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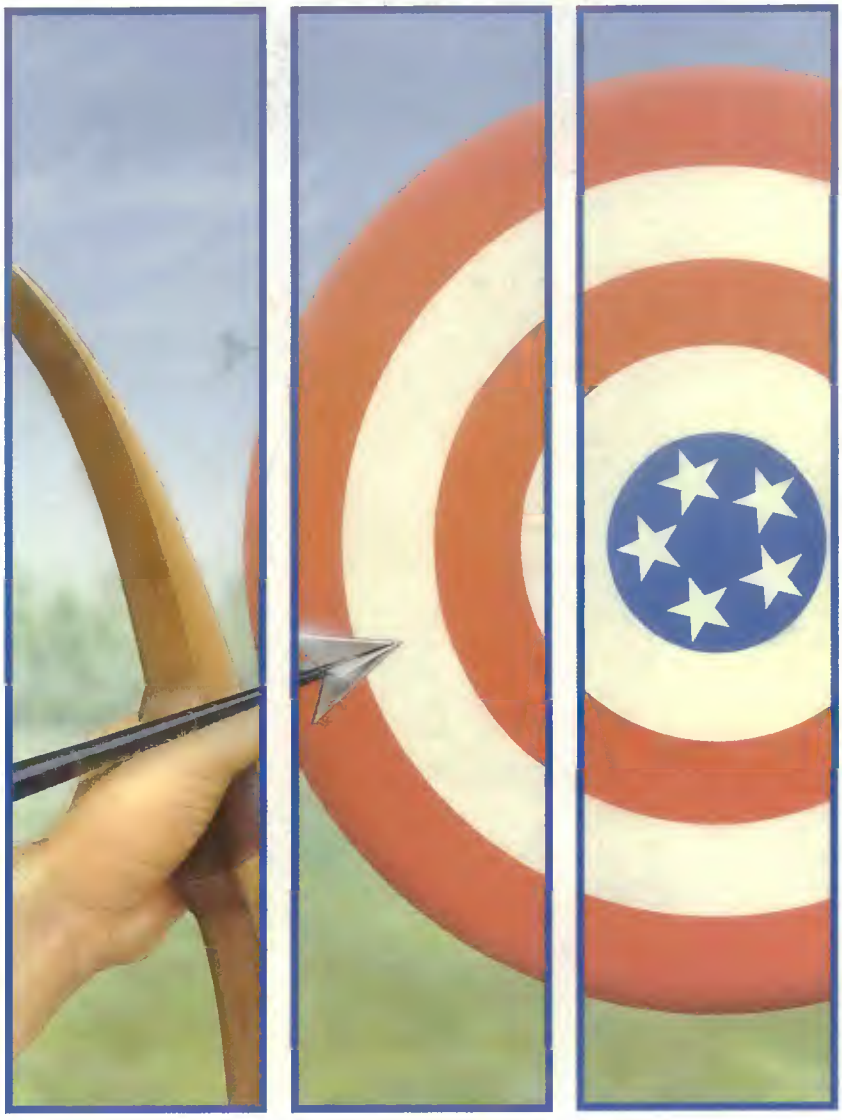

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Foreign Service Journal (ISSN 0015-7279), 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037-2990 is published monthly by the American Foreign Service Association, a private, non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the views of the *Journal*, the Editorial Board or AFSA. Writer queries are invited. *Journal* subscription: AFSA Members - $9.50 included in annual dues; others - $40. For foreign surface mail, add $18 per year; foreign airmail, $36 per year. Second-class postage paid at Merrifield, Va., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037-2990. Indexed by Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS). The *Journal* is not responsible for unsolicited manuscripts, photos or illustrations. Advertising inquiries are invited. The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply the endorsement of the services or goods offered. FAX: (202) 338-8244 or (202) 338-6820. TELEPHONE: (202) 338-4045. Send address changes for the *Foreign Service Journal* to AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037-2990.

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EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITY

President's Views

Navigating on the Road to Nowhere

By F. A. "Tex" Harris

The message is being heard loudly by everyone in the Foreign Service — there will be greatly diminished resources now and in the future for the increasingly important diplomatic jobs we are being asked to do.

Congress has gutted the programs it abhors — international organizations and peacekeeping — and attacked perceived surpluses in foreign affairs operations. Over the next four years, budget projections call for 37 percent less in the operations and programs of the 150 diplomatic account, excluding aid to the Camp David signatories. For fiscal 1996, the fight over fine tuning the exact amount of the cuts, complicated by a major struggle over structure, is still on the political battlefield. They're rough, but the fiscal 1996 parameters are in:

■ The State Department gets between $4 billion (House figure) and $3.3 billion (Senate), 2.9 percent and 19.5 percent less, respectively, than fiscal 1995;

■ The U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) receives between $11.9 billion and $12.1 billion, between 12 and 11 percent less, respectively, than fiscal 1995;

■ The U.S. Information Agency (USIA) receives between $1.08 billion and $1.05 billion, between 22 and 25 percent less, respectively, than fiscal 1995;

We need guideposts to mark our progress.

■ The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) receives between $0.4 billion and $0.22 billion, between 21 and 55 percent less, respectively, than fiscal 1995.

■ Export promotion programs in the Foreign Commercial Service (FCS) and the Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS) will grow, but numbers are still unavailable.

And sadly, further deep cuts are on line for the next three fiscal years. The arguments of the foreign affairs agencies and the American Foreign Service Association about the regional and global challenges facing America were drowned out by the shouting over ways to balance the budget. In the end, the foreign affairs agencies were treated as "domestic agencies," and cut between 10.86 and 13.9 percent from fiscal 1995.

Meanwhile, fiscal 1996 funding requests for other national security agencies — defense and intelligence — were increased to more than $242 billion, with a reported 5 percent increase for intelligence operations alone. Despite the value of diplomats' often risky work, our inability to present gripping examples of the consequences of major lapses in "diplomatic readiness" made us weak competitors in an appropriations fight against high-priority domestic concerns, such as law enforcement.

Given the grim resource picture of the future, the Foreign Service must refocus a long-term strategy to ensure that diplomats can perform their core responsibilities with excellence. We need to be the best and most effective diplomatic service in the world. The "important" activities will no longer be funded, only the "critical." We can no longer just trim at the margins, but must make difficult choices: Do we give up our many historic but expensive embassies around the world or the State Department's lead role in diplomatic communications? These are easy choices for individuals, but tough choices for the Foreign Service, as perspectives within the Service differ widely.

The Foreign Service must develop a new culture that embraces and rewards positive change. But first, we must develop a collective vision for this nation's future diplomacy. Unless we know where we're going and what the guideposts are to mark our progress, we will continue to wander in the unmarked budget-cutting desert in which all programs appear important and all roads lead to nowhere. The entire Foreign Service must join together to meet this new challenge. ■

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

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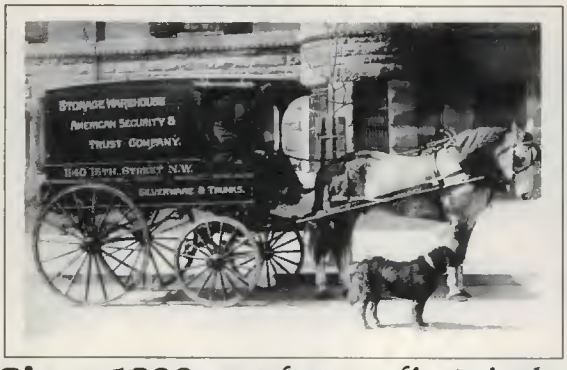

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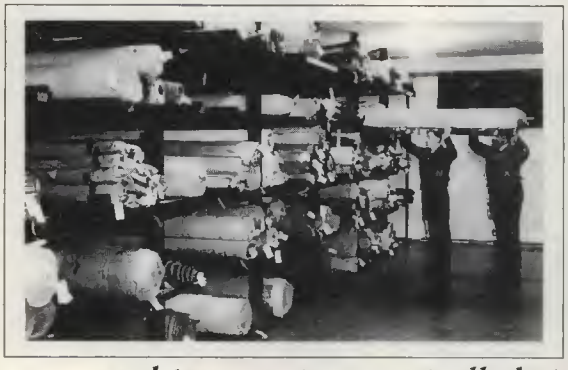

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LETTERS

To the Editor:

Alan Lukens' "Posteard from Abroad" in the July issue recalled my own most poignant World War II moment, whieh occurred half a world away from his.

Mine took plaee in Hiroshima. After U.S. Army-sponsored Japanese language and area studies at the University of Pennsylvania, I became a member of the occupation forees in Japan. Stationed in Kobe, I was drawn to Hiroshima by the emotional magnet it beeame after August 1945. I had been slated to become part of the invasion of Japan, and firmly believed (and still do) that what had happened there had saved my life.

Driving along the coast to Hiroshima from Kobe provided a spectacular display of nature that added symbolie meaning to the occasion. As the sun rose over the sea, its rays created a perfect rising sun, the emblem on Japan's ceremonial flag. This imagery made our first sight of Hiroshima all the more awesome. The streets of the shattered city were clearcd of rubble, but the devastation was otherwise largely untouched and all too visible. After a while, we elimbed a small hill for a better view.

Completely absorbed in looking and picture-taking, we slowly became aware of a familiar tune coming to us somewhat off-key. We turned to see a dozen or so very young, neatly uniformed sehool children eoming up the hill to be arrayed by their teacher in a semi-circle around us, singing, in English, "You are my sunshine, my only sunshine, you make me happy, when skies are gray. ..." Their teacher beamed at them, and then at us, bowing in that distinctive display of Japanese courtesy.

After congratulating them, we turned back to the eity, and stared silently ahead for many long minutes.

Alfonso Arenales
Retired FSO
Bethesda, Md.

To the Editor:

George Indyke's JuIy letter commenting on my remarks on diplomatic professionalism in the March *Journal* ("Speaking Out"), asks many of the right questions. The faet that these questions still have to be asked, however, illustrates the extent to which the Foreign Service has failed to establish the right of its members to be treated as professionals.

A eareer that cannot define what unique expertise it professes is elearly not a profession. The Foreign Service is either something more than a collection of occupations carried out in embassies or it is not. If the Foreign Service eannot explain what qualifications it brings to its work other than the possession of diplomatic passports, can it blame those who suggest that talented men and women drawn from other careers could do anything the Foreign Serviee can? What answer does it have to those who question the need for a separate Foreign Service?

This brings me to Indyke's points about credentials. I quite agree with him that eredentials do not guarantee dedication, integrity or eommon sense. But they do assure that the simple possession of these qualities is not seen as suffieient in itself to practice a profession. Do Amerieans still hire argumentative persons without legal training to represent them as lawyers? Do we still appoint combative individuals without military training to eommand troops? Before the law and the military organized themselves as professions, we used to do both. There are still bad lawyers and bad soldiers, but there are no longer any who practice these professions as uncredentialed, unskilled amateurs.

Finally, Indyke notes that I did not mention internal management of embassies in my eatalogue of professional skills. I did not do so because these skills are not unique to the Foreign Service. All organizations need skilled people to perform these functions. Office managers, paralegals and legal secretaries are essential to the operation of law offices, but they do not profess the ability to practice it themselves. Similarly, a specialist who performs functions within an embassy indistinguishable from those he or she might perform in any office, and who is neither trained nor experienced in carrying out the core functions of diplomaey, is — I think — a specialist stationed abroad, not a professional diplomat.

Perhaps, however, as Indyke suggests, all that is required to practice

diplomacy is "a liberal education and some experience of the world." If that were really the case, I find it difficult to understand why we need a Foreign Service at all. So would most Americans. I believe that both training and apprenticeship in the core skills of diplomacy are as necessary to form competent diplomats as to form competent lawyers or soldiers. We'd have a more competent and more respected diplomatic establishment if the Foreign Service made the effort to define and develop its professional identity that other learned occupations have.

Chas. W. Freeman Jr.
Retired FSO
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor:

As a prospective Foreign Service officer — I am awaiting placement on the hiring roster — I read with interest and some amusement Bernard Unden's "Speaking Out" (April *Journal*), which was critical of the Foreign Service hiring process, and then Conrad Tribble's responding letter in the July issue. Not yet having gone through the complete training process, I cannot comment on U.S. vs. German training, yet I think I am somewhat qualified to comment on the U.S. hiring process. Specifically, I would like to comment on Unden's assertion that prospective FSOs should possess at least a master's degree and fluency in a foreign language. As a former military officer and a current member of the corporate world, I can verify that degrees are hardly requisite to being an effective military officer, executive, manager or leader. That said, it never ceases to amaze me how society overvalues such things as advanced degrees and undervalues the characteristics that make people effective and successful. Sure, it is admirable to have lots of dates, names, places and theories in one's head, but is that what earns you the respect, trust and confidence of your peers and counterparts?

What one person has learned, another can be taught. Unden places considerable weight on qualifications that I would classify as attainable through instruction. In doing so he fails to acknowledge that what is often most critical to successful relations between peoples, and hence governments, are those qualities that cannot be taught. Under such a heading I would list many of the attributes that the oral exam seeks to evaluate: leadership, poise, presentation, maturity.

Furthermore, it is irrelevant that the oral exam is composed of contrived diplomatic scenarios. So what if applicants are caught offguard and made to feel uncomfortable? Is the life of an FSO at times much different? The world is hardly a controlled environment with predictable circumstances. By looking for attributes that the State Department needs but knows it cannot teach, the existing hiring process identifies candidates who, with suitable language training and a period of orientation, will likely develop into effective diplomats. By raising the bar to allow only those privileged enough to obtain advanced degrees and additional languages, Unden overvalues what can be taught and undervalues the potential contributions that many a bright and motivated, but less formally educated, applicant might bring to diplomacy.

Name withheld
at author's request

LETTERS

To the Editor:

I read with interest the somewhat distorted social statement of my Foreign Service colleagues, Michele Sison and Jeff Hawkins, with their short story, "Diallo and the Bob-Yam" (August *Journal*). I also have served in Abidjan and Douala, Cameroon.

Bob-Yam's annoyance with street urchins is not unfamiliar to me and other FSOs I have met in Africa. My experience with FSOs is that unguarded comments directing local inhabitants to a "fiery place that has no exit" may be real, but are seldom uttered thoughts.

If Bob-Yam numbers himself with most other FSOs serving in West Africa, his automobile has a cup of small coins from which he dips frequently to give to the fellow scooting around in four lanes of moving traffic with bits of tires tied to the underside of his knees because they bend in the wrong direction; or to give to the leper whose face has no nose. The woman with the baby slung in rags around her neck that has just taken her fingers from her mouth and made their saliva-wet presence known on one's arm might also receive a coin. I had between five and 20 "regulars" at various times in my Abidjan tour — I am not unusual among my colleagues.

Bob-Yam knows also that the coins he gives go not to the beggar himself but to the "business man" who, before dawn, packed his truck with these unfortunates and dropped them off at various street corners for a 15-hour day of trading their horrendous disabilities for as little as a dollar in coins. The pesky street urchins are fortunate among the poor of Africa. Their misfortune of not having a truly marketable disability is one they would most likely forego. Bob-Yam has his priorities with the majority of the expatriate community. Is Bob-Yam jaded by his experience in West Africa? Probably. Judgmental? Perhaps. Insensitive and uncaring? Not likely. We living in West Africa know the good fortune of our place of birth — a balanced exposure from our co-workers is also a birthright.

William H. Philo
General Services Officer
Central Africa Logistics Office
U.S. Embassy Douala

To the Editor:

In the August issue of the *Journal* my old friend and colleague, Jonathan Dean, weighs in against early expansion of NATO by extending membership to Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary in the article, "Slowing NATO's Growth." In addition to the paramount concern he has about not alienating Russia, he claims that the admission of the three Central European countries would weaken the Western Alliance.

Dean pays little attention to the strong desire, even overriding foreign policy objective, of these countries. He does state that they wish to gain support from NATO members against any future pressures from Russia and Germany. But he feels that they are not in any imminent danger, and that NATO would come to their rescue if Russia were to flex its muscle. I agree that a direct military threat to these countries' independence is not likely in the near term. But their aspirations need to be viewed from a historical perspective. Their fear of domination by their Western and Eastern neighbors runs through their history, dating back centuries, practically a millennium. Their tragic experience in this century of being occupied first by the Germans and then by the Russians is only a telescoping and intensification of their historical experience. It is for

their long-term future that they wish to be anchored in NATO.

The likelihood that NATO would help them, even if it were not bound by treaty obligation, is unlikely to sound credible to these countries. They are bound to remember that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, who vowed to roll back communism in Europe, stood by, and with him the Alliance, when Soviet tanks put down the Hungarian uprising in 1956, and that Secretary of State Dean Rusk, when urged to take a firmer stand against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, asked what the Czechs have done for us lately on Vietnam.

An equally strong motivation of the Poles, Czechs and Hungarians, who were captive for half a century behind the Iron Curtain, and thereby labeled East Europeans, is to belong to the "West." They wish to have their culture, political traditions and religious affiliation recognized as part of Western civilization, in contrast to their Eastern neighbors.

Russia's future is uncertain, a thought not lost on the Central Europeans. American diplomacy needs to handle the relations with Russia with considerable care. But Russia's future will be determined primarily by the Russian people themselves. The last few years have shown that the West has much less influence on internal Russian development than originally thought or hoped for. It should not be beyond our diplomatic skills to assure the Russians that NATO was, is and will remain, a defensive alliance, and that we are seeking a cooperative partnership, even if we cannot accept their veto power over our policies.

It does not seem to me logical to argue, on one side, that these three European countries face no danger in the foreseeable future and that the

Alliance would come to their rescue anyway if they were, and to argue, on the other side, that their accession would be a heavy burden on NATO.

