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THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

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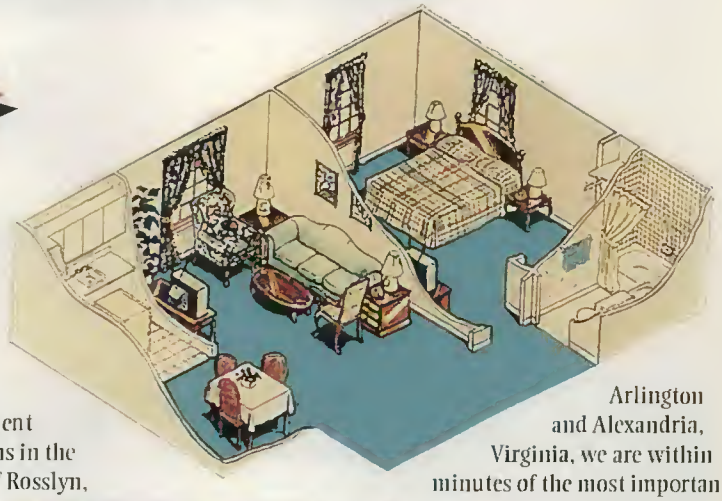

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President's Views

A Year's Worth of Lessons Learned

By F. A. "Tex" Harris

One misfortune is more effective than a thousand attempts at advice.
— Turkish proverb

To strengthen the Foreign Service it is important for each of us to know well the lessons learned over this last tumultuous year.

Like the target of a good pickpocket operation, our attention has been riveted on the Helms/Gilman high wire restructuring proposals to combine three drastically downsized foreign affairs agencies into the Department of State, while more than a sixth of diplomacy's budget resources have been taken. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's effective fight on behalf of the fiscal '96 operating accounts may have saved us from the immediate threat of agency furloughs and layoffs this year, but there is no plan that offers hope in the long run. We have been watching the wrong battle.

The megadisaster lies in the fiscal '96 budget war for the 150 Diplomatic Activities Account and its implications for the coming years. The $6 billion gap between the $21 billion requested by President Clinton and the $15 billion offered initially by Congress has been compromised at about $18 billion. This is a cut of about 16 percent from fiscal '95's $20.4 billion, after subtracting the untouchable annual $5.1 billion of Camp David transfers.

It gets worse in the succeeding years. Congressional budget projections call for more cuts each year through fiscal 2000, a total of 37 percent in the 150 account — down to $9.6 billion, excluding the Camp David grants. Cuts from the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) through fiscal 2002 are projected to be 17 percent. The withering cross fire between OMB and the Congressional budget committees would leave between $9.7 billion and $12.9 billion to conduct America's diplomacy around the world.

> *A unified vision of America's role in the world is badly needed.*

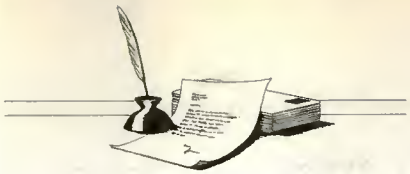
This budget year both the international organizations and peacekeeping accounts were targeted. What will be hit next year? Instead of pushing for a veto-certain proposal to force the consolidation of agencies, the focus is now to cut the foreign affairs agencies' operating funds by up to $2.4 billion over the next four years, which will leave hollow, ineffective structures. Salary and expense funds will be hit hard, requiring large-scale downsizing of missions and staffs.

A unified vision of America's role in the world is missing and badly needed. There is no agreed-upon U.S. political consensus on what it should be doing in the world. We haven't clearly answered the big question: What is the payoff on Main Street for the $20 billion spent on diplomacy around the world? And until recently, the diplomatic agencies lacked outreach programs to even try to tell the diplomacy story. In fiscal '94, for example, the outreach budget for the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) was larger than that of State.

Vision is the key. Today, there is no agreed-upon cohesive post-Cold War American international vision. What vision we have is fragmented, unfocused and unprioritized. It comes from many political players each with a separate international priority. There is no political calculus that integrates and highlights the wide range and deep intensity of Americans' international concerns. Americans want effective humanitarian response, non-proliferation, protection of the environment, trade promotion, anti-drug efforts, and on and on. To date, there has been no unifying theme or threat to bring these groups together to fight for a comprehensive diplomacy budget.

Individual groups are pushing for issues of immediate importance to their concerns, but lack interest and capacity to sustain an overall diplomatic agenda. There is no longstanding collective organization to push for the overall funding levels needed for American diplomatic leadership. AFSA is seeking to fill that major gap by helping to create Coalition for American Leadership Abroad (COLEAD). ■

F. A. "Tex" Harris is president of AFSA.



LETTERS

To the Editor:

Sept. 12, in Sun City West, Ariz., was the funeral of Robert Ode, who served in the Foreign Service for 28 years and, later, on temporary assignment as a consular officer in Tehran in 1979. There, within weeks of his arrival, he became one of, and the oldest of, the 53 Americans held hostage for the 444 days of that crisis.

Perhaps it is enough to remember Bob Ode simply for his long and dedicated public service. But a larger picture of the man, and his conduct during the Tehran crisis, comes through in recalling his homecoming speech in 1981.

In those remarks he said: "I've been asked if, at any time in my captivity, I ever felt I was going to be killed. Well, I believe that death is something that happens to other people, not me, so I never felt like I was going to die.

"I don't believe heaven and hell are some distant place, but are right here on earth. I know where hell is, I spent 444 days there and wouldn't recommend it. I know where heaven is too. It's not a marble palace decorated in stones. It's a place filled with millions and millions of warm, sincere people. And the people who live in heaven don't call it that. They call it the United States." Bob Ode was a true American.

L. Bruce Laingen
Retired FSO
and President
American Academy
of Diplomacy
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor:

In response to Louise Belanger's article on soul sisters ("Wanted: Soul Sister," September *Journal*), life is for giving — not just taking. In all my years of globe-trotting, I found my most precious possession to be the friendship of other women — some young, some old, some American, some foreign, and some who did not even speak my language. Although a transient lifestyle does make finding friends for the journey somewhat difficult, one of the solutions is reaching out. Reaching out beyond ourselves and the American community and getting involved in the community at large. Volunteer work, in addition to helping others, tends to make us less self-absorbed and more open to friendships outside our own American group. Chance encounters often lead to lifetime friendships.

As for keeping in touch — isn't the effort worth the return? Just the note at Christmas helps keep the bond across the years. As one ages, long-time relationships are a special comfort. Just being together is a pleasure in itself. I remember thinking that last fall as a friend and I sat in the beautiful gardens at Dumbarton Oaks. She and I met in 1951 at a small hotel in Ramallah, Jordan. The waiter seated me at her table in the restaurant and, after introducing ourselves, we discovered that our homes in the Pacific Northwest were only 80 miles apart. Since then, our paths have diverged considerably, but the slender thread of friendship has remained intact.

The following thoughts came from a newspaper article: "To have a devoted friend is a treasure you have to earn, something you deserve because of the kind of person you are. Your family has to love you. Your friends don't. They choose you for no reason other than who you are. There isn't much satisfaction greater than knowing that, is there?"

Teresa Banyas
Retired FS Employee
Clarksville, Va.

To the Editor:

William B. Miller's comments on Hans Tuch's "Speaking Out" column ("Letters," September *Journal*), bring up those very basic and seldom discussed questions of what is public diplomacy and how one measures it.

Looking back on my career as a professional in public diplomacy, the two things that I contributed to diplomacy that will probably have the greatest and longest lasting impact were either attacked or ignored by my superiors. In one, I helped establish the first chapter of Phi Delta Kappa, the education fraternity, south of the equator, thereby tying the elite of Australia's pedagogical establishment firmly to [its members] in the United States. Nobody seemed to notice.

And, in Pakistan, I took a sleepy friendship society, the Pakistan-American Cultural Center, and turned it into a dynamic, English-teaching institute. We introduced English teaching for special purposes;

revamped the student counseling services; rewrote the curriculum; designed and built a theater for cultural presentations; established new campuses, some over a thousand miles away; inaugurated a series of seminars for teachers of English that have reached every corner of Pakistan; put the program in the black and kept it there without handouts from the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) or anyone else; and instilled an *esprit de corps* that is still evident. The enrollment was 1,800 when I arrived, 3,000 when I left, and 28,000 last year, according to a recent visitor.

Then I think about the wireless file articles I passed out to be thrown into the nearest wastebasket, the dinners I gave that may have added a little weight to waists here or there, and the official pronouncements I pronounced that nobody listened to — and I wonder. By the way, would anyone like to compare the current audience sizes of USIA's Worldnet and CNN?

Merton L. Bland
Retired FSO
Arlington, Va.

To the Editor:

The September issue of the *Journal* ("World War II and the Foreign Service") was superb, full of fascinating nuggets about World War II experiences. I thought it an interesting coincidence that you included [FSO] Douglas MacArthur's recollection of his post-internee activities. He was interned at Baden Baden with [FSO] Constance Harvey [who was profiled in that issue's "Heroine of Diplomacy"]. In fact, she said she roomed next to him and she told me, "We fought all the time."

Also, I made an egregious error when I told you where Harvey is now. She's in Lexington, Va., not Lexington, Ky.

Ann Miller Morin
Author
Silver Spring, Md.

