't refuse to seat German, Italian or Japanese customers in his large restaurant, but he instructed his waiters that these foreigners were never to be seated near any American, British or French customers.

In early 1945 another American and I had just given our orders when an inattentive waiter seated the Japanese ambassador and five of his staff at the next table. A minute or two later I saw Karpie come out of the kitchen to survey his domain. Then his face turned purple; he let out a roar, summoned a waiter, and the two of them unceremoniously moved the Japanese to one of the worst tables in the restaurant. Karpie then came to our table to apologize.

Given the time and the place, and that I'd recently been honorably discharged from the U.S. Army Air Corps for medical reasons, Karpie's act was the next best thing to shooting down a Japanese bomber.

Robert A. Clark Jr.
Retired FSO
Hendersonville, N.C.



OLDHAM, LANCASHIRE, ENGLAND (June 1944)
— A few weeks after D-Day, in a disused cotton mill in

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Oldham, Lancashire, a 22-year-old American sergeant encountered a 17-year-old Uzbek shepherd only away six weeks from his Karakul herd in faraway Soviet Central Asia. I was that 22-year-old sergeant, assigned to a prisoner-of-war processing unit destined to go to Normandy.

Our mission was to question and photograph prisoners of war and get information about each man for the International Committee of the Red Cross. Our platoon had six men designated as German interpreters; I was among them, even though my command of German derived entirely from my classes in German for my organic chemistry major at Emory University. A more naive and ingenuous lad hardly could have been found to handle the human exotica that poured into the Lancashire cotton mill in 1944.

With minimum forewarning, we learned that our first lot of POWs were not to be Germans at all but newly liberated "slave laborers" — workers forced to work on the construction of the Germans' Atlantic Wall defenses in France. It was rumored the laborers would be repatriated to the Soviet Union, where most of them had originally

fallen into the hands of the Germans. We dealt with this colorful and disparate throng through a Russian Red Army captain, who quickly let us know that he did not opt for returning to the U.S.S.R., because, as he told us, he would be executed as Soviet authorities would assume that he had collaborated with the Germans. We learned from the Russian captain that our batch of some 800 liberated workers included many of the ethnic nationalities of the Soviet empire and that some of them could speak no Russian, much less German. We had to improvise.

A short while after the group arrived, I found myself conducting interviews at the head of a relay team of interpreters. I spoke in German to the Russian captain. He in turn spoke in Russian to workers who spoke Georgian, Tatar, Ukrainian or Uzbek, depending on the language of the worker being interviewed. I needed the Tatar when I looked up to find a 17-year-old bewildered Uzbek shepherd. Ahmad had been tending a herd of Karakul sheep in a remote corner of Uzbekistan, when he came out of the hills for his semi-annual visit to town to buy supplies. It was

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AFSA NEWS

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AGENCIES ANALYZE DRAFT RIF REGULATIONS

The foreign affairs agencies, as mandated by a recent amendment to the Foreign Service Act, are currently preparing Reduction-in-Force (RIF) rules. Given the current budget and legislative climate, AFSA believes that these rules merit serious scrutiny. Each agency has a different proposal. The new AFSA Board is establishing basic guidelines to ensure that key principles such as due process and grievance rights are protected in the event of a RIF. The AFSA board is also discussing such issues as ensuring parity between Civil Service and Foreign Service personnel reductions, so that the Foreign Service is not cut disproportionately, and ensuring that non-career personnel are separated before career-service RIFs begin.

Although there will likely be some changes, State management's proposals have called for documented performance as reflected in each employee's personnel file

to be the prime determinant for rank ordering of officers subject to separation. The draft regulations now call for the use of promotion precepts for a RIF rank-order, the use of promotion boards when the timing of a RIF and the convening of the boards coincide, and the reviewing and rank-ordering of all members of a competitive group, including those who might already have been notified for separation due to poor performance or cause. Within a competitive group, employees who are untenured or serving limited career extensions will be the first to be separated. There will be no bumping. AFSA's proposal that special relief be provided to RIFed employees close to retirement is still under consideration.

At AID, the negotiating process is ongoing as the agency faces potential major funding cuts in its operating accounts. The draft

Continued on page 3

• AFSA Dateline •

- The next AFSA business conference, planned for late fall, will focus on Vietnam. The one-day conference will bring together people from business, the U.S. administration, Congress, multilateral financial institutions and academia, as well as the foreign affairs agencies. The conference agenda will cover the full range of issues relevant to U.S.-Vietnamese relations, including economic climate, labor market and human rights issues.

- Several dozen minority student interns at State, AID and USIA attended AFSA's annual summer reception. More than 40 minority interns have asked for Foreign Service mentors, to be recruited from AFSA's alumni constituency around the nation.

- AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris traveled to Houston, Austin and Dallas in early August, meeting with Foreign Service retirees in each city. In addition to attending several media events, he spoke at a Houston World Affairs Council dinner and participated in the National Peace Corps Association's annual meeting in Austin.

- AFSA and the Thursday Luncheon Group (TLG) hosted a lunch for nine foreign affairs fellows in July. Those attending were minority student interns seeking Foreign Service appointments via a State-funded preparatory program of undergraduate and graduate study. Also present were two of this summer's AFSA/TLG-sponsored interns.

STATE DEPARTMENT V.P. VOICE

• BY ALPHONSE F. LA PORTA •

The State Standing Committee

The key to an effective AFSA is the State Standing Committee (SSC).

As pledged during the election campaign, my objective is to transform the SSC, which will have an enlarged membership more representative of the department, into a true advocacy body. I would submit that effective representation is essential for both employees and management. Advocacy today is more than rejection, continually playing "hard ball" and urging employees to pursue job action.

In State, the situation is acute.

Appropriations actions in Congress signal declining resource trends for foreign affairs, most likely through the end of the decade. State management today manifestly needs all the help it can get to make the right resource, personnel and operational decisions. As some have only half-jokingly remarked, AFSA's function is to save management from itself.

AFSA must move into a more equal cooperative and mature relationship with management so that we do not constantly feel the sting of unwise policies and resource choices with our careers and livelihoods at risk. AFSA must transform itself into a smarter, stronger, more consistent and more substantive advocate. Here is the outline of what my colleagues, the State representatives, and I are doing toward that end.

Structure: Four permanent sub-committees and two task forces have been created to give the SSC substantive depth and to monitor issues on a continuing basis: Organization and Resource Management; Personnel Policy and Operations; Precepts, Promotions and Incentives; Family Friendly; and task forces on Partnership and Diversity.

The job of these groups will be to develop AFSA's agenda, not merely react to management's initiatives. Each group will have co-chairs, one of whom will be an elected State representative.

We will bring new blood into these subordinate bodies, as well as expand the SSC itself to include two representatives per bureau and participants from collegial organizations such as AAFSW and SFSA. We are also regularizing specialist representation in the SSC and we will use their expertise to "sharpshoot" management plans and decisions.

Communications: Two new forms of communication have already been instituted: a weekly digest for SSC members to track issues, record decisions and focus our work; and the SSC Weekly Status Report, ultimately to be disseminated by cable, fax, DOSNET and FAIS e-mail, and Internet. The weekly news briefs will supplement State AFSA's normal in-depth reports and analyses. Let us know how you like the status report format.

Decision-making: I intend to be bound by SSC decisions, truly reflecting the considered views of the membership. Co-optation is not in the SSC's vocabulary. We will strive to take straight-forward, honest and transparent positions with management. I have told management representatives that our dealings will be reasonable, constructive and substantive. When toughness is called for, however, we will not shrink from our responsibility to our members.

Polling: AFSA needs a "quick pulse" mechanism. We want to develop effective opinion-gathering methods, perhaps using focus groups, quick turn-around questionnaires, and polling or sampling techniques. Work with us to find better ways to test member opinion.

There are more initiatives to fine-tune SSC operations. Healthy relationships between your elected spokespersons and the membership at home and abroad, as well as between State AFSA and management, require effective and responsible advocacy. We, your new representatives, pledge to work toward this objective.

RIF Issues

Continued from page 1

regulations would divide personnel into competitive groups based on occupational skill code, backstop code and salary class. Groups would further be divided into tenure and non-tenure groups. Each of these groups would be subdivided based on veterans preference. The employee's standing on the retention register would be determined by awarding points based on performance, as judged in the rankings of the last two selection boards; language skills; and length of service, with additional points for overseas and hardship posts.

An agency-wide general announcement of any RIF would contain information on the number of employees to be released, the competitive levels affected and the timing. After ranking, separation would occur in inverse order, until the required number of employees to be separated is reached. Individual notices would then be sent to those employees who are to be separated, with 60 days notice for Washington employees, and 90 days for those overseas.

The AID Standing Committee has been discussing many concerns about the regulations, ranging from skill-code divisions to performance rankings, language proficiency and Service credit. Before a RIF is announced, the Standing Committee proposes that all hiring should be frozen and all non-career personnel be separated. An additional concern is the integrity of records and files. AFSA urges all employees to scrutinize performance files to ensure completeness, accuracy and compliance with any orders relating to their records.

AFSA will, of course, demand that all other alternatives be exhausted before a RIF is ever put into effect.

USIA management has invited AFSA and AFGE members of the agency's Partnership Council to join in a management effort to redefine a downsized agency. Agency management is currently developing RIF regulations and as soon as AFSA sees a draft proposal, it will be sent to members for recommendations to develop an official AFSA response.

The FAS and FCS are not presently working on RIF rules.



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AID

V.P. VOICE

• BY GARBER DAVIDSON JR. •

Reengineering and RIFs

In the midst of the reengineering blitz at AID, there is much discussion of draconian budget cuts, reductions-in-force (RIFs), closing missions, hiring-freezes and travel bans. The House appropriations' numbers are daunting, and Larry Byrne, assistant administrator for management, even said that he would have to "close down the agency" if he didn't get more than \$465 million (the House mark) for operating expenses.

What interests us, even in these dog days of summer, are the seeming parallels between the reengineering efforts and prospects for downsizing and reductions.