Dean's recommendations that instead of NATO membership, Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary should become members of the Western European Union (WEU) and that an Advisory Committee on European Security should discuss European security issues, is, in my view, a non-starter in terms of responding to the aspirations of the three countries. WEU, in its origin and in its on-going function, is a meek assertion of some European independence from America and deals with such purely technical defense issues as standardization of weapons. For the Central Europeans, the presence of America in NATO and participation in its political role is all important. The three countries also wish to become members of the European Union (EU) in order to integrate their economies with other European members. How long that will take is an open question in light particularly of the difficulty of bringing them under the European Union's Common Agricultural Policy. Could they become members of the WEU, if they wanted to, before being able to join the EU?

Informal consultations between Russia, the U.S. and the three major European countries on European security issues will continue. But to institutionalize it would be strongly opposed by the Central Europeans, and probably by many other European countries. Nor does the record of the "Contact Group" dealing with the turmoil in the former Yugoslavia inspire much confidence in Central Europe.

How much weight ought to be attached to the strongly felt aspirations of these Central European coun-

tries? Probably we should have a better understanding of the mainspring of their aspirations than Dean demonstrates. We may also wish to remember that the power vacuum that existed in this region was one of the main causes of major conflagrations in Europe throughout history.

Anthony Geber
Retired FSO
Chevy Chase, Md.

To the Editor:

I wish to commend you for running the article by George Gedda, "Cuba Policy in Disarray" (August *Journal*). It is thorough in its coverage of the various issues and it was welcome news that the administration stands up to the emotional tantrums of the team of Jesse Helms and Dan Burton. [Harvard University] professor Jorge Dominguez is right that our main goal is "a peaceful and democratic transition in Cuba." After all, like Haiti, Cuba is our neighbor and even President Thomas Jefferson thought once of annexing it. Foreign investment will bring the desired changes, as in China and Vietnam. Unfortunately, it is a smaller market and does not capture the eye of American business. I hope you will run a follow-up article soon.

I also enjoyed the article by Linda Eichblatt about American prisoners in Mexican jails ("Postcard from Abroad," August *Journal*). I did the same thing in Bolivia in the 1970s, but my inmates were happier because they had families and developed crafts, which made some prosperous.

Paul M. Miller
Retired FSO
Springfield, Va.

LETTERS

To the Editor:

The budget, and therefore the effectiveness of the United States Foreign Service and the Department of State, are being squeezed unmercifully by the neo-isolationist budget cutting of Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and the Republican-dominated Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the one hand and the weakening dollar on the other. This is not to minimize the deleterious effect of the creeping politicization of senior Foreign Service positions such as ambassadorships.

The Department of State has stopped recruiting for Foreign Service entry-level positions. There are reports that as many as 10,000 jobs may be pared within the government's foreign affairs community. Secretary of State Warren Christopher is sponsoring a complex "management" task force at the Department of State, a sure sign of more economies to come.

These developments are clearly detrimental to morale in a Foreign Service where professionalism and stability are more important than ever. Foreign Service personnel are living and working in a vastly more intellectually and physically demanding world abroad, attempting to establish a U.S. presence in unfamiliar places in, for example, the newly independent states of Central Asia, without the status and authority the United States commanded during the Cold War years.

We can probably do without consulates, but can we do without vibrant, professionally young, dedicated and competent people who can look forward to a genuinely rewarding career?

Ellis O. Jones
Retired FSO
Millbrook, N.Y. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

Educating Diplomats in the 21st Century

BY ALLAN E. GOODMAN

There is precious little connection, it seems, between what is happening today and what will be in tomorrow's headlines. Countries' boundaries, leaders, and loyalties change almost overnight. Consequently, it is difficult for diplomats, as well as those in international business, to make sense out of what is going on in the world.

The United States is currently between world orders: Communism is dead and the bipolarity of the Cold War is over, but progress towards freer markets and political systems seems stalled. Superpowers like the United States are seeking to become, as one State Department official recently put it, "superpartners" rather than "globocops." And while democratization movements are sweeping the globe, the governments produced by them have not lived up to the high expectations they generated.

In such circumstances, even though diplomats have more education and training than ever before, there is doubt about whether universities and training academies such as the Foreign Service Institute in the National Foreign Affairs Training Center are, in fact, effectively preparing future FSOs for this new world.

Preparing diplomats requires a vision of what will emerge in international relations.

One of the most critical features that is emerging in the international affairs arena is that the state system more and more will be characterized by the declining power of governments to control events, especially in the economic and social areas. Consequently, most nations will increasingly become part of an ever-expanding web of commercial and cultural networks, which will allow individuals to exchange goods and information within an ever-widening circle of relationships. This will give rise, especially in Asia, to "region states," where the links between some cities and city-states within a region will become more significant than the relationships between cities and national capitals.

World politics, as a result, will come to be shaped far less by ideological rivalries than by such key global issues as the ability of the world trading system to generate resources for basic human needs in both the Third World and the developed world, the need to conserve the environment, and disputes over the degree to which free markets ought to coincide with the expansion of political participation and individual freedom.

Consequently, in the post-Cold War era we should expect the bases on which foreign policy decisions are taken and the ways in which they are implemented to change. As this occurs the role of international and regional institutions will increase substantially, and national power itself will become more diffuse, determined not only by the relative position and resources of individual states but also by the outreach and linkages of economic and social forces within states to those elsewhere.

The challenge for the diplomat will be to provide early warning of trouble spots. Political reporting will especially have to take account of the dynamics mentioned above by focusing more effectively on:

- Issues where domestic needs and requirements drive international relationships, such as migration pushes and pulls, controversies

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over human rights, the impact of trade policy on job creation and the impact of environmental protection measures on industrial development.

■ The way in which governments deal with societal change and contradictions at the expense of human rights.

■ The impact of developments in science and technology on domestic political trends and forces.

Preparing diplomats for the 21st century will increasingly require a combination of educational and practical experiences.

First, foreign services will be seeking those whose university degree courses are international and interdisciplinary in scope. There will be less emphasis on language, history and law as singular paths for entry into diplomatic careers. Rather foreign services will search for graduates who have already lived and studied abroad and who have studied modern international relations, especially international political economy.

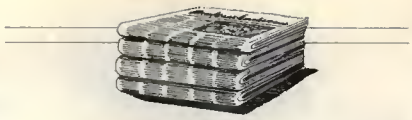
Second, Foreign Service officers will need to receive more on-the-job training. This will not only lengthen the apprenticeship period and expand its scope beyond the present consular work but also require FSOs to have rotational assignments in other government ministries to better cope with the proliferation of players in the making of foreign policy.

Third, foreign ministries will have to upgrade significantly their in-house mid-career training and external "sabbatical" programs to assure that officers remain current with the latest thinking about the nature of the emerging international system. It is through such programs, moreover, that diplomats

will have the best chance of comprehending the nature and dynamics of change in the soeieties where they will serve. Traditional "area studies" orientation and refresher courses within foreign service academies and institutes will, consequently, have to be revamped to facilitate in-depth discussion of the sources of societal change — past, present and projected.

Diplomats will also have to become far more skilled in the arcane arts of navigating and using effectively the global information superhighway. This will be a problem for most foreign ministries since present computer resources are already strained and projected capabilities to enhance them will likely not keep pace with information and computing technology and its many applications. Foreign affairs budgets are not going to grow, even in this vital area. So the diplomat will be doing most of this learning on his own, at home, or through university extension courses. What foreign ministries can do is to eneourage such learning and subsidize the purchase of eomputing equipment as many international businesses have been doing for some time.

In the next century, international affairs professionals will have access to information at virtually the same time. The contribution that the diplomat ean make is to add a context about situations abroad that is policy relevant at home, and, in the proeess, identify actions that can be taken to advanee national interests. Doing this well will require a commitment to aetive learning and training, which is far more extensive and interdisciplinary than anything yet developed by those who manage foreign serviees. ■



CLIPPINGS

"I thought the American people were more interested in law enforcement ... than in building ... palaces and renting long coats and high hats."

— SEN. PHIL GRAMM, (R-TEXAS).

THE WASHINGTON POST, *SEPT. 13*

MEDIA REPORTS LAUD 3 DEAD ENVOYS

"In the main lobby of the State Department there is a large plaque that now extends across two walls. It contains the names of 171 Americans who, while serving their country abroad, 'died in heroic or other inspirational circumstances'. ... Three more names — Robert Frasure, Joseph Kruzel and Samuel Nelson Drew — will likely soon be added to that honored list. They are the negotiators who died in Bosnia." So opened an Aug. 23 editorial in *The Washington Post*.

The three government officials were in an armored car that plunged off a rain-soaked mountain road near Sarajevo on Aug. 19. The editorial praised all public servants "who endure great hardship, extreme danger and even the loss of liberty and life abroad." Singled out were not only diplomats but development experts, intelligence gatherers, Peace Corps volunteers and others whose health and physical safety are routinely at risk in doing their jobs, the editorial said.

"Such Americans leave the comfort of home not only to advance this country's economic and national security interests but by example and action to help others achieve the freedom and peace valued so highly here," it said. "It is a moment in which people could usefully pause to think about the often politically abused and rarely publicly appreciated others who labor on in danger and persist through discouragement, as did the three men honored."

In a related article in the Aug. 26 *Baltimore Sun*, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrook lauded security agent Peter Hargraves, a passenger in the car who survived the crash, as "a genuine hero." Although Hargraves' rescue efforts were unsuccessful, he did pull one of the three victims — though the article never identified him — from the car, but was unable to get the other two before "the whole thing exploded," according to the *Sun*.

OF POWER, PLANTS & PRINCIPLES

"Washington has rarely before seen such a paradoxically low-profile trio of top foreign policy officials: the sweetly professorial Secretary of Defense William Perry, the self-effacing courteous Secretary of State Warren Christopher and the positively anonymous National Security Adviser Anthony Lake," opined an Aug. 28 editorial in *The Washington Times*.

The piece refers to a *New York Times* profile of Lake by Jason DeParle, which calls Lake "surely the only national security adviser ever to stand beside the president and be described in a photo caption as an 'unidentified' man." The editorial continues, "It may well be that Mr. Lake enjoys his 'potted plant' imitations, which allow him to move in mysterious ways behind the scenes, but it is also a reflection of a profound unease with questions of power and principle in U.S. foreign policy. ... He continues to try to unite ... the application of power in the national interest vs. its more caring, sharing side. .. The problem is that both those sides require a certain amount of courage to apply, which is not much in evidence."

CLIPPINGS

ADVICE IGNORED ON VIETNAM WAR

Former Seeretary of Defense Robert MeNamara, in his book, *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam*, elaims there was a lack of reliable information about Vietnam before the war upon which to base decisions. Louis Sarris, the State Department's research analyst on Indoehina from 1957-67 writes in the Sept. 5 *New York Times* "Commentary" page that many cases have been ehronieled in whieh officials from the State Department, the C1A and the Defense Intelligenee Ageney warned or tried to warn top brass about the dangers of military involvement. But, writes Sarris, "They were ignored, silenced or reprimanded. ... Many of those involved in pursuing the war have since aeknowledged that the almost willful dependence on Pentagon military assessments during this period was a factor whieh entangled us in the war."

SECURITY AGENCY SPARED DEEP CUTS

The State Department's Diplomatie Security Service appears to have survived an attempted priming, writes Chet Bridger in the Aug. 21 *Federal Times*. The idea of shifting visa and passport fraud investigations from State to the Justice Department appears to have died after an appeal from Diplomatic Security agents to Congress and Secretary of State Warren Christopher. "Transferring the responsibility of investigating the fraudulent production and use of documents that are issued by the Department of State to an outside agency makes no sense," wrote Federal Law Enforcement Offieers Assoeiation President Victor Oboyski in a July letter to Christopher.

The eorps of 700 Diplomatic Seeurity agents have elosed 40 percent more criminal cases in the last two years, according to Diplomatie Seeurity Service Director Mark Mulvey. However, budget cuts and personnel reduetions have limited new hires to only 14 in the last four years.

19 POSTS TO CLOSE, BUT WORKERS SPARED

Closing 19 overseas posts will not result in direet job euts, aeeording to State Department officials, sinee most employees will rotate out through the normal proeess before elosures. Work will be found for all eareer employees at the 19 posts except those who plan to retire or leave the Foreign Service because of time-in-class limitations, Chet Bridger reported in the Aug. 29 *Federal Times*. Nineteen posts, including three in Afriea, five in East Asia, seven in Europe and four in Latin America will be closed in fiscal 1996. Closing the following posts is expected to save $12 million annually: Lubumbashi, Zaire; Malabo, Equatorial Guinea; Victoria, Seychelles; Apia, Western Samoa; Brisbane, Australia; Cebu, Philippines; Medan, Indonesia; Udorn, Thailand; Bilbao, Spain; Bordeaux, Franee; Edinburgh, United Kingdom; Florence, Italy; Poznan, Poland; Stuttgart, Germany; Zurich, Switzerland; Curacao, Netherlands Antilles; Hermosillo, Mexico; Matamoros, Mexieo; and Porto Alegre, Brazil.

"As we face increasing pressures on resourees, streamlined staffing of all our missions becomes an absolute necessity," noted State's spokesman Nieholas Burns.

50 YEARS AGO

"The U.S. ambassador to London, John G. Winant, receives a sum of $17,500 [annually], the sum fixed for ambassadorial salaries by Congress in 1856 and never since ehanged," reported the *Journal* in October 1945 .

"Entertainment allowances add another $12,500. This compares to the British envoy to Washington, Viscount Halifax, who gets a tax-free allowance of $70,000 a year. As this is not considered a salary, he pays no income tax." These facts come from an article in *The New Republic* of Aug. 30, 1945, which continues, "This contrast in Anglo-American diplomatic pay illustrates the singular parsimony of rich Uncle Sam when it comes to foreign representation. Entertainment costs are high and Americans of low ineome just can't afford the job." ■

"The problems that a furlough would create at home are compounded overseas."

— COLUMNIST MIKE CAUSEY, THE WASHINGTON POST, SEPT. 8

FSOs Battered in Media Reports

The image of the Foreign Service was battered in two publications this month. In the Aug. 31 *Washington Post*, an article on Ambassador to Ireland Jean Kennedy Smith quotes Deputy Chief of Mission Dennis Sandberg on the reaction of the staff to the new ambassador, "I had them stumbling into my office later saying, 'She can't be serious.' It was a big shock for them, people who'd spent their days playing computer games and having four-hour martini lunches." His quote has been a big shock to Foreign Service officers in most posts, where both computers and martinis are in short supply.

The *City Paper* of Aug. 8 also took a swipe at Foreign Service officers when they published a profile on Richard Pearson of the *Washington Post* obituary page, who commented that he didn't like running obits of FSOs, who "could order sweet-and-sour pork in 12 languages but who did nothing [in their lives]." FSO Alphonse La Porta defended the Foreign Service in a responding letter to the editor, published in the City Paper on Sept. 8, in which he called the remark "gratuitous." He pointed out that the Foreign Service "plays a vital role ... in assisting Americans overseas in promoting the exports and facilitating the investments of American firms, in executing development projects ... and in negotiating agreements to advance [U.S.] national and economic security."

In another letter to the editor in the same issue, FSO Deborah R. Mennuti wrote, "Pearson might sing a different tune if he ever has the misfortune to fall seriously ill, lose his passport or be thrown in a foreign jail with no one to turn to but an American consular officer." ■

Making a Difference

Former Peace Corps Volunteers Say Idealistic Values Still Guide Them at AID

By David Arnold

For former Peace Corps volunteers, President John F. Kennedy's challenge, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country," is more than just inspirational jargon from the '60s. Kennedy's words still inspire many ex-volunteers who are now employees of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID). Indeed, more than 40 percent of AID's 3,097 American employees today are ex-Peace Corps volunteers, many heading missions in the same countries they first saw as volunteers, people who chose to further their development careers in countries in Latin America, Africa, Asia and the emerging democracies of the former Soviet Union.

In fact, AID and the Peace Corps share a birth date — 1961. Theirs is an increasingly cooperative relationship, even though AID's mandate was rooted in bringing technology to the developing world and the Peace Corps' mandate was rooted in establishing cross-cultural relations. Kennedy, in a March 22, 1961, message to Congress, spelled out the reasons for creating a foreign assistance agency: "There is no escaping our obligations: Our moral obligations as a wise leader and good neighbor in the interdependent community of free nations — our economic obligations as the wealthiest people in a world of poor people ... and our political obligation as the single largest counter to the adversaries of freedom."

AID began paying competitive wages to lure Americans away from the private sector to complete development projects abroad. AID's 6,912 employees in 1961 increased to a height of 8,900 in 1968; today, the agency employs about 3,097 full-time U.S. employees and thousands of freelance contractors.

Meanwhile, the Peace Corps recruited young Americans, most of whom had just reached voting age and had more classroom learning than work experience, to become schoolteachers, health workers or advisers to farmers. The Peace Corps taught its recruits technical skills, new languages and respect for other cultures' people and values. And in the '60s, at 11 cents an hour, no one could argue that the $900-a-year price tag was not a good deal for Americans who wanted their tax dollars to aid developing countries.

In 1961 the first group of 124 volunteers went to Ghana, eager to fulfill the three goals of the Peace Corps' mandate: providing service in the world's under-served communities; demonstrating the best of American values abroad; and advocating for those foreign cultures and people upon returning to the United States. For most who volunteered, it was reason enough. The number of volunteers swelled to 15,556 at its peak in 1966. The Peace Corps' budget and volunteer numbers were reduced sharply during the Nixon years, but have steadily increased since, reaching 6,891 in 1995.

David Arnold is director of communications for the Association of Returned Peace Corps Volunteers. He was a Peace Corps volunteer in Ethiopia from 1968-70.