To the Editor:

We in Lexington, Va. (not Kentucky) enjoyed the article in the September *Journal* on Constance Harvey. There are a number of former FSOs who have retired here. Constance Harvey is something special to us. Indeed, one retired FSO, Frank Cash, claims Constance as his first boss; she was head of the consular section in Bonn when he was assigned there after World War II.

Dick Parker, who came to Lexington in 1987 to promote the oral history project for FSOs, asked me to especially encourage Constance to participate in the program. After some discussion, she agreed to tell her story, and as the *Journal* piece suggests, it is quite a story.

Gordon R. Beyer
Retired FSO
Lexington, Va.

To the Editor:

My compliments on a superb World War II issue. The article on the redoubtable Constance Harvey is a fine tribute to this great but unassuming lady. She is a cherished member of the small college town of Lexington, Va.

Dabney Chapman
Retired FSO
U.S. Information Agency
Shepherdstown, W. Va.

LETTERS

To the Editor:

I was surprised to see the Foreign Service of the World War II epoch given such hard knocks by James E. Miller in the September *Journal* ("World War II & The Foreign Service"). This reverses what we had heard before. Journalist James Reston, in an address at Georgetown, declared that the Foreign Service immediately and after World War II was the best in the history of the republic — and the most vilified.

For example, here's a practically unknown item about [the late] U.S. Consul General Sam Woods, brought up at the reunion of the Munich consulate in 1993. At Berlin, Sam had arranged to meet his contact, a young Jesuit, in the darkness of a theater to receive an article from him. This article, a shoebox of German occupation money printed in rubles, was evidence of Germany's intent to assault Russia, and Sam immediately forwarded it. I refrain from repeating how [Vice Consul Charles] Thayer, in immediate contact with his Berlin Foreign Office member, scooped the Russo-German pact at the moment of its birth. That is well known.

Samuel O. Ruff
Retired FSO
Arlington, Va.

To the Editor:

You erred in the identification of the British foreign minister in the photograph of [British Prime Minister Clement] Attlee, [President] Truman and [Russian Marshal Josef] Stalin at Potsdam (September *Journal*, "Clippings"). The British foreign secretary in the photo is trade union leader Ernest Bevan, not the fiery Welshman Aneurin Bevin, who at the time was minister of health.

Otherwise I found the September issue most interesting. Keep up the good work.

Jack R. Binns
Retired FSO
Tucson, Ariz.

To the Editor:

It is amazing how one's perspective broadens upon retirement. While the *Journal* focused on the insider support for foreign aid ("Clippings," July *Journal*), which reaches a limited number of readers, I was concerned about an article in the July *Readers Digest*, which reaches an estimated 180 million readers.

The article, "Can you Trust those Polls?," discusses in unflattering terms how the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) fudged the numbers for Congress to make it appear that there was broad support for foreign aid. It's disappointing once again to note that AID officials haven't yet learned that manipulating data virtually always tends to backfire, as it did in this case. I doubt that a few articles in the *Journal* can undo the immense amount of self-inflicted damage AID management brought upon itself outside the Beltway with this reckless and unwise gesture.

Harald R. Marwitz
Retired FSO
Arlington, Va.

CORRECTION

Due to an editing error in reporter George Gedda's article, "Cuba Policy in Disarray" (August *Journal*), the meaning of a sentence was changed. It should have read that "... there has been an increase in the number of lawyers, journalists and other professionals springing up on the island." ■

CLIPPINGS

"The best incentive for all parties to sign [the Balkan peace agreement] is it reduces the number of hours they will spend with [Assistant Secretary of State] Dick Holbrooke."

— UNIDENTIFIED SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL, REFERRING TO HOLBROOKE'S "SOMETIMES OVERBEARING PERSONALITY," IN NEWSWEEK, SEPT. 25.

ENVOY'S WIDOW SPEAKS OUT IN LETTER

"I am outraged at Sen. Phil Gramm's (R-Texas) unqualified, superficial observations about the life of a diplomat," penned Katharina Frasure, the widow of diplomat Robert Frasure, who was killed in an Aug. 19 motor vehicle aecident along with U.S. diplomats Joseph Kruzel and Samuel Nelson Drew during a peace mission in Bosnia.

In a Sept. 21 letter to the editor of *The Washington Post*, Mrs. Frasure lashed out at a Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Texas), a contender for the Republican president nomination, who took a stab at U.S. diplomats in a Sept. 13 *Washington Post* article, saying that taxpayers are more interested funding "in law enforcement than ... in building marble palaces and renting long coats and high hats."

Wrote Mrs. Frasure: "My husband ... and two colleagues lost their lives in Bosnia earrying out their duties as government servants. Our diplomats are some of the finest, bravest, most courageous people I have ever met. In the past 10 years alone, my husband and I mourned the death of seven of our friends and colleagues: Dennis Keogh [in Nambia], Arnie Raphel [in Pakistan], Freddie Woodruff [in Georgia] and four of our embassy colleagues in Addis Ababa.

"I am outraged also because I remember the dangers as well as the many hardships our family endured in Bob's 20-year career. We faced danger from flying bullets, exploding grenades and bombs and harassment and violence. ... Bob's plane and helicopter were shot at ... in Angola and Namibia. Bob battled a life-threatening tropical disease. We often lacked basic foods and medical care, and our teenaged daughters were home-schooled [for lack of suitable schooling]. We faeed it all, we lived it all, some of it repeatedly. Easy life? Mr. Gramm should try it."

CROSSING SWORDS WITH GEN. POWELL

Passages in Gen. Colin Powell's book, *My American Journey*, have made Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, furious, writer David Remniek reported in the Nov. 9 *New Yorker's* "Talk of the Town" column. In his rapidly selling memoir, Powell recounts a debate with Albright over Bosnia policy in 1992 when he was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. "What's the point of having this superb military ... if you can't use it?" Powell quotes Albright as saying. "I thought I would have an aneurysm," Powell says in the book. "American GIs were not toy soldiers to be moved around on some sort of global game board."

Powell, who opposed the use of air power in Bosnia, now reealls the Clinton foreign-policy maehine as resembling "graduate-student bull sessions," according to Remniek. In faet, air power, eombined with the sueeess of the Croatian military offensive, divisions in the Serb leadership, and the world's horror at the attacks on Sarajevo and Srebreniea, helped force the march to the negotiating tables in Belgrade and Geneva, writes Remnick. Albright believes that the administration's use of force in the Balkans clearly helped bring about the first period of genuine optimism in years, he noted.

In another foreign policy shocker, Powell noted that he turned down

CLIPPINGS

President Clinton's request to become secretary of state, and Albright, for her part, seems relieved: "I think it would have been a tough fit," she said, according to Remnick. Albright has been the adviser pushing Clinton the hardest to use force in the region, writes Remnick, and thus found herself at odds with her close friend, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who has been reluctant to seize the initiative in the Balkans.

OFFICIALS DISPUTE 'WASTE' IN CAIRO

The State Department disputed Sen. Jesse Helms' (R-N.C.) facts about alleged "waste" at U.S. Embassy Cairo and its resident diplomats in a Sept. 12 television interview with talk show host Larry King. Helms had singled out the huge 15-story building, believed to be the largest embassy of any kind in the world, as a "fortress."

According to reporter John Lancaster in a Sept. 15 piece in *The Washington Post*, Helms claimed it cost $200,000 a year to maintain each federal employee overseas, including 600 "foreign aid people" at the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), also working at the embassy complex. However, embassy officials soon corrected the senator, noting that AID employed only 93 U.S. employees and 71 Egyptians at the site, although the agency admitted that figure would jump to 450 if all independent contractors were counted. AID expects to cut U.S. employees to 75 next year as part of its reengineering effort, wrote Lancaster. Overall, the embassy employs about 450 U.S. citizens, including 100 personnel who oversee the military portion of the aid program and 30 U.S. Marines.

State officials noted that it cost only $50,000 per federal employee above salary and benefits at that site, not Helms' $200,000 number, though officials declined to elaborate on their lower figure.

State officials also criticized Helms for having little knowledge of how U.S. tax dollars are spent overseas, pointing out that the embassy in Cairo is the largest only because it is the funneling point for $2 billion a year in Congress-mandated foreign aid to Egypt under the 1979 Camp David accords. And in spite of the supposed benefits of working in such a building, diplomats countered that they still have to live in Cairo, with its epic traffic jams, horrible air pollution and high threat of violence.

AND NOW, A VIEW FROM THE RIGHT

An editorial in the Sept. 14 *Washington Times* claims that the crying and gnashing of teeth over the State, Commerce and Justice Appropriations bill are "reaching a pathos of almost Shakespearean levels." The *Times* editorial writer noted that with the Senate's appropriations bill, "[Secretary of State Warren] Christopher reaps what he has sown, his State Department [might] retain its current shape, and Foggy Bottom bureaucrats will know that their jobs are safe. It's just that his programs will be decimated to accommodate the budget cuts."

The editorial ends with a final swipe at the foreign affairs agencies: "Of course, there is always President

50 YEARS AGO

"In 1944, after considerable yellow journalism publicity, some 25 Foreign Service officers were 'released' by the Department of State and inducted into the armed forces. These FSOs are still in uniform — and therefore lost to the Foreign Service — even though the war has been over for months," an FSO who was never drafted wrote in a November 1945 *Journal* letter to the editor.