Current statistics on the AID workforce are telling: For the first time in many years, Civil Service direct hires outnumber Foreign Service employees in the agency. Clearly, attrition with only limited intake (now frozen) has taken its toll. Byrne states that two-thirds of AID's operating expenses are consumed overseas, implying that in a RIF the most serious cuts will take place out of Washington. Reengineering and reductions begin to dovetail when the reengineering gurus talk about new forms of "delivering assistance," but not really defining what that means. The implication, however, is that more will be done from Washington. Put that together with a recent recommendation from one of the reengineering task forces (HRBAA) to "enhance Civil Service career opportunities by establishing a cadre of employees available for overseas assignment in numbers sufficient to fill vacancies worldwide." In other words, a "reserve corps" of civil servants who would be available in case they want to take a detour in their careers to go overseas and who would then be guaranteed a position upon return to

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is not to be
found in GS
employees who
may wish to take
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enhancement."*

Washington. No risk of "up or out," no selection board reviews, no threats of time-in-class limitations, no risk in not having a safe haven in Washington, but a chance to see the world and then come home to serve out a "normal" career. This is not merely a proposal that certain GS employees take "excursion" tours in response to programmatic demand. This is a proposal, make no mistake about it, which would further weaken the discipline and viability of AID's Foreign Service by

increasing the pool of employees who could "fill in" at any time.

AFSA has agreed to the assignment and conversion of GS employees under very limited circumstances, i.e., when two bids on a position have returned with no expressions of interest by an FSO. It is no coincidence, I think, that AID management is proposing to broaden the pool of eligible employees outside the Foreign Service for overseas service, at the same time it links budget problems to the agency's overseas operations.

It is true that there are insufficient Foreign Service employees to fill current openings overseas, but the answer is not to be found in GS employees who may wish to take an overseas tour for career enhancement. Nor is it in RIFing the "overseas" capacity of the agency. Clearly, a RIF should be used only as a last resort and would do great damage to the workforce of the agency. But if a RIF proves necessary, it should not be done on the backs of FSOs who provide the agency's front line in terms of remaining a first rate overseas development agency. Reengineering, for all of its good points, should never be used to advance such an aim.

RETIREE V.P. VOICE

• BY EDWARD ROWELL •

Retirees Aid Outreach Efforts

As a new AFSA vice president, I invite feedback from retirees and active duty colleagues on how we can build on the achievements of my dynamic predecessor.

As I said in my campaign statement, we must carry our appeal for a strong career Foreign Service not only to Congress but also to the American people.

We also must intensify our campaign to protect the hard-won benefits that make a gifted and diverse Foreign Service possible. And in pursuit of these goals, we must strengthen communications between AFSA and its vital retiree constituency.

In the Washington area, I hope to activate AFSA's Retiree Standing Committee to increase the input from alumni. I also want to try on electronic "committee" to reduce geographic limits on this input.

Alumni have effectively bolstered our legislative action. We now need to do the same in our outreach to the public. I urge members to help identify new ways to reach the public. For example, most retirees belong to community organizations or civic groups. Can we do more at this very local level to convey our message about the need for adequate diplomatic resources to defend America's interests? How many of these groups could provide audiences for AFSA's World Issues Forum (speakers bureau), which seeks to reach listeners at all levels? Can you contribute op/ed pieces to local newspapers or newsletters, with the help of AFSA materials or on the basis of your own rich experience in diplomacy?

"We must intensify our campaign to protect the hard-won benefits that make a gifted and diverse Foreign Service possible."

Are there corporations in your area profiting from foreign trade who might help to spread the message?

We also need to enlist the aid of those alumni who are not currently AFSA members. In the Washington game, total numbers count. Our active duty colleagues have pressing reasons to join AFSA in view of current pressures to downsize the Foreign Service. For retirees, AFSA membership is no less important. To protect our retirement years, to promote American interests abroad, to preserve the very identity of the Service to which we devoted our careers, we must expand our membership and strengthen the solidarity of our community.

To this end, I appeal to all of our retired members to recruit Foreign Service retirees whom you may know are not members of AFSA. Some category of AFSA membership is now possible for any federal retiree who has served even one tour overseas at a Foreign Service post. In addition, I ask that those of you who live in areas without a local Foreign Service organization to consider establishing one, even an informal one. AFSA can help, and I look forward to visiting groups and strengthening AFSA's cooperation with associations of colleagues around the country.



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Congressional • Update •

BY KEN NAKAMURA
Congressional Affairs Director

The past eight months of the 104th Congress have seen major challenges to U.S. involvement overseas, to the funding and very existence of our foreign affairs institutions, and to the role and nature of the Foreign Service. As the proverbially trite saying goes, "We won some and we lost some," and we must also say there are many more battles ahead of us. A quick summary, of where AFSA has been:

- **Budget:** Congress has decided on a \$18.3 billion budget figure for the 150 International Affairs account for FY96. This is horribly low, but not as low as once feared. AFSA wrote letters to all Budget Committee members of both the House and Senate, and organized a phone bank and a retiree letter-writing campaign.

- **Rescission:** The FY95 rescission bill, which became Public Law 104-19 on July 27, took \$236.5 million from FY95 appropriated funds for the 150 account. This is in addition to an earlier FY95 rescission (PL 104-6) which took \$142 million in '95 appropriated funds.

- **Authorization:** AFSA worked with PVOs and NGOs to convince the administration that a strong veto message from the president was needed. AFSA passed along its views as to the mood in Congress.

On June 8 the House passed H.R. 1561, which is proposing to consolidate the foreign affairs agencies, severely cut authorization funds, and place numerous foreign policy restrictions and instructions in legislation. The president said he would veto this bill if presented to him in its present form. AFSA opposed this bill, and worked with other organizations and House members in fighting its passage. While we lost the vote, the president maintained a large enough vote to maintain a veto, a turning point in the authorization fight.

Now the ball was in Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) court. At the beginning

Continued on page 6

USIA V.P. VOICE • BRUCE K. BYERS •

Rolling Up Our Sleeves

I am honored to be able to serve AFSA and my fellow Foreign Service officers as the vice president for USIA, following a very successful vice president, Roz Bozolo, with whom I have worked on AFSA issues for more than a year. I am also very pleased that Jess Boily is serving as the new AFSA Board representative for USIA. We and our AFSA/USIA members have a lot of work to do in the coming months in an environment which is potentially the most threatening to Foreign Service careers in the history of the U.S. Information Agency. We have an excellent AFSA labor relations specialist in Carol Lutz who has been working with us for more than a year and is expert in responding to questions and in helping individual FSOs with grievances.

AFSA/USIA is currently seized with the agency's need to develop reduction-in-force (RIF) regulations for its Foreign Service officers, a responsibility mandated by a 1994 amendment to the 1980 Foreign Service Act. We have had several discussions with agency management about the criteria and the structure of RIF regulations, but as of early August we have not received the agency's final proposal. It is AFSA/USIA's understanding that since there are as yet no official RIF regulations, there can be no RIF and, therefore, no "retention register." This

does not mean that there could not be a RIF of Foreign Service officers later this year or early next year. This would be a management decision and largely driven by the FY-96 budget.

As Foreign Service officers we all face tough times ahead. As the newly elected vice president, I can only encourage each of you to do your utmost to review your personnel files, make sure that all of your work and performance is documented and that your evaluations are accurate and reflect the work you have done. I also encourage you to contact our AFSA office at USIA if you have any questions concerning evaluations or any other personnel concerns. We can only help you if we hear from you.

And speaking of help, we need your help, especially of those of you who are currently on Washington assignments. AFSA has a number of committees which track key issues, and USIA needs to be represented on these committees. We in AFSA/USIA also have a number of committees, including representation on agency partnership councils and teams, and we need more AFSA members to work on them. It's time for us to roll up our sleeves, to eschew complacency and engage in serious work in partnership and in AFSA's bargaining activities with agency management. *Carpe diem!*

DID YOU GET YOUR BALLOT?

The AFSA Elections Committee received a number of reports that members did not receive ballots in the recent election, or received them very late. Please contact Professional Issues Coordinator Richard Thompson at AFSA Headquarters, (202) 338-4045 or fax (202) 338-6820, if you had a problem in receiving your ballot. The Elections Committee will review the information received and make recommendations on measures to ensure that AFSA members are able to exercise their right to vote.

• Congressional Update •

Continued on page 5

of August, the Senate began its debate on S.908. AFSA had already expressed its opposition to the bill and sent its views regarding the personnel issues to every senator and met with senators and their staffs. President Clinton issued another veto threat for this bill. On the second day of debate, Aug. 1, the Republican leadership, faced with more than 150 possible amendments (some of which were AFSA-requested) twice sought and twice failed by five votes to limit time for debate. When Sen. Helms lost the cloture motion, he threatened that there would be no movement on ambassadorial appointments, treaties, and any other foreign affairs related action that required Senate approval until the administration or Senate Democrats worked with him on a compromise bill, or he got a clean vote on his bill.

When Congress reconvenes this month, there are still many issues that we will be engaged in. AFSA has been meeting with staff during this time to express our views. Majority Leader Robert Dale (R-Kan.) said has vowed to bring S.908 back in

September. Because of the press of legislation, it would seem more likely that the Helms bill will appear in other legislation—the most likely target being the reconciliation budget bill now being drafted. As part of a reconciliation fight, foreign affairs issues become small potatoes compared to domestic issues that would also be part of the reconciliation legislation. Nevertheless, we would be caught up in a veto or compromise.

Besides the authorization bills, AFSA will have to turn greater attention to the appropriations bills—especially since there is a possibility that there may not be an authorization bill for either foreign assistance or the foreign affairs agencies. The House has already passed H.R. 1868 which provides about \$12 billion for foreign assistance. This bill had bipartisan support in the House with Republicans and Democratic leadership working to keep most of the restrictive foreign policy language off the bill. The House also passed H.R. 2076, which provides appropriations for State/USIA/ACDA at about 9 percent

less than FY95 numbers, with USIA taking the biggest hits. Because of the budget numbers passed in late June, there are limits as to what can be done. At most, it will be a matter of trying to move funds around to meet AFSA priorities.