The two agencies sent their people to work in many of the same countries and, for the most part, they avoided each other like the plague. Peace Corps volunteers viewed AID and its government-to-government projects as empowering not the people but its government bureaucracies, and AID employees often saw the village-based volunteers as naive and inexperienced. Volunteers' village-level understanding of local needs sometimes clashed with the aims of AID's technical projects.

But Peter McPherson, AID administrator from 1981-87, was among those former volunteers who saw great potential in AID's method, mission and scope. He had served in Peru in the mid-1960s. McPherson discounts other volunteers' criticisms of AID workers, since he found "a potential for great arrogance among volunteers [who felt] if you weren't with the Peace Corps, you didn't know what was going on [in the community]." In fact, the perception among volunteers that projects developed top-down are less successful than bottom-up development has prompted a large number to join the legendary development beast in the last two decades and attempt to change its methodology.

In the dogma of Peace Corps' 1960s purists, the shaking-hands AID logo conjured up images of a paternalistic U.S. bureaucracy sending highly paid American engineers to sell concrete dams that no locals are trained to maintain or American-built trucks with no sources of spare parts.

"We were instructed to have no contact with AID in Bogota," remembers Kelly Kammerer, Atwood's counselor and a lawyer who began his development career as a Peace Corps volunteer in El Carmen de Otrato, Colombia, in 1963. Any perceived affiliation with the "big bucks" government-oriented projects would "taint" a volunteer's small project, he says.

Margaret Bonner, a former Peace Corps volunteer in Ethiopia and now AID's chief of mission in that country, recalls how she used to think of the government agency when she was just a volunteer. "[Peace Corps volunteers] were people who wanted to do development work and were committed to ... trying to increase the well-being of a people," she says. "We thought that AID was not there because they wanted to do development, but because they wanted good salaries, a cost-of-living allowance and other benefits."

Now that she's with AID, she believes that both agencies are focused on the same goal, although their methods might diverge.

In graduating from the one-on-one development work in the Third World countryside to the complexity of the U.S. bureaucracy at AID, Peace Corps alumni have brought new attitudes and a different culture to the agency.

"I'm very proud that 40 percent of our agency is former Peace Corps volunteers," says AID Administrator Brian Atwood. "I think of their dedication, of the people who worked at the grassroots level ... who really are the heart and core of this organization."

The Peace Corps and AID sent their people to work in the same countries and, for the most part, they avoided each other like the plague.

Indeed, many former volunteers end up in development work. Those who choose that route, however, rarely go directly to the government payroll: They work for non-government relief and development agencies overseas or take short-term AID contracts. Because the majority of volunteers return to the lives they left behind in America two years before, they represent a growing constituency for an enlightened foreign policy and a bigger role for U.S. foreign assistance in the developing world.

Others who want to continue in the international arena join the State Department as civil service employees or as members of the Foreign Service. Indeed, more than 10 percent of each class of new Foreign Service officers are returned Peace Corps volunteers and more than a dozen now serve as ambassadors, including Peter Chaveas in Malawi; Laurence Pope in Chad; Robert Gribben in the Central African Republic; Parker Borg in Iceland; and A. Peter Burleigh and Elizabeth Raspolic, who have been nominated for ambassadorships, respectively, to Sri Lanka and Gabon.

And there's that hard-core group of development pros who choose to work for AID. "Peace Corps has changed AID," says Bonner. "You have people who are not afraid to go out and mix, not afraid to go out on field trips. It gives people a different perspective and a willingness to look at what the problems are."

Bill Sugrue, acting head of AID's Global Bureau's Office of Environment and Natural Resources Management, calls it a generational change. "Earlier many came from technical areas ... whose overseas experience was winning World War II. Our experience was the Peace Corps. [It was] humbling and humane."

Others describe AID's effort to switch to Peace Corps' more consumer-friendly mission as inevitable. "There seemed to be an understanding that the former Peace Corps volunteers were the future of AID," says one Peace Corps alumnus. "[It] was as on-the-ground as you could get in a less-developed country. We were the foundation [AID] could build on."

The arrival of the first volunteers brought minor cultural clashes to the agency. One senior AID official recalls the anti-Peace Corps bias in her first boss's greeting: "Don't talk to me about being in the Peace Corps." Many years later, a residue of that bias lingers within the political environment of Washington. Atwood tells the story of another AID official with Peace Corps experience who was told by a Republican staffer on Capitol Hill, "You know, the problem with you is you have a village view of the world." As a consequence, ex-volunteers learn to modify their grassroots experience with a thin earcer mantle that Sugrue describes thus: "You can't really transform the world, but you think and behave as if you can."

Many former volunteers still believe the popular Peace Corps notion that the decision-making process leading up to a project must include its consumers, even if they're people whose world ends at the next village. "The influence of former volunteers was to move us more toward people-oriented needs," Atwood says.

Now president of Michigan State University, McPherson says his baptism in development as a volunteer marked his eight years running AID. "You come to appreciate a culture of poverty in a way that you just can't get unless you live in it," he says.

Indeed, the sheer numbers of ex-volunteers at AID suggest that much support for sustainable programs comes from these employees who have worked at the community level.

The tools picked up in the Peace Corps are useful in working for AID: local languages; an ability to adapt to different cultures, values and living standards; and even an enthusiasm for these differences. Most volunteers also bring skills in such areas as forestry, fisheries, health care delivery or co-op management. But a central value to any grassroots experience is an understanding of how small communities work — and do not work. AID officials who studied these little markets say they never forgot those first lessons in Peace Corps service. It's no surprise that ex-volunteers often know better what works when they schmooze with ministry officials in the capital.

"You develop a keen sense of what's bull — and what works," says Sugrue, who worked on irrigation systems in southwest Ethiopia as a volunteer from 1969-71. "People from the ministries come to town in Land Rovers and drive away. You were there before and after, and you carry that experience with you the rest of your life."

Many returned volunteers at AID learned different styles of reasoning in their first overseas work in the Peace Corps. As one small project succeeds, larger ones become apparent. If it works in one town, why not elsewhere, even throughout a nation?

Sugrue learned the hard way as a volunteer. After news spread that AID was planning to build a road between two villages in Ethiopia, many people without title to their land saw their homes bulldozed. So AID sent Sugrue to Haiti's Les Cayes region in 1977, where he helped farmers secure tenant rights before a road project began.

Gregg Baker, a volunteer in the Philippines from 1985-87, remembers the $300 AID gave him to help a local cooperative buy a rice thresher and blower to be rented to the poorest farmers near Mindanao. The success of that project prompted the Dutch to finance construction of a rice storage warehouse. "If we can take a small aid project and think of it as a policy experiment, achieve good results at the local level, [we can] then engage in dialogue at the policy level and adapt the project to other situations. Soon the cooperative was providing a full range of agricultural service to its members," said Baker, now a program economics officer in AID's Office of Strategic and Economic Analysis in the Asia and Near East Bureau.

Dennis Panther, a former volunteer who now manages agribusiness projects in seven Asian countries in the Global Bureau, says, "In every country you always find the officials who are really concerned about the stagnant economy and the plight of the peasant. Many times these people are unable to talk about these issues. I think they look to outsiders like me to open up the dialogue."

The learning curve is usually shorter for ex-volunteers who arrive at AID with development experience. Indeed, those who remember the lessons of development's past are less likely to repeat its mistakes.

In 1968, Margaret and Cameron Bonner's first work experience following Rutgers University commence-

ment was as teachers of math, English and science in the Dejazmach Wolde Gabriel Aba Seitan secondary school in Ethiopia. They would wake up each morning at 5:30 to a cock's crow. Their house had oiled wooden floors, whitewashed walls and gray muslin stretched across the ceiling. Through the wooden blue shutters of their front windows, they could see the equatorial sun lifting above the branches of the eucalyptus in the schoolyard below. The morning light would strike the school's corrugated tin roof and the four large white ostrich eggs impaled on the points of a Coptic cross on a church roof across the valley. Their three-minute walk to school was down a meandering foot path through a coffee grove, and on broken-rock highway, which eventually led through the Rift Valley, the desert and to Addis Ababa. The road was crowded each morning with students, and Oromo women carrying firewood on their heads, babies on their backs and trussed chickens in their arms.

At night, the Bonners prepared lesson plans by the flaring light of kerosene lanterns, hyenas silently picked their way through the dark streets and herdsman played their flutes over crackling fires.

In the 1960s the Peace Corps' mission in Ethiopia was education and it would become one of the agency's biggest sites, with 3,190 volunteers teaching during the height of its boom, from 1962 to 1972; the largest number at one time was 916 in 1966. These Americans taught English, civics and the multiplication tables to young Ethiopians who would become bureaucrats in a feudal empire, Marxist revolutionaries who would try to overthrow the empire, or liberators who would crush the 17-year military dictatorship and create a democracy.

The Bonners' view of Ethiopia has now changed. When she was a school teacher in the village of Asbe Teferi, Margaret Bonner had few textbooks, the blackboard was so shiny it rejected chalk, and the science lab doubled as the stage for the morning flag assembly. Today, as AID's mission director in Addis Ababa, she manages $144 million in annual assistance, the United States' fourth-largest aid package behind Israel, Egypt and India. The Bonners' now live in a neighborhood affluent by Ethiopian standards, accessible by small roads winding between compound walls. The house is not far from AID's new offices, but their living room windows look out only on their own compound walls.

"It was much nicer in Asbe Teferi," Bonner says. But if her relationship with Ethiopia has become more urban, complex and bureaucratic, she still incorporates the same skills she practiced in a small school in the mountains 25 years earlier. "I deal frankly with people and on a one-to-one basis," she says. "These are people who have to make up their own minds. Students and governments have to decide which way they want to go. As a teacher in the Peace Corps and in this position, I am in the middle. I can show them the alternatives and the ramifications of those alternatives, but it's the person in charge who decides."

She works with a wider range of people now. "I have a broader sweep and the politics of what will happen to Ethiopia is much more on my mind." What she does affects thousands, she says, but she also knows "I will not have the impact that I [once] had on one student."

As AID's future as an autonomous entity is being debated in Congress, Atwood has announced that he will close six more overseas missions, including Estonia, the Czech Republic and Swaziland; toss out half of AID's bureaucratic regulations; replace its management systems; and do more business with non-government agencies that can deliver democracy and small business expertise. Gone are the days of macro projects.

Atwood has been reform-minded since he arrived at AID in May 1993. To date, he has closed 21 missions, reduced project design schedules from two years to six months, and cut the agency's staff of U.S. and foreign national employees by 1,200 to 3,693 — including slashing 97 senior positions, from 302 to 205. These measures summarize intensive efforts to recreate the $6.5 billion U.S. foreign assistance program, including humanitarian relief, economic support and development assistance, which Congress has called wasteful and ineffective.

Today, those who push for AID reform include a small Washington public policy organization that recommended that AID invite development recipients to consult on final project decisions. In 1972, twins Steve and Doug Hellinger created Development GAP, Group for Alternative Policies. Both had just returned from two-year Peace Corps stints in South America. The brothers have been impassioned critics of the old AID ways and constant advocates of new and more participatory development policies.

"Atwood's done a lot to reform the agency internally," Steve Hellinger says, but he adds that the duo's proposals, which were circulated to agency leaders and mission directors overseas, have had little or no effect.

Despite Atwood's progress, critics and advocates concede it will take time before the agency looks different. But ex-Peace Corps volunteers continue to see the agency evolve, and they know they'll see it change again. Armed with their belief that grassroots development can be good development, they believe that AID can continue to help make the world a better place in the 21st century, even if they have to make do with a smaller agency. ■

The Accidental Treaty

Though Envoy Trist Negotiated End Of Mexican War, The Act Finished His Career

By John J. Harter

Nicholas Philip Trist seemed destined for a distinguished diplomatic career, considering the trajectory of his early life. Friend and aide to presidents Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and Andrew Jackson, he would be chosen by President James Polk in 1847 to negotiate a conclusion to the bloody Mexican War. He finished that assignment brilliantly, and the consequential Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo doubled the size of the United States. And Trist's reward? He was arrested and his State Department career ended.

Trist's life began full of promise. His association with Thomas Jefferson was through his grandmother, Elizabeth, who occasionally took care of Jefferson's daughter, Martha, in Philadelphia and eventually settled near Monticello with her son, Hore Browse Trist. Hore later practiced law and married in Charlottesville, Va., where Nicholas was born in 1800. After Hore died his widow, Mary, married a prominent New Orleans attorney, who saw to it that Nicholas received a classical education and tutoring in French and Spanish.

When Trist was 17, Jefferson invited him to return to Monticello. Trist wrote many memoranda of conversation, now housed at the Library of Congress, which recorded his frequent chats with the former president. At Jefferson's behest Trist entered the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1818. He did well academically but resented the enforced discipline. He resigned in 1821 before graduating. This independent spirit would become both his greatest strength and his fatal weakness.

Trist then returned to New Orleans to study law. Throughout his years at West Point and in Louisiana, Trist bombarded Virginia Jefferson, Martha's daughter, with almost daily letters reiterating his love for her. When she urged him to return to Monticello he did so with alacrity and the pair married in September 1824, settling into the great manor house. The union produced three children and lasted until Trist's death in 1874.

Trist resumed his law studies under Jefferson's direction, dedicating 14 hours a day to reading ethics, religion, natural law, history and literature. As the bonds of respect and affection between the ailing octogenarian and his young admirer tightened, the sage of Monticello grew more frail. Trist served as Jefferson's private secretary during his last year. Shortly before his death in 1825, Jefferson rewrote his will to designate Trist as executor for his estate.

When James Madison succeeded Jefferson as rector of the University of Virginia, Trist served as his personal assistant as well. Close associations with two founding fathers left him with considerable prestige and a lifelong addiction to politics.

John J. Harter retired from the Foreign Service in 1983 after 30 years of service. Before joining, he taught history at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles.

In 1828, Secretary of State Henry Clay offered Trist an appointment with the State Department and, despite the all-pervasive spoils system, Trist survived the political transition to President Andrew Jackson and Secretary of State Martin Van Buren. Jackson was the third U.S. president to develop a close relationship with Trist.

In 1833 Jackson named Trist consul in Havana, a post he erroneously envisaged as an attractive sinecure likely to lead to higher honors. Trist remained in Cuba 12 years, becoming fluent in Spanish. But he was appalled at the business practices of some of the resident Americans and the frequently raucous and drunken behavior of American seamen who ran afoul of the law while their ships were in port. He was even more chagrined at the corruption of the Spanish officials in Cuba. The disaffection was mutual.

Complaints eventually reached Washington that Trist did not sufficiently support U.S. citizens in Cuba. In addition, Lord Palmerston, the influential British foreign secretary, formally protested to the State Department in 1839 that Trist, as U.S. consul, colluded in deliberate efforts to subvert an Anglo-Spanish Treaty that outlawed the slave trade. This was during the sensitive period after the British government decreed slavery illegal throughout the British Empire and before the fratricidal Civil War led to the same end in the United States.

Congressional committees in both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives found it politically expedient to investigate the increasingly strident complaints about Trist, and the executive branch conducted a separate inquiry. All three probes exonerated Trist, but took a heavy toll on his public reputation.

Trist returned to the United States in 1845. At that time Jackson wrote a letter to the newly elected James Polk, a fellow Tennessean and Jackson disciple, recommending that his former secretary should be made chief clerk at the Department of State. The "chief clerk" in the 1840s was the State Department's second-ranking officer and served as acting secretary in the secretary's absence. Secretary of State James Buchanan was then endeavoring to reorganize and streamline the department. He welcomed Trist's assistance and insights and the two became close associates and warm friends. However, after two years of heavy responsibilities, long hours and grueling work, Trist was ready for a change.

President Polk, entering the White House as an expansionist, was determined that the United States should acquire an area much larger than what is now New Mexico, California and substantial portions of northern Mexico. That was the period of a wide belief that the American population was manifestly destined to implant republican institutions throughout North America.

One U.S legislator complained that the peace was "negotiated by an unauthorized agent, with an unacknowledged government, submitted by an accidental President to a dissatisfied Senate."

In November 1845 the president appointed prominent lawyer John Slidell of Louisiana as U.S. commissioner to Mexico to negotiate a boundary between Mexico and Texas, to purchase California and New Mexico (which more or less included the present states of Arizona, Colorado, Utah and Nevada) and to settle U.S. citizens' longstanding monetary disputes with Mexico. The Mexican government refused to recognize Slidell, ostensibly on the technical ground that his credentials were not in order. The fact was, the Mexican government was in political upheaval, and the tottering Jose Herrera administration did not dare negotiate with the U.S. emissary, and the successor regime was opposed to any such negotiations. After cooling his heels in Mexico City for several months, Slidell returned to Washington empty-handed.

Even before dispatching Slidell to Mexico, the Polk government began preparations for the war with Mexico that it considered inevitable. In June 1845 Polk sent Gen. Zachary Taylor to take up a position near the mouth of the Rio Grande. The president received word of a skirmish between Mexican forces and a detachment of Taylor's army.

Polk saw that incident as proof that war was imminent. Prodded by Polk, Congress, in a burst of patriotic fervor, authorized him to raise a volunteer army and placed $10 million at his disposal.

By the spring of 1847 Polk lost faith in Taylor's ability to win the war. He then sent Winfield Scott, the country's senior military officer, into action. He first assembled at New Orleans an enormous expeditionary force that landed in March 1847 at the coastal city of Vera Cruz, where he established a supply base. The logistical complexity of this operation was compounded when hundreds of his original 10,000 troops were decimated by smallpox and yellow fever. Scott drove the remaining men westward along the same route taken by Cortez some three centuries earlier. Aided by such outstanding junior officers as Capt. Robert E. Lee and Lt. Ulysses S. Grant, Scott forced his poorly equipped troops to climb mountains and cross jungles, successfully fighting numerous battles en route against the Mexican military leader, Gen. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, who thereupon lost his reputation as the Napoleon of Mexico. The final phase of the U.S.-Mexican War was bloody. U.S. mortalities were estimated to be 11,300 at the war's end; but Mexican casualties were even higher, though no reliable number exists. By Sept. 13, after an historic victory at Chapultepec, Scott marched his men into the capitulated capital of Mexico City.