"It was by White House direction that these officers were taken out of the Foreign Service as a group," he wrote. "Hence, the State Department should logically appeal directly to President Truman, to cut through red tape and recover at once the 25 experienced career officers lost to the armed forces over a year ago — [is this] the lost battalion of the Foreign Service?"■

"Don't underestimate the ... media in shaping foreign policy."

— POTENTIAL U.S. PRESIDENTIAL CONTENDER COLIN POWELL. THE WASHINGTON POST MAGAZINE, *SEPT. 24*

Clinton's handy veto pen. It would be really interesting to see him use it on behalf of American diplomats and foreign-aid boondoggles."

FOREIGN POLICY 'ROLL' FOR WHITE HOUSE?

The Clinton administration is racking up points with foreign policy observers, such as in the recent signing of the Middle East peace deal in Washington, the last in a series of successes that underscores "the White House is on a foreign policy roll," reporter Jurek Martin wrote in the Sept. 29 *Financial Times*.

Martin also noted the administration's movement on a Bosnia peace settlement and the "further thaw" in U.S.-Sino relations when Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Quichen told Secretary of State Warren Christopher China was canceling the sale of two nuclear power reactors to Iran. Also, he pointed out Clinton "may be making some headway in excising some of the more objectionable provisions" from the foreign policy bills in Congress, particularly since Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) appears to be responding to the president's promise of vetoing any unacceptable foreign policy bill.

"[Clinton's] White House staff, with an election campaign looming, is not averse to seeing that he gets public credit where it feels it is due," he wrote. "There are plenty of rocks ahead in the Middle East and the Balkans, as well as in Russia," Martin wrote. "But for now the administration's foreign policy appears in better shape than for some months. Mr. Clinton can merely hope his own country is listening." ■

SPEAKING OUT

Return Policy-Making Power to Geographic Bureaus

BY ROGER DANKERT

The Department of State needs to rebalance the work between its functional and regional bureaus. The development of coherent foreign policies within the department is hindered by a structure overly reflective of single-interest constituencies. Currently there are too many functional under secretaries and specialized bureaus. The staffs of the policy integrative regional bureaus constitute only about 10 percent of Washington personnel, or some 860 people, and their key operatives — the country desk officers — are less than 4 percent, or 300 people. These 300 employees should be at least doubled and should take on larger issues than desk officers currently do.

The United States is not well served when the diplomatic agenda becomes dominated by special-interest constituencies. This proposal would revitalize the department's unique and statutory responsibility for foreign relations by creating regional under secretaries; by expanding geographic bureau representation to reflect the rising importance of Asia and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); and by incorporating more substantive expertise into the regional bureaus. Such changes will be difficult to implement, but will be even harder to develop if other foreign affairs agencies are consolidated into State as functional "mega-bureaus." Whether or not consolidation occurs, the department should organize itself to orchestrate the general interest, not just to be a transmitter — or at best an adjudicator — of a cacophony of special interests.

When regional bureaus have multiple masters, coherent policy is the victim.

Specialization is a reflection of our complex and advocacy-based society and is mirrored at State by an increasing number of functional offices, which deal in such issues as terrorism, drugs, refugees and human rights. It may be logical to treat every policy issue as a stand-alone one, but the department's aim should be to promote and to preserve the entire U.S. national interest agenda, especially with major actors such as Russia, China and Japan. In recent months, this agenda has been dominated by single interests, such as nonproliferation, automobiles or human rights, to the extent of causing concern among foreign affairs professionals and threatening the achievement of other objectives or even severely damaging the bilateral relationships.

Many bilateral relationships are not durable enough for trade issues to be treated simply as domestic contracts, the breaking of which entitles the other party to whatever damages are provided in the contract itself, as one U.S. trade representative reportedly suggested during the recent trade negotiations with Japan. Nations can't break contracts without affecting the fabric of the relationship with the other country holding that contract. Also, nations sometimes have extra-contractual alternatives — such as Japan's threat to haul the United States before the new World Trade Organization (WTO), or in more extreme form, creating exclusionary regional preferences or even managing or withholding trade. This is why linkage of one interest — such as human rights in China — with the other elements of a bilateral relationship is a two edged-sword that must be used with care.

Today, the State Department relies on an "executive board" of five under secretaries — one each for political, security, economic, global and management issues. These five, each responsible for specialized issues across the world's 200 countries, compete to impose their views on six regional assistant secretaries

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underneath each of them, each balancing relations with an average of 30 countries. This competition can be and occasionally has become confusing, spawning inappropriate linkages, brinkmanship and mixed messages to the countries involved. When regional bureaus have multiple masters, coherent policy is the victim.

With the prospect of foreign affairs agency consolidation, let us add two more under secretaries to management's Seventh-Floor matrix for the sake of argument — a new under secretary for information (if consolidation with the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) occurs) and an under secretary for development (if U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) is added). Such a kitchen definitely would have too many functional cooks.

Organizing foreign affairs through lenses of five, or seven, functional under secretaries also builds in a tendency to escalate "specialized" issues to higher levels within the department, or to top inter-agency decision-making processes. The under secretaries do not believe they should back down from decisions involving their functions; they believe they were brought in to ensure that certain special interests are not subordinated.

With the rise in external specialized bureaus and agencies, regional bureaus have become coordinating and liaison points rather than centers for policy formation and execution. There is nothing in Washington that approaches the "country team" level of inter-agency coordination found at embassies overseas. The department lacks the structure and expertise that could prompt regional bureaus to act as domestic counterparts to the much appreciated country team approach of embassies. One key to a more comprehensive role for country desks and regional bureaus would be to structure the latter so that they have the power and expertise to resolve the biggest problems in their purview. For example, a NAFTA Bureau would become increasingly viable as expansion beyond Mexico and Canada continues.

Another example: The quantum leap in the importance of Japan and China on the world stage is belied by the State Department's puny structure for handling relations with these two critically important countries. The department has 10 desk officers for each country, hardly proportionate to the importance of our relations with the world's second and — likely within 10 years — third-largest economies; the world's largest sources of aid, savings, technology and competitive production; and the key regional influences on a third of the world's population. In Japan, the top bureau in the Foreign Ministry is primarily focused on the United States. The State Department should increase staffing to more than a simple country desk; without more staff, the trend has been for other agencies to take their diplomacy directly to Japan without benefit of State's advice.

The managers of the European and Canadian Affairs Bureau (EUR) have probably gone further than those of any other geographic bureau to take charge of regional relations. EUR not only insists on exclusive control of European bilateral diplomacy, but its regional offices dominate large chunks of work that elsewhere are handled by functional bureaus. For example, the Office of European Security and Political Affairs (EUR/RPM) insists on being the exclusive channel to making military policy in NATO Europe. EUR/RPE is not

only the designated liaison to the European Union (EU), but it is the department's liaison to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which coordinates economic discussion among the world's most advanced economies, several of which are not in Europe. While dialogue and competition with the functional bureaus is sometimes heated, EUR illustrates that coherent policy is attainable if a regional bureau has a plan and access to the expertise to carry it out.

The department should expect the country desks to move beyond their liaison and coordination functions to become full-fledged policy formulation and execution centers as they were from the 1920s to the 1940s, as well as possibly centers for post management. A working goal might be doubling the size of the regional bureaus — by reprogramming from the functional and specialized areas; sharing jobs among regional bureaus and functional bureaus or outside agencies; increasing liaisons; and using advanced information systems to ensure policy is thorough and coordinated. Such reorganization could be used to create something similar to the overseas country team in Washington. Country desks should be expanded to constitute a real nexus of power, to take the lead in formulating and negotiating complex cross-functional issues.

Achieving a critical mass of expertise within a regional bureau would often be more policy-effective than relying exclusively on special-interest global policies that arrive divorced from bilateral reality. The bureaus often do not arrive at a workable solution, for reasons that include a winner-takes-all mentality; and the narrowing of options in an escalating bureaucratic contest. Moving functional expertise within the geographic bureau would also provide a longer and more satisfying multi-bureau career path for employees in either the Foreign Service or the Civil Service who specialize in functional subjects.

More consideration should also be given to management and support of embassies by incorporating in the country desks those personnel now located in regional bureau executive offices and in support bureaus. This could make Washington support more knowledgeable and responsive and reduce layering in Washington. A large entity like the Japan desk easily could have organic post management officers.

To reflect a priority on regional and bilateral diplomacy, this article recommends restructuring the Seventh Floor with four regional under secretaries managing, respectively, Europe, East Asia, NAFTA/American Republics and Near East/South Asia/Africa/UN. The current five functional under secretaries could conceivably be consolidated into two positions — one for policy and one for management/programs. The number of assistant secretaries would be increased by three — one each for China, Japan/Korea in the former Asia Bureau and one for NAFTA in the Inter-American Affairs Bureau. The proposal also assumes and supports extension of the current small assistant secretaryships: the Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary for the New Independent States (S/NIS) and the Bureau of South Asian Affairs (SA), which reportedly could be headed for reintegration with their parent bureaus. Thus, the six enti-

ties would include, from top to bottom:

- Under Secretary for Europe.
  - Assistant Secretary for Western Europe.
  - Assistant Secretary for New Independent States.
- Under Secretary for East Asia.
  - Assistant Secretary for Japan/Korea.
  - Assistant Secretary for China and Adjacent Areas,.
  - Assistant Secretary for South East Asia and the Pacific.
- Under Secretary for the Near East, South Asia, Africa and the U.N.
  - Assistant Secretary for Near East Asia.
  - Assistant Secretary for South Asia.
  - Assistant Secretary for Africa.
  - Assistant Secretary for International Organizations.
- Under Secretary for American Republic Affairs.
  - Assistant Secretary for NAFTA Members (including Canada).
  - Assistant Secretary for American Republics.
- Under Secretary for Policy and Planning.
  - Assistant Secretary for Economic and Business Affairs.
  - Assistant Secretary for Political-Military Affairs.
  - Assistant Secretary for Global Affairs.
  - Assistant Secretary for Intelligence.
- Under Secretary for Program and Management Bureaus.