AFSA and all of us will have to follow the Reconciliation bill closely. This bill may include provisions that will change how government annuities are computed and changes to federal health benefits. There will also possibly be changes in the way the COLA is computed, and making permanent the existing deferred COLA dates for retirees. This year is proving to be a very active one for AFSA in terms of the variety of legislation we face, and the major changes that could affect AFSA's members—its working members in their employment, and their working and living conditions, and AFSA's retirees in terms of their annuities and health benefits. It is important for AFSA members to continue to write members of Congress to let them know that foreign affairs does have a constituency.

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F O C U S

his misfortune that the Red Army conscription team was also in town that day and poor Ahmad was swept up and sent to the front, with no training at all. Within days of Ahmad's arrival at the front he had been captured by the Germans, who put him on a freight train with hundreds of other prisoners going to Normandy. Then came the Americans who put Ahmad and his fellow prisoners onto a ship. Off he went across the channel and up to us in Lancashire. I reckoned that the entire elapsed time from Ahmad's leaving his herd of sheep in the care of his uncle in Uzbekistan until I was interviewing him in the Oldham cotton mill was barely six weeks.

The international POW information form for the ICRC provided that we identify the next-of-kin of the prisoner. For unmarried soldiers, the U.S. Army stipulated that it must be the mother. I put the question to Ahmad through my relay team of interpreters. Ahmad's reply came back in translation, "my mother's name is mama." At that point, Ahmad seemed somehow even younger than his 17 years. I had a hard time suppressing tears as my own homesick-

ness surged up with an empathy for such a hapless wanderer. I hoped silently that the ICRC could find Ahmad's mother and let her know that he was safe.

The next morning, our temporary charges were shipped off to semi-permanent internment elsewhere in England. I have no idea whether the Russian captain managed to avoid being sent home at the end of the war, and I wish I knew what happened to the Uzbek shepherd. Did the encounter with the Americans change his life? As for me, meeting these other-worldly casualties of the war opened my mind to the wider world and onto the path that led me into the Foreign Service. Eventually I managed, in retirement, to visit Uzbekistan, where, in 1994, at a Nakshibendi dervish shrine outside Samarkand, I chatted in Turkish with some Uzbek villagers. I restrained myself from asking if they knew a (by now) 67-year-old shepherd named Ahmad.

*Daniel O. Newberry
Retired FSO
Bethesda, Md.*

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F O C U S

LONDON (June 5-6, 1944) — The American Broadcasting Station in Europe (ABSIE), established by the Office of War Information in London, was a tactical psychological warfare operation created in preparation for the Allied invasion of the continent. As a veteran broadcaster of the Voice of America, I was chosen to head the German language radio section. We worked out of a studio located in a shaky old building in the Soho district. Robert Sherwood, the writer and personal friend of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and William Paley and Brewster Morgan of CBS were in overall control of ABSIE. In rotation with the British Broadcasting Center (BBC), we broadcast news, press reviews, commentaries and special announcements.

A few weeks before the Allied invasion, we were directed to insert special messages in our broadcasts. Some of them, broadcast in German, French, Dutch, Flemish, Danish, Norwegian and English, advised fishermen in different areas of the Atlantic to make for port. It was, of course, part of the psychological warfare designed to confuse the enemy about the areas of the invasion.

On June 5, I was instructed to have a few staff members in our studios on standby for possible special programs. I was told to wait in the lobby of the Cumberland Hotel where I lived. At about 8 p.m., I was brought by jeep to Inveresk House where I had to pass three security checks and finally joined a group of other officials, among them Pierre Lazareff, chief of our French radio section. It became clear to us that the big event was to take place within hours.

A few minutes after midnight, an American major general and his retinue entered the room, and a big map of Normandy was unfolded. The general, looking at his watch, quietly but firmly said, "Gentlemen, in five hours and 45 minutes Allied forces will land in Normandy." After a brief silence to enable us to grasp the enormity of the event, we were handed the communique by Gen. Dwight Eisenhower and statements by President Roosevelt, King George VI, and Prime Minister Winston Churchill to be translated for our broadcasts. Item six on the agenda read "Local Monarchs." Those were the statements of exiled Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands and King Haakon of Norway. Missing was a statement by Gen. Charles de Gaulle. It came two hours later; subsequently we heard that he had withheld it until some of his political and military conditions had been met.

I was driven by jeep to our studios and at 6 a.m. I broadcast the aforementioned communique and statements. I only provided the lead-in sentence "*Der Sturm aus dem Westen hat begonnen*," or, "The storm from the West has begun."

Robert A. Bauer
Retired FSO
Washington, D.C.



THE PHILIPPINES (Aug. 11, 1945) — In August 1945, rumors began flying about a possible Japanese surrender. A 23-year-old Navy lieutenant (j.g.), I was supply and disbursing officer for a group of 12 Landing Ships Medium (LSMs). Since arriving in the Philippines in November 1944, we had been part of several of the island invasions of that campaign and were now at anchor, waiting like hundreds of other naval units for what we assumed to be the inevitable invasion of the Japanese mainland.

For us the war in the Pacific effectively ended on the night of Aug. 11, three full days before the day that would become V-J Day, when word reached us of a Japanese note to Washington that essentially offered surrender — or so it was interpreted by me and my war weary colleagues. In a letter written to my parents, I tried to convey some of the drama of that night: "We were watching a movie when the radioman on watch snapped on the loudspeaker ... the announcer was reading the text of the Japanese note, and from that moment the war was over ... everyone went wild; every ship in the harbor, including ours, and there were hundreds of ships, let loose with everything they had. Some even started firing their AA guns. Not only the ships, but all along the coast the airfields and installations let loose too.

"I've never in all my life seen a more beautiful display than that. There were hundreds of searchlights flashing back and forth across the sky; flares, rockets and pyrotechnics of every conceivable shape and color. ... On our ship we shot off all kinds of parachute flares, rockets. ... Searchlights were all blinking out V for Victory in morse code continually, and the foghorns were doing the same. ... All of that went on for an hour or so. ... Guys were crying and laughing all at once, slapping each other on the back and shaking hands ... eventually the ship broke out beer, in total violation of Navy regulations, and even I drank a bot-

MACARTHUR IN PARIS, 1945

BY CHARLES STUART KENNEDY

Douglas MacArthur II joined the Foreign Service in 1935. He was posted to Paris in 1937 and then to Vichy, France, in 1940. In November 1942, MacArthur, along with a half dozen other members of the U.S. embassy at Vichy, was interned in France and Germany until February 1944, when they boarded the *S.S. Gripsholm* and returned to the United States. He returned to Paris in October 1944. Subsequently MacArthur became ambassador to Japan, Austria and Iran. Today, at age 86, he lives in Washington, D.C.

Q: How did the State Department treat you when you came back from internment?

MacArthur: Oh, they treated us very well.

The department felt a [good use] of me could be made by having me go into Normandy after we landed and assume a place in the embassy political section, because obviously when France was liberated, there were going to be all sorts of new political leaders who would emerge from the French Resistance, and to have somebody who had not only worked with them, but had also been deported to Germany and gone through that experience, too, would make me a useful person. In this plan the Defense Department's approval was needed for me to go into Normandy before France was liberated.

That was no problem at all. The Defense Department decided that they wanted a younger officer to be the so-called POLAD, political advisor, to work with Gen. [Dwight D.] Eisenhower's staff and also with the military and the liberated civilian authorities.

So I went into Normandy. I was no hero; the land-

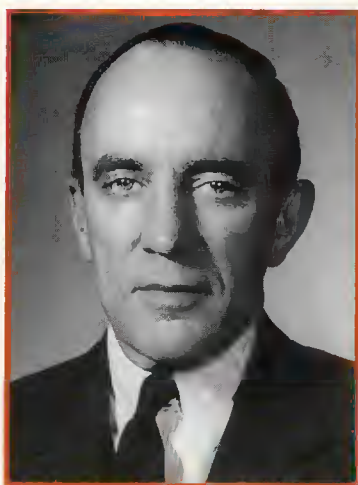
ings had been accomplished and I flew over in an old C-47 with some officers and was in Normandy a relatively short time. ... I went to Beadle Smith, who was Gen. Eisenhower's chief of staff, and said, "I'd like to go in with the T-force [first military group] to Paris for practical reasons — when Paris is liberated, I'd like to establish contact with the National Council of Resistance members immediately."

And Smith laughed at me and said, "Doug, if you went in with the T-force and you were shot, everybody in America would say we were putting civilians in front of our military guys to protect them. But you can go in the next day." So Paris was liberated on the 25th, and I arrived the morning of the 26th with two general officers. We drove up through Versailles, and as we headed in, I was feeling emotionally very charged up because I had left Paris in June 1940 with the Germans pursuing us. I was one of three American diplomats who went

with the French government as it retreated. And now I entered Paris on such a beautiful day — not a cloud in the sky. I suggested that we go to a bluff above the Seine, where you can look out and see all of Paris. We came to a cobblestone platform above the river, and there before us was the Seine and the Bois de Boulogne, and the Eiffel Tower, and the dome of Les Invalides, the two towers of Notre Dame, and way off on the left was the glistening spire and dome of Sacre Coeur. I must say I was so emotionally moved that tears started streaming

down my face to see this beautiful city totally intact.

So we drove in, and I went into the embassy, and it was intact, except in several places where the fighting had occurred. Bullets had come through the windows, and one had pierced a portrait of a former ambassador. But firing was still going on, and there were Germans holed up still in the foreign ministry. You could hear the rat-a-tat-tat of machine gun fire as the forces cleaned them up. ■



Charles Stuart Kennedy is director of the Association for Diplomatic Studies Oral History Program. This is an excerpt from a 1987 interview.

F O C U S

tle of the vile stuff. ... Nobody gave a darn about rules that night.

"Well, we know the war hasn't really ceased, but everyone here feels that for all practical purposes, the war is over, and we're keeping our ears to the radio for the official news.

"Hardly anyone questions the idea of keeping the [Japanese] emperor. I think they need to keep him in power if they hope to control the people. ... When we heard that people at home were swamping the government with telegrams not to stop fighting until they agreed to give up the emperor — that made everyone pretty mad. We think we can accept the emperor and save a lot of fellows' lives in just a few days. Everyone says, 'two atom bombs and Russia' — that's all it took. So life goes on. Everyone is joking about leaving, but all of us know we may be here for many months, moving men and equipment around. But I know that I'll never in my life see a more beautiful and thrilling sight than that victory celebration ... nor will I ever have so wonderful a feeling again."