In April, about the time Scott was shifting his forces from New Orleans to Vera Cruz, Polk was contemplating sending a new emissary to negotiate a treaty of peace with Mexico. He and Secretary Buchanan chose Trist, then in the No. 2 position at State. Trist's instructions were detailed and precise: He was to insist that Mexico recognize the Rio Grande River as the border between Texas and Mexico instead of the Nueces River — some 150 miles north of the Rio Grande. Also, in exchange for $15 million, Mexico was expected to transfer New Mexico and California to the United States. Finally, the United States would consider settled its outstanding financial claims against Mexico, which included reparations presumably due U.S. citizens for damage to their property or injuries due to Mexico's frequent and violent revolutions.

But from the beginning, President Polk was of two minds: He wanted a treaty to terminate hostilities, but he also wanted a clear military victory. In fact, just as he was pressing Trist to negotiate a treaty, he was also urging Scott to pursue more vigorous military action against Mexico. By September, heartened by Scott's military successes, Polk decided to tighten his demands in Mexico. He wanted to punish Mexico for its intransigence in resisting the U.S. onslaught; he also wanted Mexico to cede more territory than he earlier had in mind; and he wanted to reduce the level of compensation to be paid Mexico. He was even tempted to accept the arguments of those who believed the United States should take over Mexico as a protectorate.

On Oct. 6, 1847, Buchanan wrote Trist that he should break off negotiations with the Mexicans and return to Washington. Indeed, Trist was very much aware of the growing popular movement in the United States, supported by prominent members of Congress, which favored incorporating a conquered Mexico as a state within the United States. Although Trist knew that to continue negotiations aimed at ending the war might also finish his diplomatic career, he decided to stick to his original instructions. A letter of Oct. 30 to his wife revealed his view that continuing guerrilla warfare would ensure further U.S. and Mexican casualties and pos-

sibly reduce the prospect of an honorable conclusion to the war. In the letter, he wrote, "I am willing to make the sacrifice as long as I think there is the least chance of its doing good — that is to say, leading to a treaty."

Trist received his letter of recall on Nov. 19, 1947. Although stunned, Trist's immediate impulse was to obey the recall order, but in the ensuing three weeks, he was persuaded by many people including journalists, British diplomats and Mexicans, that his return to Washington would reignite hostilities.

On Dec. 6, he sent an extraordinary 61-page letter to Secretary Buchanan explaining his decision to ignore the recall: "I place my determination on the ground of my conviction, first, that peace is still the desire of my government; secondly, that if the present opportunity not be seized at once, all chance for making a treaty at all will be lost. ... Thirdly, that this (the boundary proposed by me) is the utmost point to which the Mexican Government can by any possibility venture. I also state that the determination of my government to withdraw the offer to negotiate, to which I was made the organ, has been taken with reference to a supposed state of things in this country, entirely the reverse of that which actually exists."

Trist's letter arrived in Washington on Jan. 15, 1848. It was immediately brought to the attention of President Polk, who was at that time extremely ill with, as his diary confirmed, "derangement of the stomach and bowels." When he heard that Trist was still seeking to end the war, he was so furious that he rose from his sickbed in a rage. He recorded his reaction in his diary: "[Trist's] dispatch is arrogant, impudent and very insulting. ... He has acted worse than any man in the public employ whom I have ever known. His dispatch proves that he is destitute of honor or principle."

Meanwhile, Trist knew that more than a month would elapse before his letter to Buchanan would reach Washington, and that an additional month would pass before he could receive the secretary's reply. He moved as expeditiously as he could to conclude the treaty. But negotiations dragged on through most of January. Finally, by Jan. 31, Mexican officials purporting to represent their government agreed to the provisions Trist had pressed from the beginning, ceding New Mexico and California to the United States for $15 million. However, the Mexicans held out for U.S. guarantees of the civil and property rights of Mexican citizens in the ceded lands. After intensive negotiations, Trist agreed to include two provisions in the treaty: Article IX, which would incorporate all Mexicans living in those territories as American citizens; and Article X, which would maintain the validity of land grants given by the Mexican government to Mexicans in the new territory.

Trist and the Mexican negotiators signed the final treaty in the small village of Guadalupe Hidalgo on Feb. 2, 1848, nearly two months after he had decided to ignore Polk's recall order. The treaty reached Washington on Feb. 19 and was vigorously debated by a split Cabinet the next day. Secretary Buchanan and Robert J. Walker, the influential Treasury secretary, opposed it; but the majority of the department heads supported it.

President Polk favored the imposition of more punitive terms on Mexico, but he faced rising opposition in Congress, both from those who wanted to annex all of Mexico and those who urged total and immediate U.S. withdrawal from the war. In January 1848, the House of Representatives, dominated since 1846 by the Whig Party, passed a resolution by a vote of 85-51 that held the Mexican War had been "unnecessarily

and unconstitutionally begun by the President." Opponents of the war complained of the cost in blood and treasure. Also, northerners feared — as southerners hoped — that territory taken from Mexico would form new slave states, thus disrupting the political balance that had prevailed since the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

Under the circumstances, Polk reluctantly forwarded the treaty to the Senate on Feb. 23,recommending Article X be deleted. Without taking a position on the treaty, a divided Foreign Relations Committee transmitted it to the full Senate, which, on March 10, ratified it — except for Article X — by a vote of 38 to 14. A protocol negotiated in May 1848 at Queretero, Mexico, assured that the deletion of Article X was not intended to annul the grants referred to therein and that the civil rights guaranteed in the original Article IX would be respected. The promises made in Articles IX and X have often been compared with the provisions in 19th-century treaties the United States made with American Indian tribes. Hundreds of cases invoking the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo reached U.S. courts between the 1850s and the 1980s, but few were decided in favor of former Mexicans and their heirs.

One U.S. legislator complained publicly that the peace "negotiated by an unauthorized agent, with an unacknowledged government, submitted by an accidental President to a dissatisfied Senate, has, notwithstanding these objections in form, been confirmed."

Meanwhile, on orders issued by Polk on Feb. 24, 1848, the day after the treaty went to the Senate, Trist was placed under military arrest in Mexico and put aboard a U.S. ship, arriving in Washington in mid-June. The president said that Trist's despatches were disrespectful of the administration.

In July 1848, Trist moved with his family to West Chester, Pennsylvania, where his wife opened a boarding school. Trist worked briefly for a law firm in New York City, but he was unable to establish a practice. Eventually, he found work as a clerk with the Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Co., a position he held for 20 years. In 1870, Trist's circumstances came to the attention of President Ulysses S. Grant, and Trist was named postmaster in Alexandria, Va. He continued in that capacity until he died four years later at age 74.

Trist was never formally charged with wrongdoing, and he was never brought to trial. But he was sorely humiliated, angry and dejected. His career, which had been so full of promise during his first 47 years, ended in shambles. In fact, it would be 25 years before he would be reimbursed for expenses he incurred in negotiating the treaty — $14,559.90 — thanks to a special bill enacted by Congress in April 1871. ■

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association

MOOSE GIVES MANAGEMENT'S VIEWS

"Bad timing and a bod decision," quipped Under Secretory for Monagement Richard M. Moose obout the budget-cutting octions of the Senote Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice ond Stote. Moose ond Assistont Secretary for Legislotive Affoirs Wendy Shermon oddressed more than 500 foreign offoirs employees ot on AFSA-sponsored "Town Meeting" held at the Department of Stote on September 9.

Shermon forecost thot the government is facing two "train wrecks," one ot the end of September with the threotened furlough of non-essential personnel if oppropriotions bills ore not possed, ond the second in mid-November, when Congress puts forth on extension of the debt ceiling to the president. A letter has been sent to Sen. Mork Hotfield (R-Ore.) stating that the Senote Appropriotions Committee octions cleorly undermine Stote's, USIA's ond ACDA's obilities to perform the nation's priorities.

During o question ond answer period it wos noted that in spite of the resources used on the Hill, the State Department is not as effective os DOD and CIA. Moose worned ogoinst mistaking a lack of visibility for a lack of effort. Shermon encouroged all personnel to support congressionol delegations, as they are one of the best means of showing legislators first hand the importont work of the foreign affairs ogencies. She olso advocoted talking to members of Congress and their staffs, ofter receiving an update of the situotion from the legislotive monogement officer.

Questions on a possible RIF were pointed ond frequent. Moose soid thot o 1996 RIF would depend on the budget numbers which will be finalized in November. The under secretary also reported thot Stote is working

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• AFSA Dateline •

• AFSA was instrumental in the successful outcome of the Foreign Service Grievance Board's recent decisions on a diplomatic security agent's grievance for bock overtime poy under the Fair Lobor Standords Act. Although the department prevoiled on limiting the back pay period to two yeors, the grievant prevailed on the issue of liquidated (double) damages. The grievant wos owarded domoges ond on omount equol to the bock poy oword for o two-yeor period. The Boord's ruling on liquidoted domoges is encouroging for the more thon 300 speciolists who hove FLSA grievances pending with the deportment.

• Nov. 29 is the dote for the 21st AFSA symposium on "Vietnom: Chollenges ond Opportunities." The symposium, held at the Department of State, will be co-sponsored by the U.S.–ASEAN Council, the U.S.-Vietnam Trade Council, and the Departments of State ond Commerce. Severol hundred American corporate executives ore expected to attend a plenary on Vietnam's move to a market economy ond o series of panels focusing on the opportunities ond dilemmos, both politicol ond economic, focing U.S. componies in Vietnam. All members of the foreign affairs ogencies ore invited to ottend the conference. AFSA members con ottend for free, ond the speciol rote for non-AFSA members is $50. The chorge for lunch for both members ond non-members is $60. Coll (202) 338-4045 or fox (202) 338-6820 to request a conference invitotion.

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STATE DEPARTMENT

V.P. VOICE

• BY ALPHONSE F. LA PORTA •

Stop the Genocide

The ronks of several groups in the Foreign Service are being deliberotely decimoted through the summary retirement of large and growing numbers of O-1 ond senior officers; the torgeting of certain classes of employees misguidedly considered to be "in surplus;" and selective torgeting of some Foreign Service speciolist cotegories.

One of my former concerns as director of the Office of Cambodian Genocide Investigations wos thot moss violence of the Khmer Rouge rulers againsl the Khmer ethnic majority constituted "auto-genocide." We in the Foreign Service are olso decimating our own ranks by decisions mode in Main Stote.

This year's results of the promotion panels and the number of generalists and specialists facing forcible retirement speak loudly in favor of the comparison with genocide. In the coming year, total Foreign Service attrition is expected to be oboout 340, barring a reduction-in-force (RIF). Approximotely 160 of these will be involuntorily separated through the opplicotion of mid-coreer time-in-closs (TIC) limitotions, ond senior TIC's. Increasingly, O-2 officers ond speciolists ore being separoted becouse promotions ore not ovailable to higher levels.

Combined with high ottrition in the lost two yeors, the Foreign Service is suffering an unprecedented hemhorroge of skills, expertise ond coreer employees. The seosoned professionol tolent pool is seen as o problem, not o treosured notionol osset.

There are mony and complex reosons for this phenomenon, omong them budgetory stringencies, promoting too mony people in recent years ("flow through" is nice but the unintended consequences hove been severe), foilure to adjust to new reolities, ond the inobility of the performance review system over mony yeors to winnow out less good performers. Consequently, some managers have concluded – erroneously, in AFSA's view – that the work force profile is all wrong and must be energetically pruned, that we ore "spending too much" on personnel ond not enough on investment in infrastructure (the Luddite trodeoff), and thot more "expensive", hence more experienced, people must go first – and quickly.

We know where this is leading – unmistakably to the weakening of the Foreign Service, to the increasing inability of the department to staff foreign offoirs functions (the number of position vacancies is growing, we ore told), ond o colossol decline in motivotion, Service discipline, ond altruisim which led most of us to choose a profession having primarily psychic rother thon material rewards.

It is not possible in this column to specify the remedies, but AFSA is actively addressing them with allied organizations ond interest groups. We believe that the key is workforce planning. Since the possage of the 1980 Act, the department hos not had – in defionce of specific longuage in the legislotion – o model to forecast personnel needs by skills, grode, language and orea expertise ond other foctors. AFSA is committed to assisting management in developing o dynomic personnel model ond o strotegic workforce planning system.

AFSA will be moking specific proposols to stop the hemhorroging, if not genocide, of quolified personnel. We will share these proposols with you, but the mindless and arbitrary TIC system has got to go!

Note: This column is dedicoted to volued colleogues, olmost too numerous to mention, whose coreers hove been sacrificed through forced retirement due to grossly misguided policies ond priorities in defionce of the nationol interest.

IN MEMORIAM

ROBERT C. FRASURE
JOSEPH KRUZEL
S. NELSON DREW

An Aug. 23 memoriol service, attended by Secretary of Stote Worren Christopher and President Clinton, honored the three peace envoys who were killed when their vehicle slid off o rood in Bosnio on Aug. 19. Deputy Assistont Secretory of State Robert Frosure, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Joseph Kruzel, ond Col. Nelson Drew, a Nationol Security Council oide, were on their way to deliver a peoce plon when the occident occurred.

Christopher described Frosure as "o remarkable Americon diplomat who took risks and found the woy to go forword." Frosure, 53, was designoted os speciol envoy for the former Yugoslovio ond spent much of May negotioting in Belgrade. In 1991 he was awarded a Presidential Medal for his role in the downfoll of the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia and the emigration of more thon 15,000 Ethiopion Jews to Isroel. His 21-year Foreign Service career included postings to Switzerland, Germany, Greot Britoin, Nigerio, South Africo, Ethiopio ond, most recently, Estonia, where he was the first post-Communist U.S. ombossodor. He is survived by his wife, Katharina, and two daughters, Saroh and Virginio.

Kruzel, 50, hod been o deputy ossistant secretory of defense for Europeon ond NATO offoirs since 1993. He wos on Air Force Vietnom veteran ond former politicol science professor ot Ohio Stote University. He is survived by his wife, Goil, ond two children, John ond Soroh.

Drew, 47, wos on Air Force colonel ond Europeon offoirs stoff director ot the Notionol Security Council. An Air Force officer since 1972, he spent six yeors on the foculty of the Air Force Acodemy and three years as adviser to the U.S. Mission to NATO. He is survived by his wife, Sondro, ond two children, Somontho ond Phillip.

DATELINE

Continued from page 1

• Part II af the AFSA/Harvard pair af canferences an Warld Trade in Services will take place at Cambridge, Mass. an Oct. 26-28. The Harvard pragram will facus an the highlights repart on the AFSA May 2 canference an this subject. AFSA members wha wish ta attend the Harvard canference shauld call Harvard University at (617) 495-3316.

MEMORIAL FUNDS ESTABLISHED

In the wake af the tragic deaths af the three peacekeepers, President Clintan annaunced the establishment af the Federal Diplamatic Family Assistance Fund (FDFAF) ta benefit the educatianal and ather needs af children af U.S. gavernment emplayees wha have died while perfarming diplomatic duties.

Danars can express a preference that their danatian be used ta pravide far the needs af particular children eligible ta receive assistance. The Federal Emplayee Educatian and Assistance Fund (FEEA), which will administer the fund, will make every effart ta hanar such preferences.

Thase wha wish ta make a tax deductible cantributian in hanar af aur three fallen diplamats shauld send checks payable ta FEEA with a nate saying it is intended far a specific family. Send danatians ta the FEEA, Suite 200, 8441 West Bawles Avenue, Littletan, CO, 80123.

AFSA is alsa accepting cantributians ta the AFSA Frasure Memarial Schalarship Fund. This schalarship fund will benefit dependent children af the entire American Fareign Service cammunity by praviding financial assistance far callege.

If yau wauld like ta remember Ambassadar Frasure thraugh a cantributian, please make yaur check payable ta the "AFSA Frasure Memarial Schalarship Fund" and send it ta AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washingtan, DC 20037. All danatians are tax deductible. Far mare infarmatian an the AFSA Scholarships call Lari Dec, schalarship administratar, at (202) 338-4045.

AID

V.P. VOICE

• BY GARBER DAVIDSON JR. •

The Demise of Obey

We are happy ta repart that the cangressman David Obey (D-Wis.) is alive and well. It is his legislatian, which has been effective since 1979, that is in *extremis* and with it the future direction af AID. The Obey amendment stated, in part, that pasitians in Washingtan shall be designated FS (Fareign Service) rather than GS (Civil service) unless the functians perfarmed are primarily af a clerical, administrative ar pragram suppart character and can be perfarmed withaut significant averseas experience ar understanding af the averseas develapment pracess.

Under the current administratian in AID, we have seen a flagrant and cantinuing assault an the letter and spirit af the Obey legislatian thraugh numeraus canversians af FS pasitians ta GS, appaintments af palitical appaintees and the naming af persanal service cantractars (PSCs) ta what are clearly FS functians. Nat anly has the Fareign Service been diminishing in camparisan ta the Civil Service sa that there are fewer FS emplayees than there are GS, but there has been a tatal disregard for the impact af placing peaple withaut averseas experience in key pasitians which require such experience.