With the exception of functional issues that can be negotiated globally, and on their merits, the department should structure itself so that functional bureaus will be advisory, not policy-implementing entities. Functional expertise should be incorporated both in a central policy planning staff and in the regional bureaus. This will also help satisfy special interests that may otherwise stalemate reorganization, since representation via functional bureaus of many of these interests is already required by statute.

State's strength lies in its regional bureaus, country desks and overseas embassies. For this reason, many of the counterpart agencies to State's functional bureaus actually would rather deal with the regional bureaus than with their counterpart bureaus. State should provide more regional bureau staff to build on this advantage, seeking ways to integrate the views of the Department of Defense or Treasury more than competing with them via our own functional bureaus. This could be done by expanding joint staffing arrangements, such as the 80 military and Foreign Service officers exchanged each year between State and the Pentagon. Some duplication is necessary and inevitable in a large organization with important equities to protect, but such duplication is also to some large extent unnecessary if State can establish the proper communications, staffing, cooperation and trust among other agencies.

The net result of these changes would include a core group of six under secretaries — one more than today — but with a direct chain of command to the field and with staff functions mixed less with line functions. Increasing regional bureau expertise and upgrading its product by taking on the best advice and criticism from other bureaus would root regional policies in both functional and geographic reality. ■

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A Short History of Haiti

As Island Awaits Presidential Elections Next Month, Carter Team Insider Recalls 'Democratic Experiment'

By Robert A. Pastor

In 1791, stirred by the spirit of the French Revolution, Haitian slaves began a punishing, 13-year war for independence against Europe's most powerful army. The proclamation of the world's first independent black republic on Jan. 1, 1804, posed a dual challenge for Haiti and the world. The challenge for Haitians was to fulfill the ideals that moved them to insurrection — liberty, equality and fraternity. The challenge to the world was to accept a black republic as a sovereign and equal state. Neither passed the test then. Today, presidents Jean-Bertrand Aristide and Bill Clinton are doing better in meeting the dual challenge than at any point in Haiti's 200-year history.

Haitians rid themselves of colonialism in 1804 but not of oppression. Its new leaders exploited the people while transforming the richest colony in the Caribbean into the poorest country. A peaceful, democratic process never took hold. Instead, a succession of civil wars and brutal dictators devastated the country. Only the pride of Haiti's birth helped Haitians to withstand 200 years of abject poverty, international isolation and brutal dictatorship.

In the 19th century, Europe feared that slave revolts could spread through their colonies, and so they tried to contain and isolate the new republic. The U.S. response was similar, but more tragic because Haitians also had been inspired by the U.S. revolution, and the United States owed them a debt for preventing Napoleon from using the island as a base to capture North America. The United States only contemplated relations with the republic after emancipating its own slaves.

Haitians were saddened by the imposed isolation, but they adjusted, becoming a kind of political Galapagos island with unique political and spiritual forms. Its politics became virtually impervious to outside influence until U.S. marines landed in 1915. But when the marines departed 19 years later, a new generation of dictators returned, culminating with the 30-year Duvalier dynasty.

On Feb. 7, 1986, Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier fled to France, and the most recent and promising phase in Haiti's liberation struggle began. The issue, once again, was whether a new government would meet the people's democratic and material needs or whether the corrupt alliance between Haiti's armed forces and its wealthiest elite would maintain its grip on the country. The challenge for the international community was whether it would take the steps necessary to bring Haiti into the fold of democratic nations, or whether it would simply wash its hands of Haiti.

After trying unsuccessfully to manipulate the electoral process, the military grudgingly allowed a free

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election in 1990. This did not happen by accident. Since the lessons of 1990 were lost by the June 1995 elections, it might be useful to review them.

In 1990, the provisional president Ertha Pascal-Trouillot invited the international community to Haiti to observe and, indirectly, help construct an electoral process. The U.N. and the OAS advised the Provisional Elections Council (CEP) and did a quick count — a random sample of results — that permitted a reliable prediction of the final results of the presidential election. In addition, she invited former president Jimmy Carter, chairman of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government, an informal group of 25 current and former presidents of the Americas. The council, working with the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, mediated for five months among the political parties, the CEP and the government.

One "mediates" an electoral process by listening to the opposition parties, distilling their complaints, and helping the government and the CEP fashion fair responses. This process increased confidence in the electoral process so that all the candidates and parties felt a sense of ownership in the elections and would therefore accept the results even if they lost. In addition, the council, through two incumbent members — Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez and Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley – persuaded the United Nations to send security observers to monitor the elections and prevent violence that had aborted the election in November 1987.

The Bush administration supported these efforts, but, correctly, kept some distance from the mediation. The proud, nationalistic Haitians preferred to negotiate the rules of the election with international and non-governmental organizations rather than with the U.S. government.

On Dec. 16, 1990, Haitians voted for 11 presidential candidates, but Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a young priest, won two-thirds of the vote. Because of the effective mediation during the campaign, all the political parties accepted the results. Jean Casimir, who was the executive secretary of the CEP in 1990 and is currently Haiti's ambassador to the United States, acknowledged: "Without electoral observation, it would have been totally impossible for Haiti to rid itself of its dictators and their armed forces."

Aristide was hardly a typical politician, anymore than Haiti's politics were classically democratic. Aristide was connected to the people by a spiritual bond, and this was evident during his inauguration on Feb. 7, 1991 as the people chanted passionately: "Thank you God, for sending Titi [Aristide]."

The election turned the Haitian power pyramid upside down. The vast majority of Haitians are poor, and for the first time, they had their champion in the presidential palace. The elite found themselves on the outside, fearful that the masses might treat them as they had treated the people.

It was a delicate transition, and it did not last. Barely seven months after his inauguration, the military overthrew Aristide with the consent of the oligarchy and perhaps at its invitation. When he later reflected on what had gone wrong, Aristide acknowledged that perhaps he had won the election by too much. He had little incentive to compromise, and he showed too little respect for the independence of the Parliament. One of his mistakes was replacing the commander-in-chief of the Army, Gen. Herard Abraham, with Gen. Raoul Cedras. Abraham, a skillful political actor, had secured the election and stopped a military coup led by Duvalierist Roger LaFontant in January 1991.

Carter reached deep into his soul to try to persuade the Haitian generals to complete the agreement, but he could not overcome their anger and fear.

In exile, Aristide tried to marshal international support for his return. The international community was eager to help. During the previous 15 years, a democratic wave had swept through the hemisphere. When the OAS General Assembly met in Santiago in June 1991, every active member had had free and competitive elections. (Cuba was not an active member. Mexico and the Dominican Republic had competitive elections, but their integrity was questioned.) The foreign ministers understood the fragility of democracy in the Americas, and they passed the

Santiago Commitment on Democracy and Resolution 1080, pledging that if a coup occurred in the Americas, they would meet in emergency session to decide on action to discuss ways to restore democracy.

Three months later, in September 1991, Haiti provided the first test case. Within days of the coup, the OAS Foreign Ministers met in Washington, quickly condemned the coup, and sent a delegation to Haiti to demand the return of Aristide. The military humiliated the group, and the OAS responded by imposing an economic embargo on the regime. President Bush supported President Aristide's return, but some in his administration did not, and that might have influenced his decision to limit the means he would use to accomplish that goal. He ordered the U.S. Coast Guard to return refugees to Haiti, and this reduced the pressure on him to restore Aristide to power.

During the campaign, Bill Clinton criticized Bush for his refugee policy, but after his election, Clinton adopted the same policy and gained Aristide's support by promising to restore him to power. Making good on that promise proved far more difficult than the new president thought. The Haitian military and the elite did not want Aristide to return, and no diplomatic effort would succeed unless backed by a credible threat of force. The credibility of U.S. and U.N. diplomatic efforts was undermined significantly when the *Harlan County*, a Navy ship carrying 200 U.S. soldiers on a humanitarian mission, was prevented from docking in Port-au-Prince by thugs organized by the armed forces.

While the president remained committed to restoring Aristide, the difficulty of accomplishing that goal tempted the administration to put the issue aside. However, intense pressure by Randall Robinson, the director of TransAfrica, and the Congressional Black Caucus compelled the adminis-

tration to take a giant step forward. In July 1994, the United States persuaded the U.N. Security Council to pass a resolution calling on member states to use force to compel the Haitian military to accept Aristide's return. This was a watershed event in international relations — the first time that the U.N. Security Council had authorized the use of force for the purpose of restoring democracy to a member state. The following August, President Clinton decided that the U.S. would take the lead in an invasion.