My prediction in that letter was accurate. I did not

return to the States until March 1946. Reassigned to the staff of the Naval Training Station at Newport, R.I., my Navy career ended on Aug. 14, 1946.

I should note that my Navy duty began with a stint as an apprentice seaman in the V-12 program at the University of Dubuque in Iowa, followed by a semester as a midshipman at the Navy Supply Corps School at Wellesley College. [Secretary of State] Warren Christopher is also a veteran of the V-12 program, as is former Secretary of Defense Mel Laird, a member of my company at Wellesley. He and I and others in that class are proud to call ourselves the earliest male graduates of Wellesley.

L. Bruce Laingen

Retired FSO

Bethesda, Md.



THE PHILIPPINE SEA (Oct. 4, 1945) — The war had been over for a month and a half, sailors



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were leaning against the ship's railing looking at the perfectly calm sea and enjoying the sun. Suddenly, without warning, the sound of an explosion shattered this serene scene — and thus began the last round of naval hostilities between the United States and Japan in World War II.

I was a lieutenant (j.g.) in the Navy and our ship, the *USS Thurston*, an attack transport and veteran of four major invasions, was peacefully engaged in its more mundane role of hauling troops. One of the responsibilities of ships at sea is to report and, if possible, dispose of dangers to navigation. Sighting debris ahead, one of our small boats, an LCVP, went off to dispose of a shallow open boat floating in the sea. Seeing no signs of life under a canvas cover, our crew tied up alongside and the lieutenant in charge jumped over. As our officer peered under the canvas, he was attacked by a Japanese soldier with a knife. To escape he threw himself into the water.

Those of us watching from the ship were astonished to see him jump, followed immediately by our four sailors. A split second later a cloud of smoke arose from our boat, and we heard an explosion; the Japanese had flipped a hand-grenade into the boat. Immediately we launched another boat to pick up the swimming sailors. And then, to our surprise, the sharp crack of rifle-fire came over the water, and shots hit around us. We were under fire. Two Japanese aboard a 20-foot craft were attacking the 200-man crew of a 450-foot American vessel looming above it.

The captain ordered return fire, expertly sinking the Japanese craft without swamping our boat tied alongside it. I was in the LCVP sent out to bring back our disabled boat. As we approached, I could see the bodies of the Japanese. One was floating face down almost within reaching distance. As I was wondering what to do with enemy bodies in peacetime, I saw, rapidly approaching, a



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two-foot-high fin — a large shark. And then in a matter of seconds, right before my eyes, not six feet away, the shark rolled slightly, went for its prey and the body disappeared from view. As our boat returned, splattered with blood, a school of sharks followed it, swirling around like goldfish in a backyard pool.

Where these Japanese came from, no one can say. With guns and grenades, they couldn't have been escaped prisoners of war. Maybe they were survivors from a sunken Japanese ship, cut off from all knowledge of the war's end. The utter futility of the attack struck me. They could easily have surrendered and been in Japanese hands in Manila within a week. But most likely the Japanese determination not to surrender, to fight even against hopeless odds, was the reason for the pointless encounter. I had seen that determination elsewhere in that long war, at places named Iwo Jima and Okinawa. Nothing less than the voice of

the god/emperor, heard by his people for the first time, persuaded them to lay down their arms.

Laurent E. Morin

Retired FSO

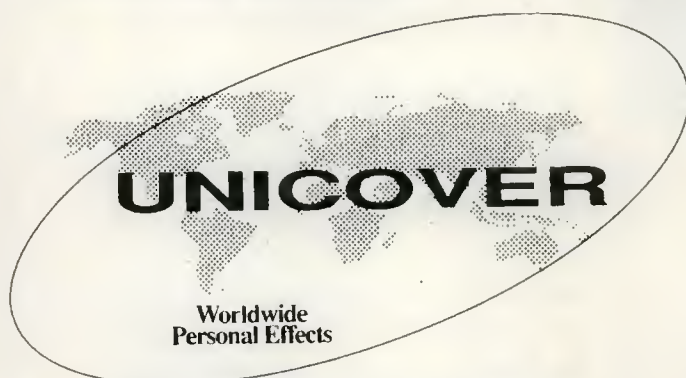
Silver Spring, Md.



YOKOHAMA, JAPAN (Sept. 3, 1945) — While stationed at Manila I had been assigned to Gen. Douglas MacArthur's headquarters to assist and advise in the repatriation of civilians found in Japan by our forces. After landing in Japan, the task of covering the 20 miles into Yokohama was more difficult and took just about as much time as the 700-mile flight from Okinawa. It was immediately evident that though it had been only a few days since the first landings, the GI had already left his imprint, for the Japanese children by the roadside waved "V for Victory" to us. But their parents were working in the fields as formerly,

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F O C U S

the villages appeared to be unchanged, and in general there were no signs that a victorious enemy army was engaged in occupying the country.

But the first sight of Yokohama was an unfortunate reminder that the country had been through the throes of a total war. No photographs or words could describe or impart the impression given by driving mile after mile through utterly deserted streets. Where one formerly had to thread a slow and torturous course among swarming millions, we now drove for block after block not seeing a single person.

Although there were many occasions on which I had asked myself why I had been so foolish as to desire an assignment in the Pacific area, my doubts were dispelled at the thrill of seeing from my hotel room the myriad lights and flashing signals of the American fleet riding at anchor in Yokohama harbor — the same harbor from which several hundred of us [former internees] had set sail on the *Asama Maru* in June 1942 while Japan was still riding high on its tide of con-

quest. I was at Mukden, China from July 1940-December 1941 and returned to the States with other internees on the *Asama Maru* and the *Gripsholm*.

Thousands of former prisoners were arriving in Yokohama by train from camps throughout northern Honshu, and there was little time to spend in contemplation. The greater part of that first evening was spent at the Yokohama central station and the docks observing the arrival and processing of men who had been taken prisoner at Bataan, Corregidor, Wake, Guam, Hong Kong, Singapore, Java — Americans, British, Dutch, Japanese, Australians, Canadians — even Greek merchant seamen taken prisoner by German raiders in the Atlantic. Their haggard faces, haunted eyes, bowed shoulders and shuffling walk unmistakably betrayed the years of anguish and hardship which they had undergone.

U. Alexis Johnson

Retired FSO

Excerpted from

July 1946 Journal ■

The Remington Fits Your Washington Schedule.

7:30 A.M. Woke up in a luxurious 1 Bedroom Apartment, turned on Cable TV for the weather.

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

8:20 A.M. Tossed linens in washer and dryer. Left note for maid to set dinner table. Petted the cat.

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



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

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

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

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BIRTH OF A NEW FOREIGN SERVICE

I n March 1944, four and one-half years into World War II and more than two years after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, the Allied cause clearly had begun to prevail. American bombers raided Berlin that month for the first time. In the Pacific, B-29s dropped their high explosives on targets fewer than 500 miles from the Japanese home islands. On the Eastern Front, the Russian army inexorably ground out huge gains in its offensives. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill publicly promised an Allied invasion of Europe "soon." And though the war continued for another 17 months, marked by heavy casualties on both sides, by early spring 1944 it was evident that the Axis powers would be defeated. U.S. officials and the general public looked forward to a post-war world.

Members of the Foreign Service, as well, looked toward their future, with plans to modify their organization to meet the changing needs of the post-war world; they participated in the planning process on many levels, from the grass roots to management.

After V-J Day on Aug. 14, 1945, planners in the Department of State and the Foreign Service, working under newly appointed Assistant Secretary of State Julius Holmes, began detailed consideration of

changes in the Foreign Service needed to meet the demands on the United States after the war.

By the following year, after an extended process that included many months of studies and discussions, a new law was crafted defining and governing the U.S. Foreign Service: the Foreign Service Act of 1946. Development of the reform took nearly two years, as State waited for the results of three survey teams that visited posts abroad; each group included a senior FSO, a Bureau of the Budget official, and a private businessperson. Secretary of State James Byrnes and the new assistant secretary for administration, Donald Russell, pushed the drafting of new reform legislation, a lengthy process that took nine months.

A draft bill was first proposed in December 1945. Selden Chapin, director of the Office of Foreign Service, and his deputy, Julian Harrington, supervised the preparation of much of the bill's text. The planning staff, under FSO Monnett Davis, obtained final State clearance on March 7, 1946. This 100-page draft bill was submitted to the Bureau of the Budget and to a subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. A final draft emerged on July 8. It passed the House on July 20, and passed the Senate unanimously on July 29. The act was then forwarded to the president, who

State Department employees pose in 1944 in front of the Old Executive Office Building, which housed the State Department, during a World War II bond rally, as pictured. (September 1944 Journal photo)



CREDIT UNAVAILABLE

POST-WAR REFORM FOCUSED ON RAISING PROFESSIONALISM

BY HENRY E. MATTOX

"This legislation will help to build a better, stronger and more efficient Foreign Service," pointed out Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson of the 1946 law.

signed it into law on Aug. 9. The law went into effect on Nov. 13, 1946.

How did the act reform the previously ruling Foreign Service Act of 1924? First, it required FSOs to serve in the State Department at least three of the first 15 years of their career. Second, it required home leave for FSOs in the United States every two years or as soon as possible thereafter; the old law permitted, but did not require home leave after three years abroad. Third, it set higher salary, allowance and benefit levels, authorizing allowances for living quarters, cost of living and representation expenses to "permit the Foreign Service to draw its personnel from all walks of American life." Fourth, the salaries of ambassadors and ministers were reclassified into four levels, ranging from \$15,000-\$25,000 a year, depending upon the classification of the post. Fifth, inspectors were required to visit diplomatic and consular posts at least every two years. Sixth, the position of director general of the Foreign Service and a Board of the Foreign Service, responsible for preparing "accurate and impartial efficiency records," were created. Seventh, it established elaborate requirements for the selection, promotion and separation of FSOs and other FS personnel. Finally, the law created a Board of Examiners to standardize entry requirements and training and established a Foreign Service Institute (FSI) to "provide instruction in the field of foreign relations." FSI opened in 1947.