The deputy affice directar far Central America, far instance, has lang been a key FS pasitian, traditianally assigned ta a regianal Latin expert fully canversant with the language, cultural and ecanamic mares and issues af the regian. It wauld have been unthinkable a few years back ta place sameane in that pasitian unfamiliar with the palitical leadership in Central America, wha daes nat have intimate knawledge af regianal and palitical integratian, and wha daes nat have the kind af familiarity with lacal arganizatians and trends which anly substantial field experience can pravide. Recently the pasitian was changed fram an FS-designated pasitian and advertised natianwide as a GS pasitian. In fairness, Human Resaurces (HR) realized that this designatian was wrang, and AFSA is assured that HR has naw redesignated the pasitian FS. Hawever, there are naw GS candidates wha have bid an the jab. AFSA will demand that this "recruitment" be terminated and the bid cancelled sa that it can be reapened ta the Fareign Service.

Anather pasitian recently "canverted" fram FS ta GS was the chief af AID's Cammadity Divisian. When the FS incumbent retired, the jab was redesignated GS. There were several qualified and praven commadity affi-cers in the field with the extensive cammadity management and field experience which this pasition has traditianally required. The shart annauncement time and the criteria published in recruiting far the pasitian in effect prahibited these capable and qualified cammadities affi-cers fram even applying. AFSA has previausly stated its views an the pasitian af the Agency's deputy chief ecanamist in the Office af Palicy and Pragram Caardinatian and advocated that it remain FS. We last these battles, but, we will cantinue ta fight.

In sum, the Obey amendment is being chipped away by a graup af managers wha are neither infarmed nar praperly cancerned abaut the impartance af the averseas imperatives af the agency. Political appaintees wha wark almast exclusively in Washingtan aften see the warld anly in terms af the next briefer, saund bite, ar NYT interview. Unfartunately, their ignarance af the agency's greatest strength is seriausly undermining AID's pasitian as the premier averseas develapment agency.

RETIREE

V.P. VOICE

• BY EDWARD ROWELL •

Better Dialogue with Members

Two-woy dialogue with retired colleogues everywhere has become even more critical. We urgently need broad-bosed, informed retiree feedback. Presidential- congressional budget jousting is forcing consolidotions of functions ocross agency lines, some agency mergers, cutbocks in representotion and operotions overseas, furloughs and moybe some RIFs. AFSA hos been developing its own views on which cuts to oppose, priorities for the unovoidable reductions, ond more efficient ways to focus ond conduct our foreign relotions. I hove been lobbying for those AFSA views on the Hill.

> *"Our colleagues are concerned that our ability to protect American interests abroad is withering."*

My August meetings with a number of retirees on the West Coost were encouroging. Our colleogues are concerned that our ability to protect Americon interests obrood is withering. They wont more, and more current, details on the institutional implicotions of budget cuts. They strongly support greoter AFSA octivism in reoching out to the Congress ond the public. They ocknowledge the need to expond AFSA membership and to involve more retirees in the regional ossociations' activities. And they ore ready to look for allies in foreign affairs odvococy ot some "unorthodox" potential sources such os ossociations of retired military or retired intelligence officers.

At the Retiree Standing Committee meeting September 21 I osked members to help me increase our dialogue with you on a volunteer bosis. I hope to have a personol point of contact for eoch of the retiree associations oround the country. We also have been osking retirees to take on speciol assignments. For example, Retiree Representotive Bill De Pree is working on woys to cut duplication ond overheod ocross the board – all agencies, not just the traditional five foreign affoirs group. Bill olso is shoring with us his strong bockground in management and budgeting, moking sure we understond eorly-on the full implicotions of every new twist in the daily budget bottles.

Several Washington area retirees have alreody volunteered to use their substontiol personol occess to the Hill to convey our foreign affairs ond oppropriations messoges to Congress. This gives us on importont additional dimension in our efforts to preserve retirement benefits, too. Although retirees hove been spared in the budget-balancing rounds to date, there ore proposols on the Hill which would increase our heolth care costs or torget COLAs.

I om happy to report on upsurge in locol Foreign Service associotions. In Texos the established group in Son Antonio and the new one in Austin will soon be joined by associations in Houston ond Dollas. At AFSA, volunteer Ed Stumpf, on FCS olumnus who heads the newly-formed Morylond Foreign Service Retirees' Association, is helping members who wish to organize new groups or expand existing ones. He and I, as well os Retiree Liaison Ward Thompson, ore os close os your telephone: 1-800-704-2372. If you prefer e-moil, try afsa@afso.org or afsoemr@aol.com

MANAGEMENT'S VIEWS

Continued from page 1

on implementing a new odministrative support system for all agencies, beginning in FY98.

Employees expressed concern over the obvious duplication among agency services, the not-so-cost-effective Fly Americo Act, and junior officer coning. Moose responded that there will be one travel agency by the end of 1995, but pointed out thot to chonge the Fly America Act would require o chonge in the low. Moose also pledged to redouble monagement's efforts with AFSA to arrive at a better junior officer coning solution.

Congressional • Update •

BY KEN NAKAMURA
Congressionol Lioison Director

The new fiscol year will shortly be upon us but the bottles fought during FY95 continue on. While the final appropriotions numbers for FY96 at this time ore not known – the cuts in the Senote were very bod – we do know thot there will be less resources, and fewer people to do the work and some functions will be consolidated either through legislotive dictate or decreosing funds. Moreover, the concern is not just for FY96, but olso for the next few years of steodily decreasing resources.

AFSA hos tried to influence legislotion offecting the Foreign Service through Hill visits, congressional testimony, ond telephone calls ond letters written by AFSA members to congressionol offices. AFSA is engoged in another campaign to educate Congress and the public on the importonce of diplomacy. This effort will serve as the foundotion for the battles yet to come.

The Chinese have a wish for a person to "live in interesting times." These and the coming years are certoinly thot for the future of U.S. diplomacy, the foreign affairs infrastructure, and the Foreign Service professionols who implement our foreign policies.

USIA

V.P. VOICE

• BRUCE K. BYERS •

A RIF at USIA? AFSA's Response

Throughout the summer USIA/AFSA woited for management's draft proposol on RIF regulotions for Foreign Service employees. During this time AFSA set up o warking group on RIF regulations ond conducted o diolague with monogement representotives in the spirit of portnership. When monogement finolly presented its droft praposol ta AFSA for comment, AFSA studied it ond summorized its key paints in on August 21 cable ta the field, soliciting responses from Fareign Service emplayees averseas ond in Washington. These come quickly and were substantive, and AFSA's working graup analyzed them ta determine trends in reoction to management's proposol.

> *" The vitality and professionalism of the Foreign Service will be vitiated if its ranks are involuntarily decimated. "*

By the time this column is published USIA's finol RIF regulotians will prabably have been issued. The questian af the necessity of o RIF of FSOs this year will mast likely be under debote. In its respanse ta monogement's droft proposol AFSA stoted thot it opposes the use of o RIF os o mechonism for downsizing the Foreign Service in USIA. It urged monogement ta seek buy-out authority from Congress for mid-level ond Seniar Foreign Service officers, ta grant na new Limited Coreer Extensions (LCEs), to toke in no new junior officer closses, to renew no cantrocts with rehired annuitonts, ond to provide incentives far early retirement. Mareover, AFSA urged manogement ta make better use of longstanding mechonisms for seporoting FSOs fram the service: The Selection ond Tenuring Boords thot should identify poarly performing FSOs and direct their separatian.

While Foreign Service employees moy be willing ta swollow the bitter pill af taa few promotion opportunities, bosed upon Selection Board decisions ond jobs, mast legitimately warry abaut entrusting their coreer futures to a system which was established far promoting the best afficers in eoch class, based upan perfarmonce evaluotions, ond not for use as a RIF mechonism. Over the post two decades the size of the Foreign Service ot USIA hos continued ta decline. More thon 200 afficers have been involuntarily seporated. And still USIA, like other ogencies, moy be forced ta RIF its Fareign Service professianals.

In the current enviranment in Woshington oll af us are faced with two simple focts: cangressionol legislation mandates thot eoch fareign offoirs ogency prescribe RIF regulotions and cangressianal budget policies will necessitote extroordinory cost-cutting meosures in foreign offoirs ogencies. These focts notwithstonding, AFSA strongly supports o vitol, professionol corps of Foreign Service officers to meet the challenges of U.S. diplomocy in on increasingly unstable world. The vitolity and prafessionolism of the Foreign Service will be vitiated if its ronks ore invaluntarily decimoted thraugh o RIF, ond USIA's obility to conduct public diplomacy in cauntries vitol to the U.S. will be crippled far yeors. The cast to rebuild this capability will come ot o high price in lost good will, understanding, ond cooperatian which Foreign Service officers hove built up over decades with influentiol people in countries oround the world.

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STRENGTHENING US POLICY

US EXPANDS EFFORTS TO TARGET TERRORISTS, CREATE GLOBAL NETWORK

BY KAREN KREBSBACH

As the world's borders become more permeable and as the United States continues its reign as the globe's sole superpower, U.S. citizens, government buildings and companies will continue to be targets for increasingly more mobile and bold terrorists. And the ideological, religious and ethnic conflicts that have spawned terrorism in the last 50 years are not expected to dissolve in the next half century.

Indeed, both the State Department and the United Nations have identified terrorism as one of the top four international problems facing the world's nations today, along with drug trafficking, nuclear proliferation and the escalation of international crime.

"In the future, terrorism may become more lethal and disruptive because of modern technology and because our society's communications, financial and health systems, on which we depend, are increasingly vulnerable to terrorists," points out Philip C. Wilcox Jr., coordinator for counterterrorism at the State Department, in recent testimony before Congress.

Although direct attacks by foreigners on American targets and people have diminished since the 1980s, counterterrorism officials say they have found a growing incidence of terrorist groups that have no known state sponsorship. Some 95 percent of all terrorism involves bombing, assassination, armed assault, hijacking, hostage-taking or kidnapping. But, as State officials point out, although the number of international incidents appears to be declining, casualties are escalating as terrorists increasingly seek out less protected civilian targets. Those include the 1994 bombing of the Anua Jewish Cultural Center in Buenos Aires that killed 100; the 1993 World Trade Center in New York City in which six died and 1,000 were injured; and the recent bombings in France by Algerian militants. So far in 1995, there have been about 150 international terrorist incidents recorded, compared to 321 in 1994; 431 in 1993; and 665 in 1987 — the peak in recent years.

JOHN O'CONNOR

"International terrorists are also becoming increasingly mobile, sophisticated and technologically proficient in explosives and weaponry," according to Wilcox. "Using computers, cellular phones and encryption systems, they are a more elusive target for law enforcement efforts and they pose an increasing danger."

Though terrorism has been a tool of political violence for centuries, it became the international weapon of choice between the 1960s-80s, particularly when propagandists realized the power of the tube. "The hot medium of television has made terrorism a far more effective weapon than in former times," points out Wilcox. "The indiscriminate, random nature of terrorism and

The collective response of the world's nations against the threat of terrorism has also been seen in the growing number of antiterrorism laws and international agreements.

its targeting of innoeent civilians is frightening enough, but the way that TV so vividly conveys the mayhem of terrorism and its impaet on human beings and their families makes it all the more shoeking, and heightens our eolleetive sense of vulnerability."

U.S. policy toward international terrorism and terrorists has been fairly straightforward and unyielding for the last 20 years, aeeording to Miehael Kraft, legislative direetor of State's Offiee of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism. The three simple rules: Don't make deals with terrorists or submit to blaekmail; treat terrorists as eriminals and apply the rule of law; and bring maximum pressure on states that sponsor and support terrorists.

Indeed, in the last two deeades, U.S. counterterrorism efforts have made dramatie inroads in fighting politieal violenee aimed at U.S. targets and Americans abroad, say offieials. But none will sharpen the eountry's legislative teeth like the new anti-terrorism bill now being eonsidered by the House. The bill, which sailed through the Senate this spring, took on "a new urgeney" after being introduced shortly after the country's deadliest terrorist aet — the April 19 Oklahoma City bombing that killed 168 — aeeording to Kraft. Although the bombing was not linked to international terrorists, it dramatieally underseored the vulnerability of Americans and U.S. targets, whether on foreign or domestie soil.

Aimed at both domestic and foreign terrorists, the bill — expeeted to be taken up by the House next month — would speeifieally aid in combatting international terrorism by:

■ Expanding and elarifying federal jurisdietion over terrorist crimes, which will help the United States move more quickly, especially overseas, in asking foreign governments to hold suspects for possible extradition;

■ Prohibiting fundraising in the United States for foreign organizations that engage in international terrorist aetivities;

■ Allowing rapid deportation of suspeeted terrorist aliens in the United States by allowing "summary portions" of their terrorist aetivities to be used in deportation proceedings;

■ Tightening existing money laundering laws to inelude terrorist erimes as a predieate offense;

■ Broadening visa laws against aliens who provide leadership to terrorist organizations;

■ Strengthening eurrent laws regarding bomb threats, the use of wiretapping laws and threats against former government officials, though the Senate bill's wiretapping provision has been dropped from the current version;

■ Requiring all plastie explosives to be marked for easier deteetion, obliging all states in which sueh explosives are made to require manufaeturers to inelude a ehemieal marking agent that can be deteeted by sensors or trained dogs;

■ Limiting death penalty appeals for eonvieted terrorists.

■ Strengthening the State Department's Anti-Terrorism Assistance Program, which so far has trained more than 18,000 offieials in 50 eountries over the last deeade.

Civil libertarians and some House Republicans are fighting the fundraising and wiretapping aspeets of the bill, saying both clauses would give too mueh authority to the federal government, and Rep. Robert Barr Jr. (R-Ga.) has eireulated a draft bill in the house that would eliminate those two provisions. Also, an amendment offered by Rep. Barney Frank (D-Mass.) to the original House bill would allow judieial review of consular deei-

Karen Krebsbach is the editor of the Foreign Serviee Journal.

sions rejecting visa applications for suspected terrorists, "the first time in 200 years that a routine State Department decision" could be challenged in court, points out Kraft.

Treasury Department officials claim $400,000 worth of assets of 30 Arab and Israeli groups involved in terrorism have been frozen since President Clinton signed an executive order in January. In August that order was expanded to include not just organizations, but individuals, specifically Mousa Mohammed Abu Marzook, an alleged fundraiser for Hamas, according to Kraft.

And State's Office of Diplomatic Security has expanded its law enforcement network to include the Internet, which has eclipsed post offices of yore as the place to find wanted posters of suspected terrorists, reached via http://www.clark.net/pub/heroes/, according to Andy Laine, DS public relations officer. Anyone providing information leading to the apprehension — though not necessarily extradition — and/or conviction of Abdul Rahman Yasin, a suspect in the World Trade Center bombing believed to be hiding in Iraq, can earn up to $2 million. Or put $4 million in your pocket if you track down either Abdel Basset Ali Al-Megrahi or Lamen Khalifa Fhimah, both wanted in connection with the 1988 Pan Am 103 bombing, who are believed to be somewhere in Libya.

"We have gotten some bites," admits Laine. "The Internet has over 30 million subscribers in 150-odd countries. And users are in those countries where we've had trouble publicizing the program in the past, such as the Sudan, Libya, Cuba — those on the State Department's list of countries that sponsor terrorism." So far, about 200,000 logons have been recorded, Laine says. To provide a tip to DS, write to heroes@clark.net.

Without a doubt there has been progress by many governments against international terrorism in the last decade, which can be attributed to a number of factors, according to the State Department's annual report, *Patterns of Global Terrorism*. Those include the political isolation of Libya and Iraq, which has reduced state-sponsored terrorism by those two states; the economic problems in Iran; the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the ending of the Cold War; the movement towards peaceful settlement in South Africa, Israel and Northern Ireland; and the growing cooperation among nations concerning counterterrorism and law enforcement.

The United States has increasingly expanded its network of consultation and cooperation of law enforcement groups around the world. "It's critical to approach international terrorism as a cooperative enterprise because terrorists by definition operate across national boundaries," Wilcox said in an interview. "All nations need to collaborate to catch and prosecute terrorists, especially those countries where they can find safe haven."

In addition, the United Nations has changed its "ambivalence about terrorism," he says. "Today the U.N. is addressing terrorism with greater realism and honesty." He said the U.N.'s attitude change was prompted in part by the end of the Cold War, the decline in revolutionary ideology and the waning of the Arab-Israeli conflict. "More and more countries are becoming involved in fighting terrorism across boundaries. More nations now view terrorism as a crime, pure and simple, irrespective of the political motives of the terrorists. Fewer are willing to excuse acts of terrorism, condone it or look the other way. That's a very different situation than we had 10 years ago, when some European nations were ambivalent about tracking down terrorists."

The collective response of the world's nations against the threat of terrorism has also been seen in the growing number of international anti-terrorism laws. According to Wilcox, a decade ago there were five international treaties and conventions pledging governments to act against various kinds of terrorism; today there are 11. The State Department has aggressively pursued various countries on extradition treaties, according to Kraft, and in August, that paid off big with Jordan's signing of a formal agreement that helped extricate a World Trade Center bombing suspect from that country. He's now awaiting trial in a New York jail cell.

Another treaty the United States is trying to ratify is one on plastic explosives, which 50 countries have already signed, though only 15 have formally ratified it with their respective legislatures. One of the countries that has not is the United States, though Kraft hopes that the passage of the bill will rectify that. Under the agreement, countries agree to introduce a marking agent into the manufacturing process of plastic explo-

sives, which can be detected via machine. "We've made this [agreement] part of our diplomatic initiative," notes Michael Jakub, director for multilateral and technical cooperation in State's Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism. "We're pressing this hard."

Other international groups are beginning to lend a hand in the international fight against terrorism, officials say, including the International Civil Aviation Organization, which has adopted security standards for civil aviation and certification requirements for airports to reduce aircraft hijacking and bombings.

Probably the most contentious problem facing U.S. policymakers is that of state-sponsored terrorism. The biggest sinner? Iran, which intelligence officials say gives up to $100 million a year to terrorists whose primary aim is to foil Mideast peace, including the Lebanese-based Party of God and several Palestine groups such as Hamas.