The next month, on Sept. 15, President Clinton publicly warned the Haitian military leaders to leave power immediately. He said all diplomatic options were exhausted, but in fact, the U.S. government had stopped talking to the Haitian military six months before. Nonetheless, Gen. Raoul Cedras, the commander of the Haitian military, had opened a dialogue during the previous week with former president Jimmy Carter, whom he had met during the 1990 elections. The president, who had been told by Carter of the talks, decided on Friday, Sept. 16, to send Carter, Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) and General Colin Powell to try one last time to negotiate the departure of Haiti's military leaders.

The Carter team had a deadline of less than 24 hours. They arrived Saturday afternoon and began their meeting with the Haitian military high command about 2:50 p.m. After one hour, the three statesmen had convinced the generals, for the first time, that force would be used against them if the talks failed. But the Carter team understood what some in the Clinton administration did not — that the Haitian military leaders were not interested in negotiating their exit, wealth or safety. Representing the traditional elites, the military were desperately fearful that Aristide would unleash the masses against them. Moreover, like President Aristide, the generals were

proud Haitians, who did not want to surrender or be lectured.

By about 1 p.m. on Sunday, Sept. 18, the Carter team had succeeded in gaining agreement to allow the peaceful entry of U.S. forces into Haiti and the restoration of President Aristide. But there were some details that needed to be negotiated, and time was running out. Suddenly, Gen. Philippe Biamby burst into the room with the news that the men of the 82nd Airborne were being readied for attack, a fact not known to the Carter team, and he accused the three Americans of deception. He informed the three he was taking Cedras to a secure area. The negotiations were over.

It is hard to find a better example of the difference between a credible threat, which was essential to reach an agreement, and the actual use of force, which in this case, was counterproductive. Although ready to sign the agreement, Cedras would not do so after learning the attack had begun. Carter reached deep into his soul to try to persuade the generals to complete the agreement, but he could not overcome their anger and fear. He then tried a different tactic - to change the venue of negotiations, and he asked Cedras to accompany him. At the new site, the presidential palace, de facto President Jonnaissant announced that he would sign the agreement. This created problems for President Clinton and for President Aristide, who was in Washington, and was reluctant to accept any agreement with the military or the de facto government. With the U.S. Air Force halfway to Haiti, President Clinton finally turned the planes around and authorized Carter to sign the agreement on his behalf.

The president asked Carter, Nunn and Powell to return to the White House immediately, and they asked me to remain to brief the U.S. Ambassador and Pentagon officials, who had not participated in the negotiations, and to arrange meetings between Haitian and U.S. military officers. This proved to be extremely difficult because the Haitian generals went into hiding, and U.S. government officials in Port-au-Prince did not trust the Haitian generals to implement the agreement; they feared a double-cross like *Harlan County*. With less than two hours before touchdown by the U.S. military, I was able to arrange the crucial meetings by sending a mixed harsh-and-intimate message to Cedras through his wife.

U.S. forces arrived without having to fire one shot and 20,000 U.S. troops disembarked without a single casualty or injured civilian.

There was no question that U.S. forces would prevail, but because of the *Harlan County*, the Somalia experience, and the need to minimize U.S. casualties, the U.S. military plan called for a ferocious assault that would have involved hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Haitian casualties, and inevitably, some Americans. Moreover, as Gen. Hugh Shelton, the commanding officer, told me, such an invasion would have engendered long-term bitterness in some of the Haitian population, making it more difficult for the United Nations to secure order and for the country to build democracy.

Gen. Cedras stepped down from power on Oct. 12 and only then, at the moment that he had the fewest bargaining chips, sought to rent his houses and find a place for asylum.

On Oct. 15, Aristide returned to the presidency and Haiti. He had a second chance, and he showed that he had learned some lessons. He called for national reconciliation and assembled a multi-party government. He proposed an economic program that elicited both praise from the international community and pledges of $1.2 billion. He established a Truth Commission to investigate human rights violations during the military regime but not in a vindictive way. A Police Academy was established to train a new, professional police force. A project on the administration of justice aimed to train justices of the peace and dispatch them throughout the country. The armed forces had been so thoroughly discredited that Aristide moved quickly to reduce their size and influence and, by spring of this year, to virtually dismantle the institution. In the year since Aristide's return, there have been some political assassinations, but to most Haitians, it has been a period of less fear than ever before.

In December 1994, Aristide created a CEP to prepare for municipal and parliamentary elections. Virtually all of the political parties, including KONAKOM, PANPRA and FNCD, which had been partners of Aristide in the 1990 election, criticized the CEP for being partial to one faction of the president's supporters, Lavalas, and for being completely unresponsive to their complaints. Unfortunately, there was

no mediation between the parties and the CEP and no quick count. Three political parties boycotted the June 25 election, and many of the 27 parties that participated were skeptical that the CEP would conduct a fair election.

An estimated 50 percent cast their ballots, according to OAS estimates. But the most serious problem occurred after the voting stopped, and the counting began. Officials were poorly trained, and I witnessed the most insecure and tainted vote count that I have seen in the course of monitoring 13 "transitional" elections during the last decade. Even before the results were announced, almost all of the political parties, except Lavalas, called for an annulment and the recall of the CEP members. On July 12, the CEP finally released some of the results that showed Lavalas doing the best, with the FNCD and KONAKOM trailing far behind. Perhaps as many as one-fifth of the elections needed to be held again, and the majority of the Senate and Deputy seats required a run-off. Of the 84 main mayoral elections, Lavalas won 64, including Port-au-Prince, by a margin of 45-18 percent over incumbent Mayor Evans Paul.

The CEP went ahead with the re-run of some elections on Aug. 13 and the runoff of other elections on Sept. 17 despite the boycott of virtually all the political parties. Again, there was practically no campaign, and despite great efforts by President Aristide to get people to vote, the turnout was very low.

Therefore, the parliamentary and municipal elections cannot be viewed as a step forward. Moreover, the government hurt the fragile party system by seducing opposition candidates to participate in the runoff contrary to their parties' decision. Partly because of the opposition boycott, and partly because of Aristide's continued popularity, Lavalas swept the runoff elections, giving it 80 percent of the Deputy and two-thirds of the Senate seats.

The opposition parties condemned the Parliament as illegitimate, and many feared that Haiti was moving to a one-party state. Lavalas could prove as fractious as the original Aristide coalition, but regardless, an opportunity for a more inclusive democracy and an impartial electoral process was lost.

If an effective mediation does not enlist the participation of the opposition parties in time for the presidential elections next month, the new president's authority will be impugned, especially if the Constitution were changed illegally to permit Aristide to run again. If the U.N. forces depart on the inauguration of the new president, the old elite of the country will no doubt try to use the questionable authority of the new president to weaken him even as they try to seduce the new police force. The only way that democracy can be preserved in Haiti is if the new police force remains professional and accountable to the rule of law. If the force is co-opted by the rich, as has occurred in the past, then a popular democracy cannot survive.

The international community and Haiti formed a remarkable partnership in the summer of 1990 to reinforce the democratic process and to respond positively to Haiti's double challenge — to respect Haitians and to make the country a part of a democratic hemisphere.

Returning to Haiti with Carter and Powell last February, Sen. Nunn said, "We have a one-year plan for a 10-year challenge." Haiti's democratic experiment will be endangered if it does not ask the United States and the United Nations to remain after February 1996, and if those two entities do not agree to stay. To keep the process on track, the Haitian government needs to respond fully to the legitimate concerns with the electoral process raised by the opposition parties. Only then can meaningful presidential elections occur. The second step is for the international community to ensure that a multi-party democracy takes root in Haiti. ■

A Thanksgiving to Remember

After 1964 Night of Terror in Cairo, A Family Finds Something to Be Grateful For

By Maria Bauer

Thanksgiving Day is a day for friends and family, not a day for disaster. On Thanksgiving Day in Cairo in 1964, we enjoyed our visit with Egyptian friends at their house in the afternoon, and then went directly to a reception at the German Embassy. On the way we suddenly heard an unusual sound: the screaming of sirens.

"What's that?" I asked my husband, Robert.

"Fire engines," he replied, adding what I had been thinking that very moment: "I've never heard them before. There never seem to be fires in Cairo."

As we arrived at the reception, the German counselor greeted us with effusion: "So happy to see you. ... How good of you to come. ... at a time like this. We really appreciate it." On entering the crowded living room we were aware that our coming created uneasiness: Conversations turned to whispers or stopped altogether when we approached. And then the German ambassador entered, walked straight up to Robert and asked: "How is your library?"

Now Robert was baffled. "Why, what do you mean?" The ambassador was incredulous: "You mean you haven't heard that your library was set on fire?"

Robert grabbed my arm as we ran out of the building, jumped in the car and headed toward the U.S. Embassy. But one block before we reached the compound, we were stopped by officials. The compound was surrounded by police and fire engines. When we were finally allowed into the compound, we ran over broken glass and smoldering heaps, we hardly noticed that we were becoming drenched from water spewing out of holes in the firehoses lying on the ground. The embassy's smashed windows gaped at us in the dark. The cultural building, Robert's domain, which housed the library and his agency's offices, was a grotesque, burnt-out shell. A thick column of smoke was hovering over its twisted roof, and occasional flames flickered behind its broken windows. Robert rushed into the building to see if he could save some of his office files, calling to me to wait for him in the adjacent embassy.