The 1946 law, in effect, abolished the non-career war-time Service, which had largely been dismantled through resignations, and set new personnel categories with an aim toward higher professionalism. In addition to chiefs of mission, FSOs, and local clerks and employees at embassies, as before, there would now be categories of Foreign Service Reserve officers

and staff officers and employees of various ranks.

After signing the act, President Harry Truman said, in a prepared public statement, "The traditional responsibilities of the Foreign Service have increased in complexity and importance." While the Service had functioned the best it could on an "outmoded plan, laid down in 1924," he said, the new act would create a "model service."

In a subsequent statement, Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson noted that the Foreign Service had served with a "devotion and resourcefulness that justified the concept of the Service as the United States' first line of defense." This was achieved, he pointed out, "in spite of the fact that during the war years the Foreign Service was underpaid, understaffed and overworked. But the future will be brighter. ... This act carries provisions which will enlarge the usefulness and assist the advancement and security of every Foreign Service officer. This legislation will help to build a better, stronger and more efficient Foreign Service which, consequently, can approach with greater equanimity its task of expanding, in every quarter of the globe, friendship and commerce with the United States."

The legislation establishing a "new model" Service arrived just in time. The surge in the numbers of Foreign Service personnel, from 3,600 in 1937 to 5,300 in 1943, came during the war. The numbers were even greater after the war, though figures are unavailable. In addition, the nation emerged from the war with worldwide leadership responsibilities unprecedented in U.S. history; the times required a foreign affairs corps of officers and specialists greatly enhanced in both size and ability.

This new foundation, while by no means ideal, stood the passage of time well, it governed the careers of an entire generation of Foreign Service personnel, until major legislation would change the Service again in 1980. In the words of Assistant Secretary William Benton when the 1946 bill was passed, "Anything that strengthens the Foreign Service strengthens the United States." ■

Henry E. Mattox, a retired Foreign Service officer, is an adjunct assistant professor of U.S. history at North Carolina State University.

1944 CONTEST DRAWS 60 ESSAYS

The 20-year-old *American Foreign Service Journal* announced an essay competition in March 1944 on the subject, "Suggestions for Improving the Foreign Service and its Administration to Meet its War and Post-War Responsibilities," with prize money ranging from \$500 to \$50 for the four top essays. The announcement listed a distinguished panel of judges for the competition, including retired ambassador Robert Woods Bliss, House Foreign Affairs Committee Chair Sol Bloom of New York and former U.S. Ambassador to Japan Joseph Grew. Sixty Foreign Service officers sent in essays and the *Journal* began publishing the prize-winning submissions in its February 1945 issue. James Orr Denby, an FSO at State, won first prize; Edmund Cullion, second secretary in Stockholm, placed second; Edward Trueblood, first secretary in Lima, won third; and Perry Jester, an FSO at State, won fourth place. The many constructive suggestions in the manuscripts furnished an elegant demonstration of the *Journal's* thesis that those most intimately familiar with the workings with the Service would provide the best source of comment and criticism.

Trueblood caught the importance of the task in his essay, writing: "The role which the United States will be called upon to play in the post-war world will transcend in importance any in our previous national experience; strengthening of our Foreign Service is an indispensable step in preparing us for this role." The essayists framed reform suggestions in varied fashions and offered differing emphases. Nearly all agreed on the need for change in specific areas. Foremost was the need for FSOs to have more frequent stays in the United States, including rotational assignments in Washington and mandatory home leave — a requirement to help "Americanize the Service." Other almost universally recognized

points concerned inspections of posts more often and incorporating the administrative elements of the Service spawned by wartime needs, perhaps by establishing a separate career administrative branch. At least half the essays expressed dissatisfaction with the efficiency report system used for personnel evaluation.

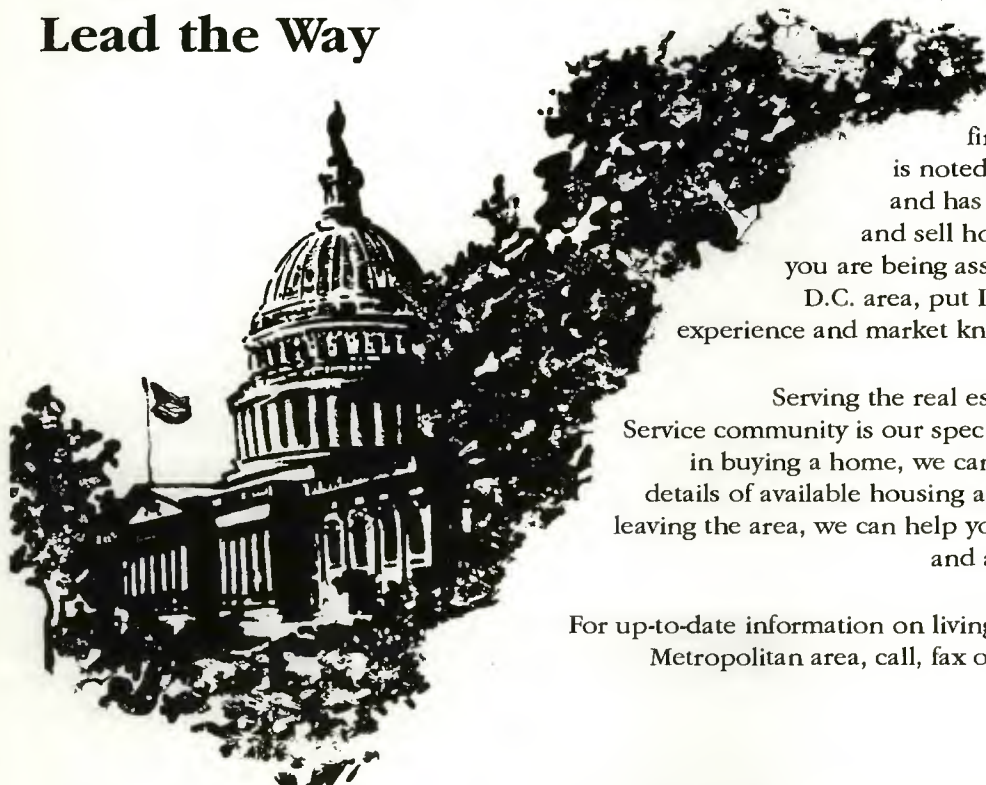
Promotion policy was widely criticized, but with little agreement on identifying the basic problems: Some FSOs called for a more flexible approach to the retirement of senior officers and the rapid promotion of junior FSOs, while others advocated structured advancement based mainly on seniority. Most essays further cited a need for increased transfer and living quarters allowances, along with improved pension funding.

Virtually all FSOs held, nevertheless, that the structure of the Service was fundamentally sound and that a career Foreign Service should continue to encompass combined diplomatic, consular and economic functions. FSO Robert McClintock commented in his submission that it was perhaps fortunate that his recommendations, although lengthy, contained "nothing very startling, nothing very new." Practically all of the careerists who made recommendations approved retaining high entrance standards. Nearly all agreed that the Service should supervise, under the Department of State, the work of all civilian agencies abroad. The competition entrants divided sharply, however, on the question of whether the Service itself should actually perform that work, no matter how technical. The *Journal* provided the essays to the Planning Staff of the Office of Foreign Service, which had been created only 13 months earlier with FSO Selden Chapin as its head. ■

— H.M.

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HEROINE OF DIPLOMACY

Reverberations from the World War II cataclysm were felt even in the ultra-conservative offices of the Department of State, and forced the old guard to abandon its traditional reluctance to assign women FSOs overseas. With the call-up of American men for duty in the armed forces, it quickly became apparent the Foreign Service would have to depend on women if posts were to function. By 1943 at least 800 women were serving abroad, mostly in clerical positions, and were often exposed to danger. By the end of the war one in eight had been imprisoned in enemy internment camps. Their performance drew a warm tribute from former Secretary of State Cordell Hull in an introduction in a book about women in the State Department, where he praised them for their "efficiency, devotion, loyalty and spirit of sacrifice." But well before America entered the conflict, a woman vice consul, who subsequently would receive the nation's highest civilian award — the Medal of Freedom — made an outstanding contribution to the Allied cause. Her name was Constance Harvey.

Harvey's contribution to the war effort was so secret that the citation for her Medal of Freedom lists December 1941 for the beginning of her activities, a year too late; it was considered inappropriate to acknowledge her clandestine activities while she was serving as a neutral diplomat at Lyon, France.

Harvey was one of only two female Foreign Service officers who had entered after passing the Foreign Service exam. Her career began in 1930, when as a 26-year-old with a B.A. from Smith College and an M.A. from Columbia University, she was appointed vice consul in Ottawa. After an assignment to Italy, she was posted to Switzerland when the Nazi juggernaut rolled over Scandinavia, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and France. Aching to play an active part, she persuaded her superiors to transfer her to Lyon, where she could be directly involved in the war effort, and so on New Year's Day of 1941, Harvey drove into that Vichy-controlled city to assume her duties. As a vice consul with diplomatic status and a low-level Class 8 officer, she was in an ideal position to carry out her country's clandestine war against the Germans. Moreover, she was American and therefore neutral. She happily used all the tools at her command to carry out what she has since referred to as her "nefarious activities."

Acting in concert with a Belgian clerk from the U.S. embassy in Brussels, who had transferred to the U.S. consulate in Lyon when his country was overrun, Harvey helped "practically the whole Belgian government in exile" to escape from France, she said in an oral history interview. As vice consul in charge of Belgian interests, she issued false documentation, such as passports and visas, for Belgian officials on the run. Later, given responsibility for British affairs, she helped downed British and Canadian airmen to elude Nazis.



AS SPY, ENVOY,
FSO HARVEY
AIDED ALLIES

BY ANN MILLER MORIN

F O C U S

As vice consul in charge of Belgian interests, she issued false documentation for Belgian officials on the run.