Not only does Iran top the State Department's list of the world's major sponsors of terrorism, which also includes Iraq, Libya, Syria, the Sudan, North Korea and Cuba, but it's the only country that consistently promotes political violence specifically aimed at Americans, according to Kraft. Though its last known U.S. target was in 1993 of President George Bush, in an assassination attempt in Kuwait, that didn't stop President Clinton from slapping the country with comprehensive trade sanctions this year for its part in promoting terrorist activity.

Islamic extremism, which is being blamed for the World Trade Center bombing, is probably the most threatening ideological impetus behind terrorist groups, which include the Hizballah, Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Gamaat al Islamiyya and the Armed Islamic Groups in Algeria, according to Kraft. "We need to be careful in defining the threat of Islamic terrorism," he says. "These are deviant elements which operate outside of the mainstream of Islam, which like the other great world faiths, abhors violence and teaches peace. While there are contacts between radical Islamic groups, there are also deep divisions, and there is no international structure or guiding hand that binds them together."

Whereas terrorism that is state-sponsored or from well-established groups appears to characterize the terrorism of yesterday, that of the future will be by small cells without organized networks, officials say.

And while the most frightening scenario used to be a nuclear showdown between the two superpowers, today's is the fear that terrorists may sneak the ingredients for an A-bomb out of Russia. Although the 170 signatories of the Non-Proliferation Treaty this spring agreed to extend it indefinitely, tens of thousands of nuclear weapons and tons of bomb-grade plutonium and uranium are still scattered about the world. Today's declared nuclear powers include the United States, China, Russia, France and Britain. Israel, Pakistan and India won't officially admit to it, but have the technology, according to State officials. Libya, North Korea, Iran and Iraq are not as close as they would hope, but perhaps are within a decade of nuclear capability. And it's unclear who has what in the rapidly disintegrating Soviet Union.

State sources say the Pentagon is spending $100 million this year alone to ferret out rogue nuclear powers or to track down purveyors of ingredients of the bomb. "It's not the concern about the bomb in the classic sense so much," points out Wilcox. "But more like terrorist groups or rogue countries getting enough radioactive material to put together some kind of dirty device that could be put in a van. In terms of probability, the threat of chemical or biological weapons by terrorists is much greater." Note the recent gas attacks on Tokyo's mass transit system that killed 12.

The best defense so far has been to "focus intelligence collection more carefully on these threats and on [suspected terrorists] in specific groups or states," he says. "And you can also try to strengthen international and domestic laws to control the sale and trade of these materials."

But counterterrorism officials are reluctant to talk about the terrorists of tomorrow, saying only that new threats are constantly emerging and the only effective way to combat terrorism is "continual effort, coordination and persistence." Add to that better intelligence, security, terrorism countermeasures, effective international legislation and cooperation, and research and development to help detect dangerous substances, and you've got the U.S. policy to combat terrorists in the 21st century. Even with all that, Kraft notes, "We'll never be able to control terrorism, but maybe we'll be able to limit it." ■

PROTECTING AMERICANS ABROAD

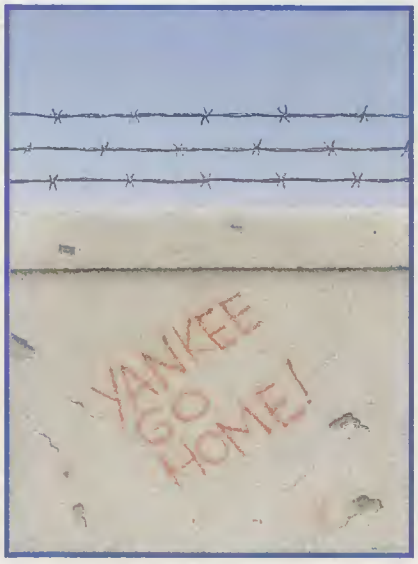
ATTACKS DECLINING, BUT EMBASSIES REMAIN SECURITY CONSCIOUS

BY LARRY LESSER

The U.S. Consulate Karachi employees Jacqueline van Landingham and Gary Durell, murdered in Pakistan last March, were the 42nd and 43rd American government employees abroad to lose their lives to terrorists, according to the plaque in the diplomatic entrance of the State Department. The memorial, which commemorates 171 people for losing their lives since 1780 "under heroic or other inspirational circumstances while serving the government abroad in foreign affairs" also includes several victims of the 1988 Pan Am 103 bombing over Lockerbie, Scotland; of the 1983 bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut; two FSOs killed in the crossfire of the 1984 libertarian struggle in Namibia; and 36 who died in Southeast Asia between 1960-75.

Yet, despite the deaths of the two most recent government victims, State Department figures indicate that international terrorism has actually been declining since the peak years of 1984-88. State's annual report, *Patterns of Global Terrorism*, documents the trend: 1994 saw 321 international terrorist attacks, the lowest annual total in 23 years, and about half the rate of the peak year in 1991.

So are U.S. embassy employees and Americans less likely to be targets abroad? According to State documents, yes, although quantitative data are difficult to determine, as it isn't always clear which incidents should be counted as terrorism, and whether the victims are "targeted" or just incidental. However, State Department officials say the Sept. 13 grenade attack on U.S. Embassy Moscow, which came amid fierce Russian criticism of NATO air raids against Bosnian Serbs, certainly will be recorded as a terrorist attack. And Diplomatic Security agency Peter Hargraves, who survived the Aug. 19 accident that killed three State Department peace envoys, told *The Washington Post* last month that americans became prime targets for Serbian terrorists after the U.S. pilot Scott O'Grady was shot down and rescued this summer.



JOHN O'CONNOR

State's Bureau of Diplomatic Security's annual publication, *Significant Incidents of Political Violence Against Americans*, indicates that 1991 was the peak year for the number of anti-U.S. incidents, a global total of 334. That year's incidents resulted in a number of deaths, including U.S. Air Force Sergeant Ronald Stewart, killed in the bombing of his apartment house in Athens; John Hilton Gandy, manager for an American contractor in Istanbul, abducted and assassinated; Bobbie Mozelle, employee of a U.S. contractor in Adana, Turkey, killed by gunmen; and U.S. Air Force Staff Sergeant

FOCUS

Between 1973-88, five U.S. ambassadors were killed, five times more than the number of generals who were killed in wartime situations during that same period.

Victor Marvick, killed in a car bombing in Ankara. In Lima, two Peruvian employees of the U.S. embassy's contract guard force were killed when a bomb exploded in the parking area of their employer's headquarters. In Angola, a plane carrying goods for the Angolan government disappeared, and is believed to have been shot down by UNITA rebels; two Americans were among the nine passengers killed in the crash. In addition that year, at least two terrorists were killed by their own bombs while attempting to attack Americans. Two Americans' bodies were recovered in Lebanon: U.S. embassy officer William Buckley, kidnapped in 1984, and Lt. Col. William R. Higgins, on detail to the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization, kidnapped in 1988. That same year, 19 Americans were held captive by terrorists, and except for Buckley and Higgins, all were released safely by mid-1992.

The one-a-day rate of incidence of terrorist violence against Americans in 1991 was believed to be influenced by or in retaliation for the U.S. Operation Desert Storm attack in the Persian Gulf. However almost two-thirds of the incidents — 210 — occurred in Latin America, including many directed against Mormon churches in Chile and Peru, a substantial number related to an oil pipeline owned by a U.S.-Colombia consortium, and attacks by the Shining Path terrorists in Peru.

In 1994, the document lists 110 anti-U.S. incidents, down two-thirds from the 1991 number, including 77 in Latin America — 69 in Colombia alone. However, only one of those 69 involved a U.S. government target: a guerrilla attack on several helicopters carrying U.S. Ambassador Myles Frechette and a visiting defense official. Only 11 of these incidents were directed at U.S. government targets, and none resulted in death.

In 1994, 17 Americans were recorded as having been held in captivity; eight were released before the end of the year. Two of the remaining nine — missionaries Steve Welsh and Timothy van Dyke — were later killed in 1995, reportedly in connection with a firefight between the Colombian army and the guerrilla unit holding them. None of the other kidnap victims were U.S. government employees.

Of course, the most notorious terrorist incidents against U.S. citizens in the last 30 years were the 1983 truck bomb attack on the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut, which killed 241 Americans, and the 1988 mid-air bombing of Pan Am 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, which claimed 189 Americans' lives.

Even high-ranking diplomats are not immune. Between 1973-88, five American ambassadors have been killed by political violence: Arnold Raphel in Pakistan in 1988; Adolph Dubs in Afghanistan in 1979; Francis Meloy in Lebanon in 1976; Rodger Davies in Cyprus in 1974; and Cleo Noel in Sudan in 1973. That's five times more than the number of generals who have been killed in wartime situations during that same period, according to State Department records, making a U.S. ambassador's job perhaps more dangerous than that of a general.

Some years ago, when I was visiting the United States, an old friend who had never lived abroad asked me if I feared for my life and the lives of my family with the violence and terrorism abroad. Before I could answer she added, "But I guess that's what they pay you for."

Larry Lesser, a retired FSO who served in New Delhi, Ouagadougou, Brussels, Kigali and Dhaka, has recently worked for the State Department Inspector General's Office of Security Oversight.

I reacted viscerally, heatedly. I said, "No, certainly not. They could never pay me enough to be a sitting duck for terrorists." Life's a risk wherever you are, whatever you do. When I ehose to live in distant lands, speak foreign languages, struggle through repeated cross-eultural learning experiences, I was responding to my inner voiee that sought adventure and challenge. It was my way to self-actualization. It energized me. I loved it. I believed in it. Personal security had nothing to do with it. I'm not a risk-seeker, and thus I reject the notion that I was opting for more risk. And I don't think my government and employer would take advantage of my desire to represent Ameriea abroad by putting me in harm's way, without the means to defend myself.

But the years have mellowed me and made my thoughts more expansive. Maybe in a certain way that is what Foreign Service employees are paid for. Foreign Service personnel may encounter hostility, violenee and disease abroad, not to mention the diseomfort and disorientation of adjusting and coping in cultures where they are visible strangers. It makes no sense to work under those eonditions unless one has a genuine thirst for major, long-lasting ehallenges. And sure enough, many Foreign Service folks take an irrepressible delight in the eircumstances of their expatriate lifestyle. They're like Gen. George Patton, who surveyed the battlefield during World War II, smelled the stench of war, and said, "God forgive me, but I love it."

Furthermore, the Foreign Service has a generous retirement system, justified in part on the basis of risks its personnel are subject to in foreign lands. In addition, hardship differentials of up to 25 pereent of base pay are offered for service at difficult posts, not just because of danger, but also because of remoteness, health hazards or a lack of the amenities available in the average American city. Personnel at such posts as Vladivostock, Tbilisi and Ulaan Bataar, none of which is particularly dangerous, receive the maximum in hardship pay. And for those serving at posts likely to be terrorist targets, there may be danger pay, up to a total of 50 percent

THE GROWING CRIME WAVE ABROAD

The global crime wave. How serious is the crime threat at each particular post, and what form does it take? The threat analysis specialists at the State Department's Diplomatic Security Bureau continuously update threat levels at every Foreign Service post in four categories. Two of the categories relate to danger from violence: one is crime and the other is a broad category, "political violence," which includes terrorism, civil disorder and natural and man-made disaster. The other two categories relate to espionage — either by technical means or by getting information illicitly from informants, also known as "human intelligence."

Of all the four threat categories, only crime has increased in recent years, but its rise has been dramatic. In 1988, just two posts were rated critical for crime — both in Brazil, Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo — whereas in mid-95 the number is 30, and another 54 are rated high. Africa and Latin America together account for about three-quarters of the critical and high crime threat posts, including tourist centers such as Rio de Janeiro, Kingston and Nairobi, as well as cosmopolitan centers like Abidjan, Belgrade, Kinshasa, Lagos and Lima.

Every post responds to annual DS questionnaires to evaluate the local crime threat. The questionnaire, introduced in its present form in 1994, includes seven questions, the answers to which are given varying weights. The most important categories are crime ambiance in neighborhoods where embassy personnel live, the aggressiveness of criminals in those neighborhoods, and the effectiveness of local police. Other factors are the mobility of criminals, whether they are usually armed, whether they operate in groups and whether local police are professional and have regular training.

For each question, if the post reports a significant crime threat, narrative support is required to illustrate the claim. On crime ambiance, for example, a post may say embassy residential neighborhoods are generally surrounded by low-crime buffer zones that deter criminal elements (0 points); or surrounded by buffer zones that are dangerous at night because of street crime (25 points); or within walking distance of high-crime areas which are unsafe because street and residential crimes are common day and night (50 points); or, most dangerous of all, within walking distance of areas where criminals freely operate, and where street and residential crime frequently result in violence.

The theoretical maximum score, for a post where anarchy rules and criminals operate unfettered, would be 300. The threat analysis staff assigns a score for each answer, and also sets cutoff numbers from level to level, from low to medium, high and critical. At each higher level the post may be authorized stronger (and costlier) countermeasures. In the beginning residential security was designed as a "one-size-fits-all" program. But now, depending on the crime pattern at a post, different countermeasures are authorized.

For example, Warsaw has a high crime threat, but mostly because of street crime, not residential break-ins. Thus residential guards would have little deterrence effect, so they aren't authorized there. If gangs invade restaurants and rob all the customers, residential guards are not the solution. And if a household servant is somehow influenced to complicity in his employer's robbery, there's no physical security device that would prevent it. As the program evolves, there's increasingly less reliance on fixed-post guards and more on mobile patrols, which are also less expensive.

Recently the most worrisome growth area for crime overseas has been street crime. The official response thus far has been to step up efforts at increasing security awareness.

The trend in political violence threat has been that the places usually change but the number of threats remains about the same. At the end of 1988, for example, five operating posts had critical threat ratings: Beirut, Bogota, Lima, San Salvador and Sanaa. In 1995, four operating posts are still regarded as "critical threat" for political violence: Beirut is still on the list, as well as Algiers, Karachi and Sarajevo. ■

— L.L.

above an employee's base pay for both allowances, hardship and danger pay, combined. As of September 1995, the posts qualifying for danger pay are Algiers, Beirut, Khartoum and Karachi.

"Some risk acceptance was always built into the system," points out Anthony Quainton, assistant secretary of State for Diplomatic Security since 1992, and who has been nominated director general of the Foreign Service. "Security is not just something [the State Department] provides for [Foreign Service personnel]. [The employees] also have to be a part of making it work."

According to Quainton, security policy and programs have evolved remarkably since World War II. At first, officials concentrated not on protecting U.S. personnel but on learning "what was in their heads," he said, and whether employees might be disloyal to their country, and therefore poor security risks. Since the Cold War bred the fear that U.S. diplomats could be recruited or entrapped by foreign adversaries and forced to reveal classified information, State's response was a system of limitations — on whom one could marry or socialize with, on where one could be assigned. In those days, the embassy security officer wasn't a friend, much less a protector; watching suspiciously for signs of disloyalty or untrustworthiness.

From the turbulent 1960s through the violent mid-80s, the emphasis changed, and it became increasingly important to protect embassy employees in the workplace. The State Department responded to the 1980s wave of terrorism with public access controls at embassies abroad, measures against forced entry, vehicle barriers, checkpoints, metal detectors and ID cards.

In 1985 a commission, headed by Adm. Bobby Inman, was appointed to recommend additional countermeasures to terrorist attacks at embassies abroad. Its work yielded a major piece of legislation, the Omnibus Diplomatic and Anti-Terrorism Act of 1986, which created the Bureau of Diplomatic Security. Previously

diplomatic security functions had been under the Bureau of Administration.

Congress reduced the Inman Commission's request for $3.5 billion for security enhancements to $880 million, and it was disbursed at posts worldwide over several years beginning in fiscal year 1986. Since 1986, 15 U.S. embassy buildings abroad have been built to Inman design and construction standards that emphasized security as much as accessibility. Money was spent on beefing up residential security abroad, including funds for stronger doors with peepholes, house alarms, window grills and exterior lighting. Probably the most visible measure was local guards at fixed sites, not only at official buildings but also in homes at high-risk posts. By 1989 the government was employing more than 20,000 guards abroad, at a cost of more than $92 million annually. There is a general consensus that the guards dramatically helped cut crime against U.S. embassy personnel, particularly compared to crime rates against comparable groups in the same cities. This program accounted for more than half the total budget of the DS Bureau — which includes countermeasures to espionage as well as terrorism and political violence.

But supplemental security funds were never available again, and by 1993 the number of guards had dropped to 16,000 abroad, at an annual cost of $104 million. Guards still account for half of the DS budget, which in fiscal 1995 is close to $170 million. The general strategy is shifting, however, to more cost-effective mobile patrols, as well as housing strategies that favor compounds and clustering.

Since the Bureau of Diplomatic Security was created, the spending of security funds increasingly has been based on a system of inter-agency standards for threats and countermeasures. Standards were adopted covering virtually every corner of the diplomatic mission, including security against espionage threats as well as violence. Some security measures, such as briefings to embassy personnel and the expatriate community on local crime, are considered extremely effective

and inexpensive. Other measures are more costly: armored vehicles at $125,000 each, excluding maintenance and depreciation or using buildings with 100-foot setbacks from vehicle traffic.

There also has been stepped-up efforts at increasing security awareness at posts abroad. Security officers or other embassy officers cultivate good relations with the local police, gather information about crime patterns, and disseminate practical advice to U.S. embassy personnel and the expatriate community. Many embassies issue two-way radios to personnel and establish an emergency radio network. That can be a lifeline in situations of civil unrest and general emergencies, especially in places where the phone system is unreliable.