Margaret, the librarian, came in, clutching some charred books. "Look what we saved," she said to no one in particular. "Six books out of 30,000." I could tell that behind her sunglasses she was crying. I wished there were something I could do, but there wasn't, so I sat down and waited. People kept walking in and out, silently or murmuring — whispering as though someone had died. The library had died — the biggest and best U.S. library in the Middle East.

From fragments of conversations I gathered what had happened. It was the time of the Katanga rebellion in the Congo. The Johnson administration had sent American transport planes with Belgian paratroopers to Stanleyville to rescue American and

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European hostages held by the revolutionary government, which prompted a demonstration at the U.S. Embassy in Cairo in protest. The protesters deliberately picked an American holiday when only a few Marine guards were on duty and sent hundreds of African students to storm the embassy. They heaved rocks and flowerpots through the windows and then tossed in burning gasoline-soaked torches until the library building was ablaze. I suspect President Gamal Abdel Nasser's government, always on the side of African revolutionaries, must have encouraged the action because it took 20 minutes for police and firemen, whose station was only a few blocks away, to come. But by then it was too late.

As I sat waiting, shivering in my wet cocktail dress, disjointed images flashed through my mind: the crowded library rooms, the Egyptian students' serious expressions when they studied, their careful way of handling American books as though they were fragile treasures. And those cheerful library evenings for West African students, a pet project of Robert's, where they could meet to socialize, read or watch films. Young West Africans studying in Cairo were isolated, discriminated against by the Egyptians, who view themselves as Arabs. They loved those weekly sessions. They could not have participated in this madness. Why burn down the place they loved?

And then a thought hit — might they carry on their senseless destruction elsewhere? They might turn against American homes — and our young son, Bobby, 12, was there alone. I forced myself to look at my watch: 1:30 a.m. It was the day off for our houseboy, Mohammad, and I had told the houseboy, Salah, to leave early since we expected to be home soon. Bobby was alone all that time, hopefully sleeping, but still unable to reach us.

I ran out calling to Robert, screaming wildly. I can still hear my voice perforating the stillness of the smoke-filled night. And then all I remember is our speeding up the avenue in our car, with Robert behind the wheel, a charred and waterlogged certificate on his lap: his commission as First Secretary of the Embassy, signed by President Kennedy, the only thing in his office that had survived the fire.

The Nile to our right was calm, without a ripple, as though the waters were standing still. Then, finally, we saw our villa, unfamiliar in its total darkness. We dashed in, up the stairs, but were stopped short by a white figure lying on the floor blocking Bobby's closed door. Robert switched on the light. Salah, dressed in his white uniform, his chef's hat askew over his eyes, stiffly rose to his feet and said in his broken French: "I heard it on the radio. I thought they might come here, too, so I stayed to protect Monsieur Bobby."

Something in me was about to explode: I wanted to cry, to scream, to embrace Salah, but I just stood there, paralyzed. Faintly, as from a distance, I heard Robert's inadequate, "Merci, Salah."

The protesters deliberately picked an American holiday when only a few Marine guards were on duty, sending hundreds of West African students to storm the U.S. embassy.

At the time we thought that we would never feel the same about our work and the country, but subsequent events helped to sweep away the lingering bitterness. Every day a line of Egyptian students — and quite a few West Africans — appeared at the embassy to return books they had taken out, many murmuring apologies for this unexplained barbarism in their city.

The Egyptian government officially apologized, but denied any responsibility for the fire, stressing that no Egyptian had taken part in it. It offered the American Embassy the use of a lovely villa nearby, for a token rental of $1 a year. Nasser personally donated 1,000 books to start the new collection and 3,000 books were found in a storeroom, undamaged. The work to turn the villa into a workable library started immediately. Christened the "John F. Kennedy Library," the new building was officially opened the following spring. The ceremony started with the usual speeches, but then actor Charleton Heston, in Cairo at the time to act in the filming of the 1965 movie, "Khartoum," began speaking. As he read Kennedy's 1961 inaugural address, a reverent hush came over the audience, and a wave of optimism rippled through the crowd. ■

Friendly with a Senator

In 1950s, Foreign Service Spouse Franklin Paved Way for Widows' Pension Rights

By Jewell Fenzi and Carl L. Nelson

Elderly, alone and destitute in 1953, Sophia de Soto listed her address as c/o Public Relief, New York City. Over the years, from 1889 to 1929, she had served with her husband, Consul Hernando de Soto, at numerous northern European posts, including Paris and Warsaw. Near the end of his career — in 1924, with the passage of the Rogers Act, which created the modern Foreign Service — he was appointed FSO-class 4. Mrs. De Soto, believed to be foreign-born and without children, assumed she had financial security as a 40-year partner in the "two for the price of one" concept common in the Foreign Service. However, when Hernando de Soto died in 1929, she was left without pension rights — and, since she had never worked, she was not eligible for Social Security.

By the early 1950s, Mrs. de Soto was surviving on welfare in New York. But with the help of a lawyer, an old family friend acting pro bono for her, Sen. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) was convinced to introduce legislation to award Mrs. de Soto a modest monthly stipend.

Mrs. de Soto quickly became the impetus for the new organization, Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired (DACOR), to seek financial relief for other destitute Foreign Service widows. DACOR sent out a mailing in 1953 to 34 Foreign Service widows, some 25 of whom claimed to be in "dire need." This "pocket of widows" had been overlooked by the Foreign Service Act of 1946, which did provide small annuities, but only for women whose husbands had died after the passage of the act. Such pensions for both officers and surviving spouses were woefully inadequate, as revealed by a later DACOR questionnaire. One officer who retired in 1951 wrote, "The only reason I am able to [live on my pension] is that I lost my wife shortly before retirement. If I still had her to support, and to provide a survivorship pension for her, I certainly could not do so."

DACOR's efforts for the group of needy widows finally produced results, although it was painfully slow. A breakthrough came in 1955, when Secretary of State Dean Acheson created the DACOR Trust Fund "to provide aid for needy members and their widows or for the education of their children." At the same time, DACOR worked to obtain increases in retired officer pensions. A particularly contentious point was the discrepancy in the amount of the deduction from the officer's pension for survivor annuities, which ranged from $300 to $1,200 annually, and was based on an officer's retirement date. Finally 1965 legislation equalized the deduction at $300.

In spite of these reforms, one woman, Butler Franklin, now 96 years old, was not eligible for a pension: She and her husband had disqualified themselves for spousal benefits at his retirement.

Jewell Fenzi and Carl L. Nelson are authors of Married to the Foreign Service: An Oral History of the American Diplomatic Spouse, *published in 1994 by Macmillan's Twayne Publishers.*

In 1925 Butler had married Lynn Franklin, who had entered the old consular corps as a clerk in 1912 and later rose to the rank of consul general. During her Foreign Service life, she accompanied her husband to posts in Asia, Mexico, Europe and the Caribbean. Mrs. Franklin had had one child in Hong Kong, another at sea near Wake Island in the Pacific, a third in France only days after being evacuated from Barcelona at the onset of the Spanish Civil War, and a fourth in Mexico during political unrest. When not having children or fleeing revolution, she restored order to her husband's chaotic consulate files.

Mrs. Franklin was an energetic feminist, well-liked and respected by her contemporaries. When Lynn Franklin retired in 1949, the couple was living at Mrs. Franklin's ancestral estate, Fall Hill, near Fredericksburg, Va. In order to educate two teenagers still in college, they elected to take his full pension of about $350 a month, rather than half that sum for future spousal retirement annuities.

But when Franklin died only three years later, in 1952, Mrs. Franklin was left with an historic property she didn't want to sell, no pension and only a little income from Fall Hill, earned by renting two small cottages on the property. However, in order to renovate the cottages for rental, she took out a mortgage on the 200-acre property, which put her even deeper into debt.

Therefore, she had to get a job. In 1958, she took a part-time clerical job at DACOR House, then at 1718 H St., N.W., commuting several hours a day from Fredericksburg to northwest Washington. She also became a member of DACOR's legislative committee.

In her forthright manner, Mrs. Franklin soon decided to take her pension problem into her own hands. With the help of Alice Paul, the controversial suffragist, Butler went straight to Congress. "I was working along at DACOR," recalled Mrs. Franklin in a 1994 interview. "And one day it suddenly occurred to me that cousin Alva Vanderbilt Belmont's beautiful house that she'd bought for the National Woman's Party was practically in sight." She was referring to the Sewall-Belmont House, one of Capitol Hill's oldest houses at 144 Constitution Ave., N.E. The mansion, now a museum and library, is a memorial to controversial suffragist and Equal Rights Amendment proponent Alice Paul. "So I walked over and walked in," Butler continued. "Alice Paul said, 'My dear, you are Mrs. Belmont's cousin.'" Paul was not noted for her diplomacy. "'If you're related to Mrs. Belmont, you must have money.'" When assured that Butler did not, but possessed equally valuable secretarial skills, Paul put her to work, and the two women became friends.

Two former consuls general were convinced to help the cause. Ordered feminist Alice Paul, "Now, gentlemen, go ... find someone friendly with a senator."