Harvey also utilized the diplomatic pouch to excellent effect. Before she had left Switzerland, General "Barney" Legge, a good friend in U.S. Army intelligence stationed at Bern, had asked if she would help him when she was at Lyon. She soon was smuggling out military information, industrial diamonds — badly needed in the United States — and even gold sovereigns used to pay members of the British Secret Service. As diplomatic pouch control officer, she could include such material without her superiors knowing. When she acted as courier herself, she drove her own car over the border and passed material directly to Legge. Once, they met in a field outside Geneva. She recalled that when she handed him maps of all the German anti-aircraft emplacements in and around Paris, Legge "turned white." She added, "I thought it was pretty good myself."

Although Vichy was nominally in charge in southern France, the Gestapo was everywhere: in Lyon, in towns and villages, especially at border crossings. Frequently they came into the American consulate itself. Unfazed, Harvey drove her little Ford to the Swiss border with booty locked in the glove compartment. The compartment had its own key, which she hid in her bra; at the border she would get out, leaving the other keys in the ignition lock as if she had nothing to hide. Incredible as it seems today, in more than two years, neither she nor her car was ever searched.

The French patriots who brought her information knew, of course, something of what she was doing. In the summer of 1942, one of them came to her and asked if she would be willing to talk to Gen. Henri Giraud, who wanted desperately to communicate with the Americans. Giraud had been the commanding general of the French army when it was overwhelmed by the Germans. He had been imprisoned near Dresden, Germany, but had escaped and made his way to Vichy France. Swiftly disillusioned by his countrymen there, once again he fled, ending up in a chateau near Lyon. The intended victim of several assassination attempts, it was vital he remain in hiding. Harvey met him

in the otherwise deserted chateau and agreed to pass along his message to Legge.

The third time Giraud sent for her she went to an apartment in a working-class quarter of Lyon. She entered a room furnished only with a couple of chairs and a table, but on that table was an enormous bouquet of carnations, placed there as a tribute to a member of the gentler sex. Giraud handed her papers outlining plans for an invasion of the south of France with himself in command of all the troops when they landed on French soil. That was the last time she saw Giraud, but she continued to carry messages back and forth between one of his adjutants and Legge. Giraud made his way out of France and reached North Africa, where for a time he was in command of French forces there. However, by the time the invasion of southern France took place in August 1944, Gen. Giraud had lost a power struggle with Gen. Charles de Gaulle, and U.S. Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower was commander-in-chief of the Allied forces.

Long before that time, in November 1942, Harvey's activities, both official and surreptitious, ceased abruptly when American troops invaded North Africa. Germany occupied Vichy France and America lost its neutral status. Harvey was interned for 13 months, along with all other American officials and journalists working in France, first at Lourdes, France, and then at Baden-Baden, Germany. After the war, in 1948, Gen. Giraud came to call on Harvey at the U.S. consulate in Zurich to thank her for her help and to invite her to visit him in Paris. But although the two corresponded, they would never meet again.

Harvey's wartime experiences profoundly affected her, and she found it deeply satisfying to witness the American-led, post-war recovery, first in Athens, then in Bonn. Her last assignment was as consul general to Strasbourg, France, where she was the first American woman to hold that title. As consul general she was a highly respected diplomat, with a very different image from the daring vice consul she was many years earlier. Harvey received the U.S. Medal of Freedom in 1945 from General Legge himself in Zurich. As noted, it purposely misstates her "meritorious service" as beginning in December 1941 instead of January 1941. Today, at age 91, she lives in Lexington, Ky. ■

Ann Miller Morin is author of Her Excellency, An Oral History of American Women Ambassadors, published in 1995 by Twayne Publishers.

SINGING THE BLUES

MORALE AT FOREIGN AFFAIRS AGENCIES AFFECTED BY UNCERTAINTY OF THE FUTURE

By JIM ANDERSON

With the chainsaw massacre frame of mind in the Republican Congress and the lack of White House and State Department leadership, it's fair to say that morale in the Foreign Service community is suffering. But just how much is difficult to measure.

By conventional wisdom, the U.S. Foreign Service has never been in trouble this deep. Political and budgetary turbulence, downsizing, confusion over the proposed reorganization and/or consolidation of the foreign affairs agencies, resentment over affirmative action recruitment and hiring, and implementation of reengineering efforts seem to have shaken morale at its very foundations.

Based on a series of interviews and an e-mail query sent to all posts by the *Journal*, the Foreign Service community seems to be feeling a lot of things these days, most predominantly apprehension caused by the day-to-day uncertainty of the future of their jobs.

In smaller posts, people reported a kind of Battle of Britain defiance, as they become deter-

mined to do more with less.

Also, there clearly is frustration and anger at what is seen as a short-sighted and potentially ruinous hacking away of the nation's diplomatic front lines. Retired FSO Harry Blaney wrote in an e-mail message, "Our Congress is showing the world that this wonderful country is now run by the most greedy, selfish and isolationist interests in our entire history. [The] slash-and-burn [mentality] is not how we protect justice, democracy and our national security."

Also evident was a sense of dismay over the perceived attitude of denial of the State Department toward Congress' continued reduction of U.S. influence in world affairs. When Secretary of State Warren Christopher met recently with senior Foreign Service officers, he appeared oddly detached, insisting that the budgets were not yet lost and the slash-and-burn mood on the Hill would pass or be blunted by what he described as the "inertial quality of the system." Christopher seemed much more involved in short-term problems such as the Middle East peace process than with the long-term health of the diplomatic corps, which is supposed to be dealing with those Arab-Israeli negotiations.

As Todd Kushner, a mid-level FSO in the Economic and Business Affairs Bureau at State sees it, "The whole thing boils down to leadership. If the 7th Floor articulated a clear vision of State's mission and priorities and a plan to make sure both

Jim Anderson, a frequent contributor to the Journal, has covered the State Department for 25 years for UPI and Group W and is now a correspondent for DPA, the German Press Agency.

were fulfilled, then we could work with them to make sure it made sense. ... But we don't have that." But Christopher has dismissed criticism of his passive role in fighting budget cuts or consolidation plans, saying he has other, more pressing concerns.

In theory, defense of the foreign affairs budgets and agencies has been delegated to others in senior management, but in the reality of Washington, especially given the radical tendencies of the current Congress on foreign policy reform, only Christopher or President Clinton can speak with authority. Both have been tardy to do so, although President Clinton finally pledged in July to veto the Senate-passed version of the foreign affairs reorganization plan.

The well-leaked report that Christopher had initially advocated consolidating the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) and the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) into the State Department, a move subsequently overruled by Vice President Al Gore, was deftly used by Foreign Relations Chairman Jesse Helms. This did little for morale in those agencies, who were faced with the double jeopardy of eventual elimination of their jobs and a sense of betrayal by a man who was supposed to be guarding their professional livelihood.

What most bothers Peter Whitney, an FSO serving in Latin America, is the erratic management of the cuts. "We mindlessly cut X percent of something rather than stating which parts of the foreign operations are expendable and which are vital."

Christopher's strategy has been to use a Masada, stand-or-die tactic, refusing to identify which part of the foreign affairs community he is prepared to sacrifice, meaning that all parts — even the most critical — are equally vulnerable to congressional budget axes.

And then there are those who say morale has always been low among FSOs. An assistant secretary of state, who claims morale in the State Department has been consistently lousy since he

joined the Foreign Service 23 years ago, says, "People in the Foreign Service love to complain." The only difference is that there's much more to complain about these days.

Objective, official indicators of morale show no sudden changes. Junior level Foreign Service resignations are about the same this year — 20 annually — as other years, according to former Director General of the Foreign Service Genta Hawkins Holmes, who has since this interview been assigned as diplomat in residence at the University of California at Davis. But that could be the product of countervailing influences: the outside job market is also shrinking, perhaps even more radically than Mother State. Personnel has sent a series of messages to Foreign Service posts to combat the atmosphere of rumors and speculation. As one officer paraphrased the messages, "The reason for resignations is the same as always: love or money." But some do see attrition in the ranks. FSO Kushner points out that his September 1985 A-100 class "has been decimated by resignations: I believe more than 20 have left."

Applications for the Foreign Service are about the same level as other years — about 11,000 annually since 1990, according to the Office of Recruitment, Examination and Employment at State. That, too, could be related to the harsher climate in the real world of employment. Nobody can say how qualified prospective applicants are, since the State Department suspended the Foreign Service exams this year because budget cutbacks had left fewer junior positions to fill.

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The only part of the State Department that attempts to measure morale is the Office of the Inspector General (OIG), which gauges employees' feelings about their jobs and their work environments as part of its periodic overseas mission surveys. But those who have read the OIG comments say there's no clear trend of morale this year, either negative or positive. However, there is an increased level of interest in "outplacing" classes, which is not surprising since more people are being separated or are anticipating it. Requests from State Department employees who are retiring or who have accepted buyouts doubled from 1993 to 1994, from 303 to 609.

According to a senior State official who works with personnel issues, a recent circular cable asking for comments on morale in the Foreign Service cited the usual concerns: housing, health services and schooling for children. But at the same time, the official

says, it showed anxiety about the increasingly draconian up-or-out rules, especially for senior white males. Director General Holmes says that statistics don't show that the turbulence unfairly hits white males, but she concedes, "It's the perception that is important and it's very real to those people."

The sense of uncertainty also extends to junior officers, who see the shrinking career pyramid and wonder if they should get out now, at an age when changing careers is not impossible, rather than be laid off at the age of 45 when they may be less employable in a changing world.

While statistical evidence gives no clear picture of diminished morale, Holmes says she measures employees' moods by the worried looks on their faces. "In terms of hard data, there's nothing really to back it up," Holmes says, but she knows people are fearing for their jobs.

Kelly Kammerer, the counselor of AID who also serves as ombudsman



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for the agency's employees, says there are gradations in the state of morale at that agency, but overall, "It depends on the leadership you're getting." He believes that the leadership qualities of AID Administrator Brian Atwood are "outstanding" and this has transmitted "an enthusiasm and common goals, with people working to achieve something." Compared to the days of the Reagan administration, when money for foreign affairs was relatively plentiful but the agency's leadership was weak and aimless, Krammerer considers current morale to be quite high.

But what is new and qualitatively different at AID and at the other foreign affairs agencies, and which is intensified by the unresolved struggles with Capitol Hill, is the element of uncertainty that may not be showing up on Kammerer's screen.