Sometimes posts are shut down when conditions are too dangerous to justify keeping them open; U.S. embassies in Teheran, Tripoli, Kabul and Baghdad have been closed for a number of years. Others have been closed temporarily when the immediate threat to the security of U.S. personnel has become too great — posts in Islamic countries, for example, during the Six Day War of 1967, or when there has been a breakdown of law and order, such as in recent years in Liberia, Somalia or Rwanda.

At extremely dangerous posts the department weighs the importance of remaining open and conducting diplomatic business against the risk of exposing personnel to danger. For example, after the 1983 bombing in Beirut, a bomb shelter was built at the ambassador's residence, and military helicopters were used to transport him between home and office. Though an American embassy of sorts kept the U.S. flag flying, the staff was reduced to essential personnel only.

The world is still a dangerous place for Foreign Service personnel abroad, as it is for other Americans who travel and live abroad. Always has been, always will be. Dangerous on the front lines, dangerous in the office, dangerous if one takes chances, and dangerous if one plays it safe. ■

RELIVING BEIRUT'S HORROR

EX-FSO RECALLS '83 EMBASSY BOMB THAT KILLED 66

BY ANNE DAMMARELL

Not a jot of chef salad remained. My plate was a circle of white when the bomb exploded. Bob Pearson, a colleague from the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), and I were having lunch in the ground-floor embassy snack bar on April 18, 1983. In those days, people talked about peace breaking out as if eight years of civil war could blossom into a bunch of forsythia. The Israeli invasion, the PLO's departure and the arrival of the multinational forces had disassembled the city's mafioso-like protection system. Beirut, a sea of anarchy filled with islands of disciplined troops, was on Bob's mind. Pushing his cup of *maashoot*, a "just-right-not-too-sweet" coffee, across the table, he said, "Anne, it's not just here, it's all over. This is either the end of the world or the Second Coming."

BOOM.

Encircled in blackness, I felt waves of electricity push through my body. I was inside heat. My brain decoded lightning. The embassy's been hit by lightning. *I've been electroeuted! Those damn contractors cheated. They put the fusebox in the cafeteria and a live wire hit my head.* I had logically mapped out a scenario. Conscious, I leaned over to tell Bob that I was dead. No light. No sound. No one to touch. No God. Nothing. I was alone. A pain, non-physical, deep and psychological, permeated me. *No, this is not what they told me death was like. I can't take this for eternity.* Anger started to fill my isolation. That was when I was flung out — along with the side of building — across the embassy garden. My body twisted eastward and landed 15 feet away from where I had just finished my salad. I don't remember the flight.

I snapped awake. Alert. A slab of concrete covered body. Claustrophobic, I panicked. *I've got to get out of here.* The adrenaline kicked in. The "slab" broke into bits of brick as I picked open a window. Calmly, I removed the rubble from my face and chest. My chest was numb, weighted down. I looked at the mass of purple-red blood congealed on my left side. *Has my heart been ripped out? My God, I don't have long to live. Hurry, Anne, touch it to see if it's still beating.* But I couldn't swing my right arm around to feel my chest.

JOHN O'CONNOR

An even breeze blew a long fence of flames towards my head. Imprisoned in my shell, I knew my hair would catch fire first. I had only moments to accept death. I heard the groans of dying men and the song of birds. I pleaded with the heavy black cylinder of smoke circling up from behind me to come quickly and suffocate me. But it began to dissipate, smudging the soft blue sky. *So this is the end of my life.* I felt an ache of sadness. No big regrets. Just a sense of not taking advantage of everyday things. I regretted my small and petty meannesses. Remorse for sins of omissions, we Catholics might say.

FOCUS

I was imprisoned in my shell. I knew my hair would catch fire first. I had only moments to accept death. I heard the groans of dying men and the song of birds.

Again, a strong wish to live pushed me to call for help. I mustered a feeble noise. I heard a loud call: "*Yallah, yallah, yallah,*" which means "Let's go" in Lebanese. Four young Lebanese came running towards me. They brushed several chunks of wall off me and pulled me out. My body became rigid. The pain stopped.

I was taken to the American University Hospital by ambulance. Surrounded by people crying, yelling, moaning, I heard a man telling the nurse what to do with all of us. I was moved to the side. Then down along the wall. *He's doing triage. Am I beyond repair? Has my heart been ripped out after all?*

Only two people in the embassy snack bar had survived the blast — my colleague, Bob, and me. I sustained 19 broken bones, lacerations and chunks of glass in my neck. On April 22, I was medivaced to the U.S. Army hospital in Wiesbaden, Germany. On the third day, I asked to see a psychiatrist to find out why I was not grieving for my dead colleagues. I also wanted advice on what to expect. As I recall, the psychiatrist asked if I had a religious upbringing, and said that I would deal with the ramifications of the bombing after my bones had healed. At the time I did not question him, but I thought his words useless and impractical.

Five days later, I flew to Washington, D.C., on a military transport plane and checked into Georgetown University Hospital for surgery and months of physical therapy. I had to relearn how to move my body, to walk, to write and to focus on the printed word.

I worried about dying, but paradoxically, my primary emotion was joy. The giddiness and gratitude of being alive filled me. I had seen and heard the pain of others and knew that I was better off than them. I was alive.

By January 1984 I was well enough to begin work in Colombo, where I served a three-year tour. It was there the nightmares began. Always violent, they frequently involved bombings. I became hypervigilant. At airports, I surveyed people around me, cheeking for bombs.

In 1987, when I was transferred back to Washington, I remember pulling my desk away from the office window as a precaution against flying glass. For the next few years, certain noises made me jumpy — the backfiring of a car, a firecracker, the dropping of a heavy object. Struggling to put the bombing episode behind me, I resolved that it would not dominate my life. Had anyone suggested I was in denial, I would have laughed.

Foreign Service officers in Beirut that April 1983 have vivid memories of the bombing, when at 1:05 p.m. a truck weighed down with more than 2,000 pounds of TNT drove into the front door of the U.S. embassy in Beirut and exploded. The core of the building pancaked to the ground: It would become the first American embassy to be destroyed by political terrorists. Seventeen Americans and 33 Lebanese employees were killed and 16 visa applicants and passers-by also died. A message had been sent to Washington: Leave Lebanon.

Strangely quiet, not everyone understood at first that the embassy had been bombed. Thunder? Earthquake? One woman ran to the doorway for shelter before concluding it was not an earthquake. Rockets, perhaps. Only a few weeks before, the embassy had been hit by a couple of rocket-propelled grenades.

Sudden and unexpected, the loud blast jolted everyone. Some saw a bright light. Yet not everyone heard the explosion. The economic secretary, Christine Crocker, only felt the heat of hot wind across the back of her head, which the blast had forced down on her desk. Ambassador Robert Dillon noted that the brick wall silently blew apart and, in slow motion, collapsed across him. Several feared a follow-up explosion. As anyone living in Lebanon at that time knows, follow-up bombs designed to detonate about 15

Anne Dammarell, who retired as an FSO in 1988, served in Beirut, Colombo and Washington. This article is adapted from her recent thesis for her master's degree at Georgetown University.

minutes after the first often killed rescue workers along with the originally targeted victims. After the initial stunned silence, screams or calls for help snapped people alert and they began pulling friends out from under overturned furniture. As best they could, they stanched the flow of blood of those cut by flying glass and debris. Some of the offices clouded with fumes from burst canisters of tear gas; staff grabbed paper towels to cover their faces as they looked files or searched for colleagues.

Piles of rubble and the lack of a staircase or front wall made exiting difficult. Few grasped the extent of the damage until they tried to make their way out of the ruins. Although dazed, most remained calm. According to the communications officer, Faith Lee, another survivor, the victims looked "like zombies." The enormity of what had happened dawned on the political officer, Ryan Crocker, only when he reached the embassy's main entrance, not far from the snack bar, which he recalled was "like walking into hell. It was pitch black. The face of the building had collapsed in on the lobby and fires were burning inside. It was clear that no one could possibly have survived." But some of us did.

Those not badly hurt helped the injured crawl out through windows to the main roof, then onto a smaller roof, down a ladder to the back of the chancery and over a fence into a dirt field. When some moved toward the front of the building, they were stopped by armed Lebanese soldiers.

Mental pictures of the wounded remain fresh even today. Barbara Gregory, a communications officer on temporary duty at the embassy, said she was numbed when she caught sight of her badly bleeding colleague, Beth Samuel, a U.S. Information Service (USIS) secretary, being followed by a Lebanese colleague who "had been scalped, and the blood was so thick that you could hardly see the tip of her nose. ... I went into this shock-type thing and just sort of stayed that way. Then I tried to help out."

At 8:30 the morning after the bombing, Deputy Chief of Mission Bob Pugh held the first of a series of general staff meetings at temporary embassy offices a few buildings down. Many found comfort in concentrating on work and talking to colleagues, people who had shared their trauma.

Although most worked hard and in harmony with others, some developed short fuses. They occasionally became irritable and tempers flared. Consciously deferring thoughts about the loss of friends, most set to work immediately. They were so busy, according to the AID program officer, Dave Mandel, that they had no time to stop and think. They scrambled to set up temporary offices and to find the injured and identify the dead. They worked to the point of exhaustion, often going without sleep, but the supply of adrenaline just did not switch off.

A few specifically wanted to be alone after work. Others were afraid to be by themselves. Several married personnel talked about the need to be with their spouses and the value of living through the trauma together. Several FSOs expressed anger that State had not notified survivors' children and parents quickly enough of their safety.

Visiting the morgue was taxing. Gray dust from the pulverized cement walls covered the corpses, masking their identities. The consular section chief, Diane Dillard, who spent quite a bit of time there, says she must have sent her nose on vacation because she was not bothered by the smell until months later. For the AID program officer, Tish Butler, images of bodies and body parts were seared into her consciousness. For months afterwards she would have to forcefully, willfully, put them out of her mind.

Many remember the first time they cried. Each person had a different time frame. For one, it was the early hours of the morning after the bombing when the U.S. Marines raised the flag. For another it was five years later when a friend noted that it was the fifth anniversary of the bombing. Nightmares about the bombing itself or being buried under something were not uncommon; some had disturbing dreams for only several days, others for several months. Away from the embassy, the bombing became cocktail talk. "A lot of people talked to you just sort of out of the blue," recalls AID secretary Rikki Smith, who was injured slightly in the blast. "You were a celebrity for a while." Some found this troubling. After having left Beirut, two survivors had a strong desire to return to Lebanon to try to resolve their emotional reactions to the bombing. In both cases the

return visits proved beneficial. DCM secretary Dorothy Pech, who returned to Beirut after several weeks in Washington, felt that returning was "absolutely the best psychological therapy" possible.

Upon reflection, most Foreign Service employees placed the incident within the context of living in a war zone. Although devastating for some, it was not the only, or even the worst, experience in Beirut. Several ranked the massacre of hundreds of Palestinian civilians in Sabra-Shatila in the fall of 1983 as the worst. Others said the 1993 shelling of the ambassador's residence and attempted military takeover of West Beirut was the most frightening.

Those who had left the snack bar shortly before the explosion marvelled at the often silly reasons for leaving when they did. A couple had chided their dieting companion not to be tempted by dessert, and so left. Another could not interest anyone in a second cup of coffee. More aware of their own mortality, several spoke of a heightened appreciation of life afterward. Some reflected on the meaning of their lives, trying to figure out why they had been spared. The security officer, Dick Gannon, talked of his "emotional vulnerability. ... [It] showed me that you're not quite as tough as you might have envisioned that you were."

A few employees believe that the bombing did not have a profound impact on their lives. The AID program officer, Kurt Shafer, said that it was the single most trying experience that he has had, but it was not all that traumatic. The ambassador's secretary, Dorothy Pascoe, agreed. "I don't think I was frightened at all," she says. "Honestly, to this day, I don't think I was ever frightened. I think I was more excited, the old adrenaline starts pumping away. I know it was horrible, but I certainly wasn't scared. I was really more excited about, 'My God, what's going to happen next?' ... The bombing didn't make any difference in my life."

Some Foreign Service employees who were in Lebanon in 1983 unknowingly experienced post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) reactions similar to those faced by war veterans and victims of other traumas. To their credit, top post management requested three

regional psychiatrists, including the regional medical doctor posted in Cairo, to come immediately to Beirut; authorized paid home leave for those assigned to Lebanon; and offered FS employees the option of immediate reassignment without career penalty.

But for many, working helped, as employees depended on their Foreign Service "can-do" ethic to pull them through the trauma. Psychiatrists say successful trauma resolution is three-fold: talk, talk, talk. Foreign Service employees could "officially" talk at the morning management meetings. Some did. Some did not. They could hash out feelings with visiting psychiatrists. Some did. Some did not. What is not known is how many delayed psychological healing because they did not acknowledge the bombing effects.

That many survivors did not seek psychiatrist counseling does not surprise Dr. Walter Barquist, a regional psychiatrist in the Foreign Service now stationed in Pretoria, who has an interest in PTSD. "My impression is that the department is loaded with people quietly suffering from PTSD, but that most of them would rather be slowly tortured to death than see a psychiatrist, especially a department psychiatrist, for fear that it will affect their career," he says. "We psychiatrists do not ignore this issue, but as usual in the State Department, our response is pretty much ad hoc, and we have not had specific training in Critical Incident Stress Debriefing. More importantly, even if we had the training, the institutional bias is such that it would not be taken advantage of. The institutional expectation is that people will avoid mental health treatment, or anything that looks like it."

Today, 13 years after the worst terrorist bombing of a U.S. embassy, State's Medical Office still does not have a standard policy or a protocol for handling and following up on employees who have survived terrorism; rather, it reacts to each situation on a case-by-case basis, according to Dr. Esther Roberts, associate medical director of State's Mental Health Service. Although no policy exists, State's medical staff regularly conduct stress debriefings for employees involved in crisis events, like the Iran hostage situation and the Gulf War, she said. ■

In Search of Nude Parades

Outside UN Women's Conference in Beijing, Rumors Persist of Those Elusive Naked Women

By Darien Hsu

In a taxi on the way home from work I suddenly notice that all of the old, worn freeway signs, previously printed in Chinese freehand calligraphy, have been replaced by neat-looking, block-letter printed signs. Soon the U.N. 4th World Conference on Women convenes. I point out the new signs to the taxi driver and he shrugs his shoulders in indifference. "Maybe it's because of the women's conference," I suggest to him in Chinese.

He glances sharply at me. "Do they have this conference often?"

"Once every 10 years," I tell him. "Are you interested in the conference?"

"I have nothing to do with the conference!" he replies indignantly.

After a few seconds of silence, he leans toward me and says in a low, conspiratorial voice, "But I know, of course, all about the nude parade."

I am genuinely at a loss for words.

He stares at me as if I am an idiot. "Don't you know? Every time they have this conference there is always a nude parade." He turns his eyes back to the road, dismissing me. "Everybody knows! Huh? You're a foreigner and you don't know?"

Darien Hsu works for Price Waterhouse & Co. and serves on the Board of Directors of the Chinese-American Chamber of Commerce. She has lived in China since 1993.

Incredible. And even more so when, by the start of the Non-governmental Organizations (NGO) Forum on Aug. 30, six other taxi drivers had touted the same story to me with the same degree of authority.

Despite economic reform, China is a country where strict censorship on news and the careful dissemination of information is still prevalent. Word-of-mouth is the most effective means of communication and often serves to educate the masses, however incorrect the information may be.

Around Beijing, colorful flags and red banners commemorating "FWCW 95" and "Equality, Development and Peace" are the backdrops to a city that is going about its business with little interest in the conference or its parallel conference, the NGO Forum.

A Beijing elevator operator in her mid-30s is more interested in fashionable clothes and finding a new job. "I am sure the conference is good thing," she says uncertainly, "but it does not really affect me." When pressed, she asks, "How is it supposed to affect me?"

Other residents, when asked about the conference's purpose, quote the banners around town. One man offered the opinion that women in Beijing seem pretty equal to him. He admits that it's quite different in the countryside, but, *"Meiyou banfa,"* he shrugs. "Nothing can be done about it."

In my office it is lunchtime and several of the

well-educated, fashionably dressed female employees are leafing through a copy of a Hong Kong newspaper, interested more in the pictures and advertisements than the articles. They pause at a picture of the NGO participants in Husairou. I ask Diana, one of the administrative assistants, if the conference is helping her find her place in the world. She touches my arm and says, "A conference is a conference. Reality is reality." Her colleagues nod in agreement. This conference could be an auto show for all they care. And at the moment, women's rights are not at the top of the list for these women who are already on their way up the career ladder.

Running parallel with the apathetic attitudes toward the conference is the lack of interaction between delegates and host-country residents. It strikes me as odd that of the 26,000 women from more than 185 nations attending the NGO Forum and the U.N. conference, only a handful are seen on the streets.

Another concern is that the issues argued and debated don't make it off the conference sites. According to press reports, local residents have been barred from the NGO site, and the Chinese media's token programming does not seem to stir much interest from Beijing residents.

The conference's most immediate impact on local Chinese is one of inconvenience. Temporary traffic regulations were imposed on local Chinese car owners: Even-numbered license plates were only allowed on the streets on even-numbered days, odd numbers on odd-numbered days. A Chinese manager in our office lamented, "How am I supposed to get to work on my off day?" With the conference going on, it was even less likely that he would be able to find a cab. However, as with any international conference, such inconveniences are to be expected.

It would be a shame if this conference had little effect on the people of China, especially the women. The issues dominating the platform affect the Chinese, whether they realize it or not. Perhaps the lack of interest is perceived by foreigners that a certain level of satisfaction exists with the treatment and rights of women, at least in the major Chinese cities. Divorce is on the rise and 70 percent of divorces in Beijing are initiated by women. And recently China's first wave of female police officers arrived, 66 making their debut during the women's conference.