Forty years earlier, in 1916 Alice Paul had organized the National Woman's Party to lobby for passage of the 19th Amendment giving U.S. women the right to vote. In the process, she marched, picketed the White House, and was jailed and force-fed by the prison doctor at the District of Columbia jail. In the late 1950s, when Mrs. Franklin volunteered secretarial assistance, Paul was still a determined and controversial figure. When she died in 1977 at age 92, Paul had worked to pass the Equal Rights Amendment for more than half a century, although it would never be approved.

Butler Franklin provided the bridge that brought Alice Paul's legislative genius to bear on the pension issue. As Mrs. Franklin told Paul, "I'm sorry, but I have to work. My husband has died. Even his insurance died with him."

But Alice Paul saw it differently, Mrs. Franklin remembered in the interview. "'Now, this is an outrage,' she said. 'These women have devoted their lives [to the Foreign Service]. You entertained congressmen all over the world. You've worked hard.'"

The strategy to advance pension rights for FS spouses depended, as Paul's previous campaigns often had, on personal contacts. Butler recalled Paul saying, "'At your next committee meeting you ask two of your ambassadors to come here with you. We'll see what to do.'"

Mrs. Franklin convinced former consuls general Richard Fyfe Boyce and Robert L. Buell to help the cause. At tea, Paul said, "Now, gentlemen, you go and find someone who is friendly with a senator." One of the men suggested Henry Balch, a newly retired consul general from Alabama, a friend of Sen. John Sparkman (D-Ala.). "Good," Paul said. "Get him on the phone right away, ask him when he sees Mr. Sparkman to have the bill ready." On the spot, Boyce and Buell began composing testimony.

The eventual result, introduced in Congress by Sen. Sparkman in 1959, was a revision of the law governing pensions of FSOs — and expanding its coverage to include all Foreign Service widows. Senate bill 1502, signed by President Eisenhower on July 1, 1960, provided that they all receive at least a $2,400 annuity and authorized a 10 percent increase in the annuity of retired FSOs and widows already receiving one. Those widows who previously had no annuity — this group included Franklin and the 25 needy widows — received a minimum annual sum of $2,400. However, widows' annuities at that time were only provided at the discretion of the FSO. It was not until 1965 that an FSO was required by law to provide a surviving spouse annuity for his widow.

In the 1980s this pattern was repeated in the lack of benefits provided for divorced spouses: Women divorced before the Foreign Service Act of 1980 were excluded from pension benefits received by more recently divoreed spouses. The 1980 Act required that spouses married for at least 10 years receive a percentage of the Foreign Service spouse's pension benefits. Seven years passed before this other "pocket" of impoverished women — those spouses divorced before 1980 — received financial recognition for their roles in furthering U.S. diplomacy abroad. ■

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association

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'96 AFSA Awards To Recognize Excellence

In these times of budget cutting ond turning inword, it is more importont thon ever thot we recognize the traditions of excellence ond integrity thot ore the hollmork of the Foreign Service ond chorocterize our contribution to our notion. We oll know people who deserve owords – now is the time to nominote them. All owords include o cosh prize of $2,500, ond winners will be honored ot o ceremony in the Diplomotic Reception Rooms of the Deportment of Stote.

The Christion A. Herter Aword is for members of the Senior Foreign Service, while the Williom R. Rivkin Aword is conferred on o mid-coreer officer (FS 1-3), ond the W. Averell Horrimon Aword goes to o junior officer (FS 4-6). These three owords ore oimed ot encouroging those who toke chonces, possibly even put their coreers ot risk, to odvocote o position they think is right even though it moy differ from the views of higher levels or conventionol wisdom. The owords ore for FSO's "who hove exhibited extroordinory occomplishment involving initiotive, integrity, intellectuol couroge ond constructive dissent."

The Delovon Aword recognizes o Foreign Service secretory "who hos mode on extroordinory contribution to effectiveness, professionolism ond morole."

The M. Juonito Guess Aword is conferred on o Community Lioison Officer "who hos demonstroted outstonding dedicotion, energy ond imoginotion in ossisting the fomilies of Americons serving ot on overseos post."

Continued on page 2

• AFSA Dateline •

• AFSA will host "Vietnom: Chollenges ond Opportunities," o symposium for business leoders, on Nov. 29 ot the Deportment of Stote. Ponels will exomine the business environment, the investment process ond prospects for Most Fovored Notion (MFN) ond Generol System of Preferences (GSP) stotus for Vietnom. Specific economic sectors, such os telecommunicotions, bonking ond ogri-business will be evoluoted, os well os the condition of Vietnom's infrostructure ond its ongoing politicol development. Corporote leoders from firms with successful operotions in Southeost Asio will speok obout their experiences in the region. Coll (202) 338-4045 or fox (202) 338-6820 for informotion on ottending the conference.

• On Oct. 18 AFSA cosponsored o reception ot Georgetown University with the Institute for the Study of Diplomocy ond Brossey's, Inc. to mork the publicotion of *Embossies Under Siege*, o book written by FSOs obout embossies in crisis.

• The Foreign Affoirs Retiree Associotion of Virginio will meet ot Ft. Meyer on Nov. 22 ot noon. Coll Virginio Aldridge ot (703) 790-0775 to moke o reservotion.

• The Foreign Affoirs Retiree Associotion of Morylond will meet ot the Bethesdo Novol Hospitol Officers Club on Nov. 15. Coll Joe Kemper ot (703) 370-0210 for o reservotion.

• The Nov. 14 AFSA Speokers Luncheon will feoture Admirol Williom A. Owens, vice choirmon, Joint Chiefs of Stoff, who will speok on "U.S. Militory Forces in o Chonging World." To moke reservotions for the noon luncheon coll (202) 338-4045.

STATE DEPARTMENT

V.P. VOICE

• BY ALPHONSE F. LA PORTA •

Is State a Compassionate Family?

The recent tragic deaths of Ambassador Rabert Frasure and his colleagues, following last year's brutal Karachi terrorist shootings and the death of FSO Barbara Schell, underscare for all of us the importance af Foreign Service "extended family" relationships. We also remember the lives and service of others, such as FSO Paul Timmer, recently taken from us in a no less tragic traffic accident.

"Bureaucracies are less compassionate than families."

Each af us can vividly recall our relationships with colleagues wha have died on active duty. Friends Dennis Keogh, Chuck Morris and Townsend Friedman of State and Tom Spaoner, a USIA officer, remain alive in my memory. We grieve for and with family members of our comrades as if they were blood relatians. Truly we are a compassionate family. The Foreign Service has traditianally prided itself on o sense of kinship, tagetherness and mutual support.

AFSA respands to family needs through its scholarship funds. Additianally, DACOR has a welfare fund and the American Fareign Service Protective Assaciation has established a resource center ta help elderly people in our professian. And the American Associotion of Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) has a network to pravide help to evocuees in hardship situotions.

Some have asked, hawever, whether the department would have created a speciol fund for Frasure's children's education if Secretary Warren Christopher had not demanstrated personal interest. Likewise, we are tald that speciol orrongements were made ta shepherd Katharina Frosure through the paperwork maze of deoth benefits, insurance claims and other procedures. While friends normally volunteer to assist in these matters, it is certainly hoped that the department would provide equivalent assistance ta all families in such unfortunate circumstonces.

However, bureaucracies, we know, are less campassionate than families, friends and colleagues. Some agencies like USIA can respand in a personal fashion because of their smaller size, while in State it is normally left to the deceosed's bureau to arrange first-line assistance. But is the department as a whole organized to provide responsive services, nat only to widows and families, but alsa to athers in distress? I think nat.

There is fragmentation as employee support providers are found in mare than half a dozen bureaus and offices. Another problem is thot many of the employees in these functions have not been trained to be "user friendly" ta those needing help. In short, we are over-bureaucratized, hence seemingly uncompassianate unless extraordinary measures are taken to break through the red tape.

There is a patential solution by cansalidating the many entities invalved in employee suppart: Personnel's Retirement Division and parts af the Emplayee Relations office; Medical's Employee Consultation Service; the Overseas Briefing Center; the Bureau af Finance and Management Policy's benefits pracessars; the Family Liaisan Office; and other activities.

Integration of effort would pay important dividends: More client- oriented service, streamlined management, budgetary sovings, and unity of command would enable the deportment to respond humanely and in a timely way with less hassle to emplayee distress situatians and family needs.

AWARDS

Cantinued from page 1

The Avis Bohlen Award recognizes the accamplishments of "a member of the family of a Foreign Service employee whose relations with the American and foreign communities at a Fareign Service post have done the most to advance the interests of the United States."

NOMINATION FORMAT

Indicate the award for which the person is being nominated.

Part I: Nominee's name, grade, agency, and position (or fomily relationship).

Part II: Nominator's name, grade, agency and position, and description of association with the nominee (limit 200 words).

Part III: Justification for the namination (500-700 words). This narrative should discuss the actions and qualities which qualify the naminee for the award, with specific examples of accomplishments that fulfill the criteria.

Nominations should be returned by pouch or interaffice mail by January 31, 1996 to Awards Committee, AFSA, Raom 3644, New Stote, or to 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037. They may olso be sent by AFSA channel cable. Any questions should be directed to Richard Thampsan, AFSA coordinatar for professional issues (Tel: 202-338-4045, Fax: 202-338-6820).