One 28-year AID veteran says he has such an overwhelming feeling of apprehension that he would quit today,

except for the inconvenient economic fact of a son still in college. He is keeping his options open, however, but in the meantime, he says, "I buy a lot of lottery tickets." He says he goes through a series of almost daily highs and lows, often feeling personally attacked by members of Congress who have no understanding for an agency he believes has done much good around the world. Ironically, although many of his colleagues appear to no longer care about the quality of their work, he finds his own work product improving, in part because he doesn't "want someone on the Hill to find fault with what I've done." Still, he doesn't feel the same way about his job that he did when he began nearly three decades ago, motivated by President John F. Kennedy's famous words, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

Russell Dybvik, a veteran USIA Reporter covering the State



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Department who has decided to take a buyout and retire at age 58, may be representative of a whole class of career specialists.

The key to his decision was economic. With the projected wage levels and speculation about increased employee contributions to pension and health plans, he figures it could cost him more to remain on the job, a factor that triggered his long-time strategic plan. "I always told [my wife] that I would quit when, one, it wasn't fun anymore and, two, when I felt my work was not valued or considered important by the agency. Both those things are now true." He leaves his job this month.

Chris Midura, a U.S. Information Service cultural affairs officer in San Salvador, finds himself frustrated and dismayed. "I am completely incapable of imagining, let alone explaining, what my government's foreign policy apparatus will look like six months from now," he says. "The fact

that foreign policy has been deemed a 'discretionary' program, and therefore subject to absurdly disproportionate budgetary reductions, must be as confusing as hell to our allies and quite a comfort to our enemies."

Another veteran FSO says he believes that the current travails were predictable - the government downsizing, the lack of congressional support for a Foreign Service and foreign assistance in the post-Cold War world - but the administration chose to ignore the storm signals because the reality of such threats had never emerged before in modern history.

Some parts of the institution have tried to anticipate the worst, including the Director General's office. Noted Holmes, "We don't really know what the bottom line is. We don't know what to expect and so what we have is the worst of all possible worlds. It's just cut, cut, cut instead of just telling us what it will

be finally." State now has a five-year plan that will eliminate 9 percent of personnel, in the event that Congress mandates any cuts.

The anticipated cuts have led to a bazaar-like atmosphere of rumor, speculation and paranoia that permeates the halls of the foreign affairs agencies. The Director General's office has tried to counter with an e-mail bulletin board where Foreign Service employees around the world can ask, "Is it true that ... ?" and get a response back the same day. But that doesn't deal with the central problem, a world where firm answers don't always exist. "I think we're in the middle of a major, global transition that is not going to be over in two or three years," predicts Holmes.

In a recent conference abroad with representatives of 55 other foreign ministries, Holmes found that other representatives already have been through a period of uncertain-

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ty and attrition, with a corresponding rise in anxiety and drop in morale. So have American corporations and academic institutions. In that sense, the Foreign Service may be a protected preserve whose time has come. Indeed, FSOs may be discovering what corporate America, academia and Eastern Europe have already found out. As a bitter joke in Communist Romania had it, "We have had a glorious past and a wonderful future; it's only in the present that we are having difficulties."

True, responded an FSO who asked that her name not be used, but the comparison "does not take into consideration that since we live overseas, we have no safety net. Because we are moved around so often, and because of labor laws and language requirements in foreign countries, most of us, unlike most families in the United States, are supported by only one wage earner. Thus, if we lose our jobs, our fami-

lies are completely without income."

The fact that American diplomats are sometimes targeted for terrorist attacks is another element that might not affect, say, a Norwegian living in Oslo. This increases the resentment of many FSOs at being considered expendable by the U.S. government.

One high-profile issue is the absorption of agencies like AID into State. Kammerer believes that fewer than 1 percent or 2 percent of AID's employees want to see their agency folded into State. However, among those AID and USIA employees interviewed, there appeared to be little personal concern about AID or USIA being absorbed into the State Department. Some thought their work would be downgraded, but most thought it would make no difference to their jobs. Some USIA career officers believe their standing would be enhanced by becoming co-equals with their somewhat more

exalted State Department colleagues.

AID has already closed 27 overseas missions in the past two years, but one FSO says he has not seen a direct and proportional sag in morale. "It's a real irony. You would think there would be extreme anxiety. In fact, what I see is a galvanizing effect, because you have a guy on top [Atwood] who's really a fighter. The hardship has produced an *esprit de corps*."

Maybe, but maybe not.

Midura says in an e-mail message, "It would be folly to pretend that the unrelenting verbal and financial attacks on the Foreign Service by the provincial *politicos* currently running Congress aren't having a cumulative effect on morale. 'Why am I doing this?' is not a question that FSOs are accustomed to asking themselves, but given today's circumstances, it is one that is sadly becoming unavoidable." ■

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WANTED: SOUL SISTER

EVERYBODY NEEDS SOMEBODY SOMETIME,
ESPECIALLY IN A TRANSIENT FOREIGN SERVICE WORLD

By LOUISE BELANGER

Sue worries me. She spends most days in the house or out jogging, listening to tapes. She seldom comes to the morning coffees and afternoon teas. Her life is full of regrets. Is she depressed? A staunch introvert? Antisocial? Wrong on all counts. Actually, Sue suffers from a relatively common social disease: an overdose of the Ritualistic Conversational Blahs, or RCBs.

It happens — a lot. After a while, usually in a very short time, we feel we have had more than a healthy share of the getting-acquainted-but-not-too-close litany of questions:

- “How long have you been here?”
- “Five minutes too many.”
- “Where is home for you?”
- “Oh, where did I leave my heart?”
- “How are you enjoying it here?”
- “With painstaking pleasure, thanks.”
- “Do you play tennis, bridge or golf?”
- “Sorry, none of the above.”
- “Is this your first posting overseas?”
- “So, how green do I really look?”

And so it goes ad nauseam. Of course, in all fairness, we realize that the ritualistic questions are part of everyday interfacing. We need

them to start conversations off. Could we take them a little further? Please? “Hi. I’m Louise. What’s your greatest fear in life?” is more my style. Not appropriate, either. Somewhere in between the blahblahs and the jugular-type questions lies the wonderful world of friendship and real talk.

Tell me, where are the Lynnes, Beths and Sues with whom I could talk about anything — and feel safe? Where is the willingness to risk a bit of myself, leaving room for someone else’s secrets, fears and joys? Is true friendship one more damaged item lost in transit somewhere between moves? Can I file a claim for loss of meaningful exchanges? The need and hunger are still there. Where is the relationship of substance that is truly food for the heart and soul?

Speaking of food, that is exactly how I think of friendship and relationships in general. What kind of food? A peach, to be more specific. Stop and think about it. First, there is the peel, the exterior layer, the appearances. Too big, too small. Not mature enough, overly ripe. First and lasting impressions that arouse interest — or not.

Once we engage in the information-gathering process, we venture into the next layer, the peach’s fleshy part. As in real fruit, some stories are juicier than others. Generally, about 80 percent of interactions remain at that level. In the Foreign Service, given our particular

Louise Belanger, a Foreign Service spouse in Bonn, recently co-founded “Real Talk,” a Bonn/Berlin network for women.

lifestyles, I would venture to say that the percentage may be even higher.

When you look at a peach slice, you notice how the fleshy part becomes discolored; it takes on the reddish tint of the pit. And so it is with relationships. They do take on a different color, too, when they progressively share core — or pit — issues. Core issues can be defined as the disclosure of vulnerabilities, fears, concerns, personal achievements. The things that really matter to us and that define us as persons. Without a doubt, it is nourishing to divulge this part of ourselves to a friend or a potential one. Yet few people do. Remember, it's the pits that matter.

The last two elements, the pit and the almond, contain our most private thoughts, experiences, feelings and fantasies. We may or may not have shared this part with another person. The almond is that unknown part, unknown maybe even to ourselves, the unconscious.

Maybe all Sue has to do is place a want ad to recruit a peach of a friend: "Wanted: A Soul Sister." A real friend who talks real talk. Someone I can tell about my not-so-successful attempts at being a parent — we will compare notes and figure it out. Someone who will listen to my stories of fear of flying, of insecurities, of being overwhelmed by the demands of this lifestyle. The only skill required is listening. This soul sister will listen, gently, without trying to find solutions.

This friend may rescue me at times, really tough ones — but mostly is interested in hearing about it all. She can identify with some of my circumstances, but even so, is not my twin. We have our differences, yet we basically like each other and tolerate — often even laugh at — our differences. Mishaps and mistakes lose some of their resounding seriousness when this friend hears about them. I feel secure, even when I describe a mean thing I did, some totally uncharitable thought I had, some embarrass-

ing urge I felt. And, I feel listened to.

This friend will still like me. She does not always agree with me, yet I feel that she accepts that I am right for me. We then take it from there. This friend is the person to whom I am anxious to tell my everyday happenings. We always seem to find something to say. I can even take criticism from her because I know it is said to help. This friend is real, and because she is, I will be only too happy to reciprocate. No warranties nor guarantees.

Certainly within the Foreign Service, establishing — let alone maintaining — friendships is doubly difficult. We are gun-shy after making bonds that are repeatedly broken by the transitory nature of our world. "How long will you be here?" actually translates into: "Is it worth my while to get to know you and get close to you, or are you about to take off and leave me behind in six months?"

The hesitancy is justified, the effort all the greater, and the rewards even more precious. We can easily become cynical about it all, having been hurt one time too many. We all have come to accept that the promises to keep in touch soon dissolve, pressured by the demands of everyday lives. Living abroad, cost of living increases, and free housing bears their price in terms of family and friendships. Yes, indeed, going, going, gone.

And yet, in spite of the transient nature of our lives and attachments, despite the risks incurred in letting someone know the other side of our public selves, our friends make our world. It feels empty without a few of the real kind. Just ask Sue — she's your neighbor. ■

Is true friendship

one more

damaged item

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BOOKS

IS US ISOLATIONIST OR INTERNATIONALIST?

Temptations of a Superpower: America's Foreign Policy after the Cold War

Ronald Steel, Harvard University Press, 1995, \$18.95, hardcover, 144 pages.