I recall a story shared with me by a delegate, who said that a fellow colleague from Africa commented that this conference had a very high turnout from the African continent. One of the reasons, the delegate explained, was the continued influence of the 1985 Nairobi Conference on Women. That conference "opened the eyes" of the delegates and prompted a series of grass-roots campaigns, in which returning conference participants shared ideas and perspectives with local women.

This conference, held in a country that is home to one-fifth of the world's women, has nearly 5,000 Chinese delegates scheduled to attend. That's by far the single largest group at the conference. I think the longer-term impact of the conference rests with those Chinese. The only way the taxi driver, the elevator operator or my office colleagues will truly understand the issues of the conference is to hear from those who attended. I do not think it is unreasonable to expect that the host country's citizens receive benefit from the proceedings of a conference of this magnitude.

He stares at me as if I am an idiot. "Don't you know? Every time they have this conference there is always a nude parade." He turns his eyes back to the road, dismissing me. "Everybody knows! Huh? You're a foreigner and you don't know?"

There was never a nude parade, much to the chagrin of the taxi drivers. Time will tell how the effect of the conference plays itself out among the citizens of China, and I am putting my faith in the Chinese participants at the conference. Sharing the experience with a neighbor is not an insignificant act. After all, word of mouth goes far in Beijing. ■

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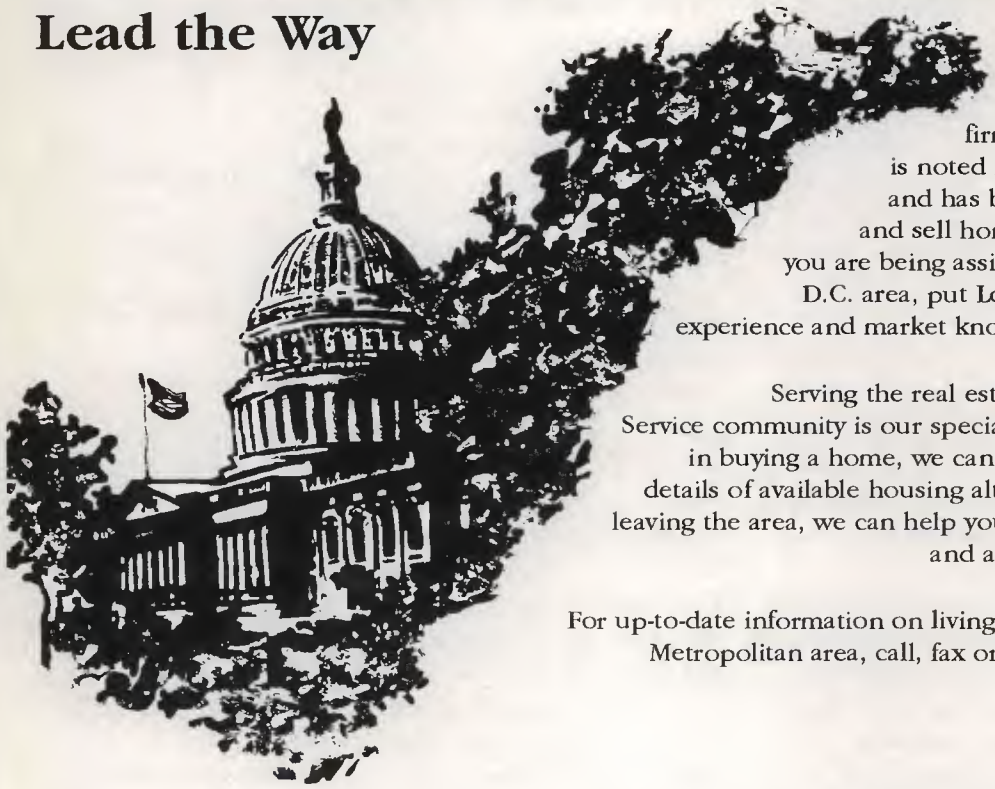

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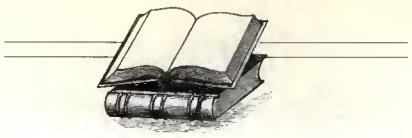

Books

Battling Along Borders of Trade

Trade Warriors: USTR and the American Crusade for Free Trade
Steven Dryden, Oxford University Press, 1995, $30, hardcover, 452 pages.

By Todd A. Kushner

International trade has moved to the top of the U.S. foreign policy agenda, and the United States Trade Representative (USTR) has acquired unprecedented bureaucratic and political clout. With the U.S.-Japan automobile dispute in the headlines and President Clinton touting his success in winnning enactment of NAFTA and the WTO, journalist Steve Dryden offers a timely chronicle of U.S. post-World War II trade policy and an institutional history of USTR.

The book should be read by those wondering why Congress has steadily shrunk State's role in international economic policy.

Dryden is most effective in profiling key U.S. attempts in 1948 to create the International Trade Organization while worrying about the "pro-totalitarian" sympathies of other delegations and exposed to congressional complaints about "communist infiltration" of its own. Readers sit with Deputy USTR Michael Smith as he studies the Japanese negotiator — seconds before a midnight deadline and with a portrait of Gen. Douglas MacArthur looking on — reluctantly signing an agreement to open the Japanese semiconductor market. Similarly, Dryden peppers the book with interesting and vivid portrayals of the various USTR's, from the elder statesman [ex-FSO and former Secretary of State] Christian Herter to President Clinton's former campaign manager, the pugnacious and combative Michael Kantor.

The author is also effective in illustrating the key role of Congress in creating USTR — to wrest policy from a discredited, disenchanted and unresponsive State — and increasing its role and influence. USTR began in 1963 as a 12-person office for multilateral trade negotiations and now is a cabinet-level mini-bureaucracy.

Trade Warriors suffers, however, from its superficial treatment of many underlying issues and lack of a clear message. For example, once readers get beyond William Clayton and his belief in the links between unfettered world commerce and international peace, Dryden offers no explanations as to why free trade has been a consistent U.S. objective; it seems unlikely that Clayton's successors shared Clayton's motivations. Key issues are given cursory attention. Dryden mentions the U.S. claim that European agricultural policies violate GATT rules but neither describes the European policies nor articulates why they might be illegal. Similarly, he gives scant attention to negotiations leading to the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement, thus, managing to downplay a pact that created one of the world's largest free trade areas and was the first to cover services and investment comprehensively.

Todd A. Kushner is an FSO assigned to the State Department's Economic Bureau, serving on delegations for NAFTA and the Uruguay Round.

Is Somalian Peace Ever to be Possible?

Somalia and Operation Restore Hope: Reflections on Peacemaking and Peace
John L. Hirsch and Robert B. Oakley, United States Institute for Peace Press, 1995, $18.50, 256 pages.

By Roy A. Harrell Jr.

Undoubtedly one of the most divisive issues of the 1992 presidential campaign was the U.S. intervention in Somalia, a decision made by former President George Bush in the closing months in office. This book seeks to understand the essence of the Somalia experience, whose principal objective was the fulfillment of humanitarian needs. The guiding assumptions of the initial intervention phase, the U.N. phase of peacekeeping and a second U.N. operation in Somalia, are all compared.

During the last presidential campaign, many candidates felt that the entire U.S. engagement in Somalia was a costly failure of misguided internationalism. Given the lack of objectives and goals, there were no guideposts sig-

BOOKS

nalling when the United States might extricate itself after fulfilling its mission.

The authors, Robert B. Oakley, who served as special envoy in Somalia under Presidents Bush and Carter, and John Hirsch, who served as political adviser to the multinational coalition in Somalia, are superbly qualified to provide expert analysis. Both raise fundamental questions about how to conduct operations as well as delineating the limitations on peacekeepers.

The future seems virtually hopeless for Somalia. Many deaths ago, there was talk of a U.N. trusteeship. Mogadishu has been bandit territory since the summer of 1994, when the United Nations, like the Americans before them, joined battle with Muhammad Farah Aideed, Somalia's top warlord.

It is disappointing that there isn't more analysis of events or advice as to how to avoid similar quagmires. And it's a pity that more analysis was not given to the failure of the American search-and-destroy efforts meant to isolate Gen. Aideed. It's no exaggeration to say that this U.S. operation contaminated the entire aid operation in Somalia, rendered relief workers vulnerable and drained the international goodwill that had once seen Somalia as an irreproachable humanitarian course.

At least for the present, a U.N. bid to enforce the peace, as distinct from keeping it, will be possible only, perhaps, if it serves the interests of the countries involved. And Somalia is on the brink of renewed civil strife. There is, as the authors intimate, a limited military role for the United Nations in reconstruction. Aid for Somalia has been dwarfed by a $1.3 billion military operation designed to protect it. ■

Roy A. Harrell Jr., a retired FSO, has served in all countries of Africa, except Somalia and Djibouti. He currently lives in Texas.

In Memory

Mary Carmen Bartley, 67, widow of the late FSO Oler Ammon Bartley, died of lung cancer on July 2 at her home in Vienna, Va.

Oler Bartley joined the Foreign Service in 1956 and the couple was stationed in Malaysia and Indonesia.

Survivors include her children, Lisa Frances Frazee of San Juan, Puerto Rico; Ammon Hurst Bartley of Fairmont, W. Va.; and Charles Maureen Bartley of Vienna, Va.; her father, Maureen Eugene Hurst, and her sister, Jan Hado, both of Bethany, Mo.

Philip Bonsal, 92, who served as the last U.S. ambassador to Cuba before diplomatic ties were severed in 1961, died of pneumonia on June 29 at his home in Washington, D.C.

He attended schools in the Philippines and Switzerland, and graduated from Yale University. He joined the Foreign Service in 1938 and was assigned to Cuba as vice consul and later as third secretary at the embassy in Havana. Later assignments included Madrid, The Hague, Paris, Geneva and ambassadorships to Cuba, Colombia, Bolivia and Morocco.

Survivors include his wife, Margaret Lockett Bonsal, of Washington, D.C.

Townsend B. Friedman, 55, appointed in January as special coordinator for U.S. policy on Rwanda, suffered a heart attack and drowned while biking June 3 in Potomac, Md.

Mr. Friedman joined the Foreign Service in 1962 shortly after he graduated from Cornell University. He served in Chile and later as a human rights officer in Argentina. Named ambassador to Mozambique in 1990, he is widely credited with helping end the country's civil war. In Rwanda, Mr. Friedman was involved in the effort to stabilize and rebuild the war-torn country.

He is survived by his wife, Eli, his daughters Patricia and Elisa, of Potomac; and a sister, Carol Reich, of New York.

T.S. Henderson, a retired FSO, died in Granada, Spain, on May 19 after a brief illness.

A native of Everett, Mass., Mr. Henderson joined the Foreign Service in 1941, serving in Tangier, Warsaw, Naples, Berlin, Brunei, Kabul and Jerusalem. He was chief of the immigration and visa section in London from 1964-69.

He is survived by his wife, Yolanda, of La Herradura, Spain.

Leo Wheatley Garvey died April 28 in Bethesda, Md.

Mr. Garvey worked for the State Department for 28 years, starting as a conferenee officer. He was posted to Moroceo, Japan, Algeria, Haiti, Costa Riea and Venezuela.

Survivors include his wife, Isabelle of Rockville; a daughter, Judith Ann of Manassas, Va.; two sons, John of Silver Spring, Md. and James of Germantown, Md.; and a great-grandson.

Burton M. Gould, 68, died on April 13 after a short illness at Manor Pines Nursing Facility in Ft. Lauderdale, Fla.

Mr. Gould earned a bachelor of arts from Roosevelt University in 1949 and a master of arts from the University of Chicago in 1951. As a State Department intelligenee research specialist, and then FSO, he served in Karaehi and Lagos. He was with the U.S. Ageney for International Development (AID) from 1961 until his retirement, and served in Addis Ababa, Mogadishu and Accra.

He is survived by his former wife, Margaret Murdock, of Philadelphia.

Roswell D. McClelland, 81, died on May 6 of cancer in Springdale, Ark. He was educated at the University of California at Los Angeles, Duke University and Columbia University. He joined the Foreign Service in 1945 and served in Bern, Madrid, Dakar, Mauritania, Gambia Colony, Port Guinea, Salisbury and Athens.

He is survived by his wife, Charlene G. of Springdale, Ark.; two sons, Barre of Ketchikan, Alaska, Kirk, of Kansas City, Mo.; and two daughters, Alice of Half Moon Bay, Calif., and Caroline Iverson of Milwaukee, Ore. ■

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Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation (required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1) Publication Title: Foreign Service Journal 2) Publication No: 00157279. 3) Filing Date: September 15, 1994. 4) Issue Frequency: monthly 5) No. of Issues Published Annually: 12. 6) Annual subscription price: $40.00. 7) Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication: 2101 E St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20037-2990. 8) Complete Mailing Address of Headquarters or General Business Office of Publisher: 2101 E St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20037-2990. 9) Full Names and Complete Mailing Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor; Publisher: American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. Editor: Karen Krebsbach, 2101 E St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. Managing Editor: Nancy Johnson: 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037 10) Owner: American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. 11) Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or Other Securities. 12) For completion by non-profit organizations authorized to mail at special rates; the purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes: (1) has not changed during preceding 12 months. 13) Publication's Name: Foreign Service Journal. 14) Issue Date for Circulation Data Below: September 1995 15) Extent and Nature of Circulation: average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total No. of Copies: 13,000. B. Paid/and or Requested Circulation: (1) Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors and Counter Sales: 0. (2) Mail Subscription: 11,100. C. Total Paid and/or Requested Circulation: 11,100. D. Free Distribution by Mail (Samples, Complimentary, and Other Free); 500. E. Free Distribution Outside the Mail: 600. F. Total Free Distribution: 1,100. G. total Distribution: 12,200. H. Copies Not Distributed (1) Office Use, Leftovers, Spoiled: 800. (2) Return from News Agents: 0. I. Total: 13,000. Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation: 90%. Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date A. Total No. of Copies: 13,359. B. Paid/and or Requested Circulation (1) Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors and Counter Sales: 0. (2)Mail Subscription: 11,174. C. Total Paid and/or Requested Circulation: 11,174. D. Free Distribution by Mail (Samples, Complimentary, and Other Free); 500. E. Free Distribution Outside the Mail: 760. F. Total Free Distribution: 1,260. G. Total Distribution: 12,434. H. Copies Not Distributed (1) Office Use, Leftovers, Spoiled: 925.(2) Return from News Agents: 0. I. Total: 13,359. Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation: 89%.
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(signed) Karen Krebsbach, Editor.

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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Diplopet Love in Kiev

BY LINDA ANDERSON NARANJO

As my husband, a newly minted FSO, and I recently arrived in Kiev for our first tour abroad, I worried about many things. Where would we live? Would I be able to find a job? And would people think we were insane to be flying our two cats across the Atlantic to the Ukraine?

Well, we moved into our permanent quarters after only two weeks; I found a great job; and, much to my amazement, transporting cats turned out to be quite commonplace in the Foreign Service. When I phoned the airlines on which we would travel, I found that jet-setting pets represented no problem in the friendly skies. I knew I would learn some new things as a Foreign Service spouse — rules of protocol, tidbits about foreign cultures — but I never imagined I would become an expert on which hotels accept pets, or on obtaining health certificates from the U.S. Agriculture Department.

While attending classes at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center, I met the political officer and his wife who also would be taking their two cats to Kiev, and the tandem couple who would fly their two cats to Moscow. It was very comforting, comparing logistical problems and exchanging information. I think some people who overheard us still must think we were discussing our children.

As we maneuvered from Washington to New York and through Austria to Kiev, I have to admit I did feel like I was traveling with my toddlers, Murphy and Corky. However, our cats were in good company at the hotel in New York. Various animals from the Cincinnati Zoo, including a panther, a lynx and a flock of penguins, were also spending the night. The menageric appeared the following morning on the "Today" show. Our cats were suitably impressed, but retained a modicum of dignity befitting their new Diplocat status.

> *Jet-setting pets are quite common in the Foreign Service.*

Upon our arrival in Kiev, the wife of the general services officer met us at Borispol Airport, toting an actual baby. However, she understood our relief at arriving with cats intact, since she and her husband have two of their own. I soon met additional Foreign Service animal lovers in Kiev. It seemed that if people had not brought pets with them, they adopted them here. This fetish for fur extends even beyond the U.S. embassy. The Canadian commercial officer has an ancient cocker spaniel, Hildy, whom he acquired in Romania many years ago. At a recent reception, the Argentine consul informed me that her St. Bernard consumes five kilos of meat a day.

It fascinates me that such a pet fancy exists among Foreign Service officers — the very people that should heed the age-old "travel light" axiom. In Kiev, however, we foreign pet owners have discovered the key to quickly transcending many cultural barriers. Ukrainians adore their pets. They, inhabiting tiny apartments, should show a predisposition for Chihuahuas; nevertheless, they own great Danes and German shepherds.

Ukrainians are always happy to stop in the park and chat with a fellow dog owner. Could a new form of diplomacy be developing here in Kiev? Doggy detente? An animal accord? Many Ukrainians also love cats. After helping us to light the gas heater in the shower of our temporary apartment, our Ukrainian neighbor insisted that we accompany her downstairs. She had seen our cats, and wanted to introduce us to her beloved Siamese. Although stray animals represent a serious problem in Kiev, it is heartening to realize that most Ukrainians who adopt pets become very devoted to them.

When my husband and I leave Kiev, we will fly to our next post with yet another addition to our mini-zoo. We are now the proud parents of an English springer spaniel who somehow snuck into our locked car this winter. The Marines call her Spy Dog because of her breaking and entering skills. We call her Lucy. Oh well, what's one more piece of excess baggage? ■

Linda Anderson Naranjo is the spouse of FSO Brian Naranjo, a junior officer in U.S. Embassy Kiev.

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