BY DANIEL O. NEWBERRY

George Moffett recently reported in the *Christian Science Monitor* that Washington, "driven by developments at home," was edging toward a full-fledged debate over the role the United States should play abroad. The pertinent phrase was "driven by developments at home." As the run-up to the debate unfolded, one assumed it would be between Republicans and Democrats. But soon, it was clear there was also to be a debate among GOP foreign policy experts.

Peter Rodman, now at the Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom, recently urged in *National Review* that conservative internationalists tame the isolationist backlash produced by what he called "the liberal internationalism of the Carter/Clinton mold." Republicans, Rodman argued, can look out for America's strategic interests and still ask the tough questions before making a commitment. *Temptations of a Superpower* asks a whole catalogue of tough questions. Indeed, author Ronald Steel attacks his subject with the intellectual equiv-

alent of zero-based budgeting. Nothing is taken for granted. He sets out to skewer the paradoxes and logical absurdities that have become ingrained in the rhetoric and strategic rationale of our foreign policy elite. He even goes so far as to wonder aloud whether the Cold War was ever necessary.

Steel is well-qualified for the task. He has dazzling credentials as a foreign policy expert. Prestigious book prizes, stints at the Carnegie Endowment and the Woodrow Wilson Center, and visiting professorships on a string of Ivy League campuses are the prelude to his current chair at the University of Southern California. He was briefly an FSO, from 1957-58. *Temptations of a Superpower* is a compact book, tightly drafted. Let's glance at a few of its more provocative assertions: "Our leaders found the idea of the Soviet menace useful to build up the economic and military power that they desired for its own sake. ... The Cold War apparatus was the product of collusion among big government, big industry, and big labor — not capitalism but corporatism."

As evidenced from the book's title, Steel strives hard to demolish the illusion that being the world's only remaining superpower enhances the United States' capability to reorder the world. On the contrary, Steel's presentation left this reviewer thinking that the remaining superpower had better ponder "the sound of one hand clapping."

Lest the reader surmise that

Ronald Steel is disenchanted with his own subject matter, note that he calls on U.S. foreign policy managers to make their way without illusions but also without cynicism in a world of competitive states — not a heroic task but an important one. That way, Steel concludes, we would have a chance to preserve the promise of our own neglected society here at home. It would be hard to classify Steel as internationalist or isolationist in the current debate, but he gives the earnest reader plenty to think about.

Daniel O. Newberry, a retired FSO, is a member of the Foreign Service Journal Editorial Board.

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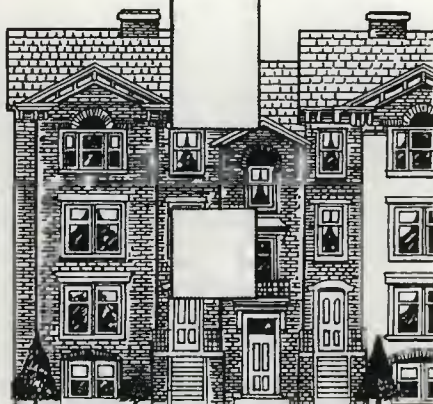
How Diplomacy Triumphed Over Dictatorship, Public Diplomacy in Venezuela

Robert Amerson, The American University Press, 1995, softcover \$26.00, 241 pages.

BY KAREN KREBSBACH

As a junior FSO in Caracas in the late 50s, the young Robert Amerson arrived as a naive idealist with only a Minneapolis PR job under his belt, but armed with a heavy dose of curiosity, guts and patriotism. He would leave four years later a whole lot smarter, as a witness to one of the most

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BOOKS

critical periods in modern Venezuelan history.

Amerson's lively and highly readable style provides an entertaining account of a dictatorship at the height of the Cold War. As press attache from 1955-59, Amerson had a first-row seat in the remarkable drama of the last three years of rule under Col. Carlos Pérez Jiménez and his overthrow in 1958; he also witnessed the birth of a new democracy — now one of the oldest in Latin America — and its consequent growing pains.

From the perspective of the Eisenhower administration, facing Soviet expansionism and the Iron Curtain, the mission in Venezuela was clear: Keep communism at bay, maintain free markets conducive to U.S. trade and maintain reliable access to petroleum. All other goals were secondary. Never mind that human rights was anathema to the Pérez Jiménez regime, which enforced press censorship, restricted organized labor and banned political opposition. Nevertheless, in an ironic sign of friendship, the U.S. government awarded the ruler with the Legion of Merit.

The '50s was a boom era for Venezuela, and Americans — an expatriate community of 23,000 with a record \$3 billion in investment there — were making money. Oil prices were at an all-time high and Caracas was one of the world's most expensive cities.

But Amerson had a job to do. He learned to develop contacts, learned to become a bloodhound sniffing out in-the-know underground politicians and journalists. His work paid off: He saw the early warning signs before the dictatorship began to crack. At one point, a small group of staffers circumvented orders from the ambassador — a political appointee who turned a deaf ear to reports of

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Venezuelans' dissenting against their government — to avoid opponents of the regime. Eventually, when the ambassador demanded the end to independent reporting, the embassy's political counselor would resign in protest.

Amerson's premise is to answer two basic questions: How did the U.S. diplomatic corps in Caracas function in a country under despotic rule? Should a dictator be tolerated, despite human rights violations, in return for short-term gains in economic or national security? Decide for yourself if the book has the answers.

This was also more than just a professional journey for Amerson, whose South Dakotan roots provided him with a world view that "prized egalitarianism above special favors for the rich or powerful." But in Caracas, where his status as an American and an embassy employee made him a member of the privileged class, he would learn that the term "egalitarian" had little meaning among Caracas *políticos*. Amerson also provides a great deal of cultural flavor, reveling in the many subtle details of this society of deep *machismo*. In fact, the macho attitude may have rubbed off too well: The author felt the need to describe the physical attributes of nearly every woman he introduces to the reader.

Though Amerson admits his work is hardly scholarly, despite his comprehensive review of documents, press clips and diplomatic cables, he acknowledges that his "eyewitness account may contribute modestly to the knowledge of those times" in Venezuela. And indeed, it has, Mr. Amerson.

Karen Krebsbach, editor of the Journal, worked as a journalist in Venezuela from 1991-1994. ■

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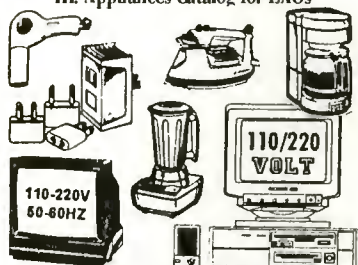
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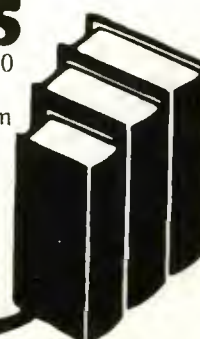
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Celebrating With the Masses in Mystical Nurpur

BY HELEN CHROMY

In Pakistan, in late spring when the jasmine-scented nights give way to the relentless heat of the day, a festival or *mala* is held in the mystical village of Nurpur, on the outskirts of Islamabad. This tiny, intriguing village is the site of a famous mirror-work shrine, which produces products covered with the beautiful mosaics of tiny mirrors that sparkle in a brilliant spectacle of light and color. The *mala* commemorates the life and death of Iman Barri, an 18th-century religious leader who spent his life here in meditation and the pursuit of the Muslim faith. He is believed to be a direct descendant of the Prophet Mohammed.

To reach the shrine where Iman Barri is entombed, my son and I, along with our driver as our guide, follow the faithful pilgrims through picturesque, rugged terrain along a narrow path bordered with huge boulders on one side and a deep gorge on the other. The gorge is traversed by a flimsy suspension bridge of heavy rope and wooden planks. At one end of the gorge, a group of Whirling Dervishes performs under a *shamian*, a multicolored canopy. They are in a hypnotic trance as they whirl around and around to the beat of drums and the shrill sound of a flute. The Whirling Dervishes are a mystic cult that dates back to the 11th

Helen Chromy is the spouse of Anthony Chromy, a retired Agency for International Development employee.

*Chanting male
voices from the
huge crowd are
deafening.*

century. The scene has an unreal quality; it seems as if we have suddenly entered a forbidden world where a mortal can transcend the real world and enter the spiritual realm.

We finally reach the shrine and view the courtyard, where a small enclosure holds an eternal flame, first lit after Iman Barri's death in 1726, which is fed with wood from an ancient banyan tree. Before the faithful enter the shrine, they mark their foreheads with ashes from beneath the eternal flame. They believe the ashes will protect them from harm. From the branches of a nearby giant banyan tree hang many braided and ribbon-entwined strands of human hair; the faithful believe that if a sick person's hair is hung from this magical tree, he will be cured of his affliction.

The tomb of Iman Barri rests on a pedestal in the center of the shrine, and is draped with a dark velvet coverlet heavily embroidered with gold thread. The base of the pedestal is covered with a variety of wilted wild flowers. A few men squat around the base of the tomb, but no women are

inside. According to Muslim law, women are not allowed to enter the shrine, though they can gaze in from the courtyard.

Outside, a carnival-like atmosphere prevails in the courtyard. A deafening noise of chanting male voices emanates from the huge crowd, intensified by the steady exotic rhythm beat of large tubular drums, and the clanging of cymbals. Many people are in a trance, their eyes rolling and their heads swaying from side to side. In the center of the crowd, a man dressed in black trousers and white shirt is striking his back and shoulders with a sword to the rhythm of the drums and hand-clapping of the spectators. Soon his shirt is covered with blood, his symbolic gestures depicting human suffering.

During this frenzy of male activity, the Muslim women, covered from head to toe with the traditional *burka*, remain as passive observers on the outer fringe of the circle of men. Slowly the male frenzy begins to subside and people leave the courtyard for the bazaar area where vendors are preparing a variety of food over charcoal braziers. We are soon imprisoned by this mass of humanity. I stagger, my son catches my arm and helps me up, but I had lost my shoe. As I lean down and grope for it, my body is pressed by trampling feet, as the mob spills over me like lava. Finally, I find it, and we are swept forward with the moving masses, away from the shrine. ■



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