MATILDA W. SINCLAIRE AWARDS

Several awords of $1,000 eoch ore granted onnually to Fareign Service officers who have distinguished themselves in the study of o hard languoge and its associoted culture. Most nominations ore submitted thraugh the Foreign Service Institute, but nominations from posts are encouraged and further informatian can be obtained from the School of Language Studies of FSI or from AFSA's Coordinator for Professional Issues, Richard Thompson (Phone: 202-338-4045; FAX: 202-338-6820).

Congressional • Update •

By Ken Nakamura
Congressional Affairs Director

While the need to furlough federal employees was avoided with the passage and signing of the Continuing Resolution, H.J.Res 108, the issue is not dead if the appropriations bills funding foreign affairs agencies are not enacted and extension of waiver is not granted or a compromise on raising the debt ceiling in November is not reached.

The Foreign Operations Appropriations bill, H.R. 1868, which funds the Peace Corps and AID and the U.S. foreign assistance program is awaiting its conference committee vote. The important question is how close to the $495 million mark for Operations and Expenses will the conference come. This means our jobs.

The Commerce, Justice, and State (CJS) appropriations bill, H.R. 2076, passed the Senate with higher funding levels thanks to an amendment by Senator Hatfield (R-OR), the chairman of the Appropriations Committee.

The bill still has a veto threat lodged against it, however, and funding from these appropriations could not continue beyond December 1 if an authorization bill is not passed. The results of the conference committee, and the post-veto negotiations will determine the support FSOs receive in the field, and what the comparison level will be for FY 97 funding.

A fight between the House and the Senate is brewing on how $10 billion will be saved from funds for government workers in the reconciliation bill – whether it will be through changing the contributions and annuity formula, through changes in contributions to health benefits, to increasing the pool of people contributing to the retirement programs,

Continued on page 6

AID V.P. VOICE

• By Garber Davidson Jr. •

Atwood Articulates a New Vision

The recent debate over the proposed consolidation of AID, USIA and ACDA into the State Department has largely developed into a standoff between Sen. Jesse Helms R-N.C.)and the administration. The debate over this issue, as well as the continuing debate over the certain budget cuts, have not generally been enlightening for the American people. At the risk of oversimplification, Helms has argued his consolidation proposal for AID based on his absolute disdain for foreign assistance, and the administration has defended the independence of the agency based upon the separation of powers doctrine of the Constitution.

> *"Crisis prevention is far less costly than fighting a war."*

Out of this tedious discussion, however, has come a "defining moment" – a set of concepts and ideas that go beyond the instant debate – that has been offered by AID Administrator J. Brian Atwood. These concepts may impact on the future course of U.S. diplomacy regardless of what shape or structure the agencies take after this imbroglio.

As the elected representative of Foreign Service employees, AFSA has had sharp disagreements with AID management over issues ranging from employee due process to certain aspects of reengineering. However, I must acknowledge that Atwood, in the course of his articulate and forceful advocacy for an independent AID, has effectively opened a discussion that is helping to redefine the U.S. national interest in a global context.

Atwood has argued that the post-Cold War era presents complicated issues for U.S. engagement that go beyond traditional diplomacy and foreign aid. The problems of political and economic instability, natural disasters, increasing pressure from refugees on countries, the spread of both environmental and health risks, plus the breakdown of civic society, demand a new look at foreign policy and its major instrument, diplomacy.

Atwood speaks of a development "continuum," which starts with natural and human-created disasters, runs to civil conflict, and then to problems of development that are manifest in unsustainable rates of population growth, endemic poverty, environmental damage and dysfunctional institutions. Continuing to the post-disaster or development point, a country or region would move through a transition stage all the way to sustainable development and trade. This would signal self-sufficiency and establishing a civic society and stable markets for the export of U.S. goods and services. That, in a word, would be an important goal for U.S. foreign policy, requiring a new, composite U.S. diplomacy of coherence and integration of effort.

U.S. involvement, as Atwood views it, may also be found in the flash points of the world such as Bosnia and other regions of disintegration. A crisis prevention capacity, both for such man- made but also natural disasters, is important in planning for future interventions. It is far less costly than fighting a war or trying to achieve a peace. It may be in our national interest to achieve a capacity, in concert with other nations, to prevent conflagrations or natural disasters, and thereby avoid later social and economic upheaval. His leadership of the Horn of Africa initiative serves to guide all interested agencies toward a more ambitious plan in the area of crisis prevention.

RETIREE

V.P. VOICE

• BY EDWARD ROWELL •

Congress Aims at COLAs

COLAs are in the congressional cross-hairs, nailed to the bullseye by a dubiaus argument espaused by New York's Sen. Daniel Patrick Maynihan. In ap-ed pieces in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Past* in late September, Maynihan said the Consumer Price Index (CPI) typically rises faster than the cost of living because peoples' buying habits and preferences change. The "market basket" the Department of Labor uses for its monthly CPI surveys therefore overemphasizes things people have stopped buying, things whose prices have risen. As a result, the senator claims, cost of living adjustments (COLAs), based an the CPI, have exceeded the true inflation rate by between 0.7 and 2.0 percentage points per year.

"For shame, Daniel Patrick Moynihan!"

For shame, Daniel Patrick Moynihan! Knowing you for a thaughtful person we expected better fram yau. It's ane thing when people switch fram steak to beans for health reasans. It is quite anather when people are compelled ta switch because the price af steak has risen sa high they can na langer affard ta buy it. Of course the campasition af the "market basket" will have changed under either situation, but there is a vast difference between the twa.

The argument aver whether or to what degree the CPI overstates inflation is essentially one for statisticians and economists to decide. Obviously, if the CPI daes overstate the real rate of inflation, it needs ta be carrected. We shauld concentrate an getting the most accurate statistical approach and then have that reflected in the COLA. But what is being proposed wauld turn this lagical approach on its head and begin by arbitrarily limiting COLA ta ane percent belaw CPI. Budget savings on this one adjustment would be so great – it would hit active duty payrolls, retirement payauts and Social Security – that Congress could avoid some af its mast painful budget-balancing dilemmas such as where to find the money for a tax cut or how much to raise premiums or cut services at Medicare. According to the Natianal Assaciatian of Retired Federal Employees, a retiree drawing a $20,000 annuity would lose $6,000 by 2002 under this proposal, assuming average annual CPI increases of 3 percent.

The senator's propasal unfairly burdens those who stayed in the ald retirement system (FSRDS) when they had to choose irrevocably between it and the new system (FERS) in 1987. Many stayed in the old system because its COLAs were ta equal the CPI, whereas under FERS, they are ane percentage paint less. There's anather wound, too: All retirees have suffered through years of deferred COLAs and empty lip-service an comparability with private sector pay. The bottam line is the bases an which aur annuities were calculated were eroded ta start with.

Let your senators and representatives knaw what you think on this issue. If you oppose the Moynihan proposal, yau'll need to suggest an alternative way to balance the budget.

My thanks ta Mike Glitman in Vermont who brought the rebuttal ta Senatar Moynihan's analysis to my attention. Let's have more such inputs from our retirees. Phone (1-800-704-2372), FAX (1-202-338-6820), e-mail (afsa@afsa.org) or write to Ward Thompson or me at AFSA.

AFSA Scholarship Applications Available

Graduating high school seniars and undergraduate Foreign Service dependents con now apply for finoncial aid and merit scholarships far the 1996/1997 school year. To receive an application call Lori Dec ot 202-944-5504. Applicotions ore due at AFSA by February 15, 1996.

AFSA's Schalarship Program affers the following scholarship awards::

Art Merit – Cosponsored by the American Association of Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) ond AFSA, this award honors applicants pursuing a fine orts education, or thase who have a serious commitment to fine arts in the field af visual arts, musical orts, dance or drama. The eligibility requirements hove been broadened this year to include graduating high school students, and undergraduate freshmen, saphamores or juniors who are tax dependents of Foreign Service employees. The number af awards varies each year and winners are announced in May.

Merit – Cosponsored again by AAFSW and AFSA, this award acknowledges acodemic excellence and accomplishments of Foreign Service students at home and abroad. Graduating high schaal seniors compete for 20 awards at $1,000 each and 12 honorable mention awards at $100 each.

Financial Aid – Finonciol aid grants are based on the applicant's need in relation to other applicants, and grants vary from year to year. Awards generally range from $500 - $2,500. AFSA grant decisions are made from the College Scholarship Service's Financial Need Analysis Repart. AFSA alsa warks with the eligible student's callege financial aid office to determine how much the universi-ty will allaw AFSA to award the student before reducing ather types of oid.

AFSA cosponsors the financial oid program with DACOR and AAFSW. The DACOR Bacon House Foundation Heyward G. Hill Scholarship Program is designed for college juniors and seniors committed to a mojor of foreign offoirs who are academicolly worthy and demonstrate financial need.

A student who applies far a merit award can also apply far financial aid if he will be an undergraduate in September and demonstrotes financial need.

USIA

V.P. VOICE

• Bruce K. Byers •

How Can You Help Save Your Job?

A continuing resalutian has baught time for USIA and other foreign affairs agencies while Congress and the White House negotiate final appropriatians legislation, but the risk of a reductian-in-farce (RIF) of Foreign Service ond Civil Service emplayees in fiscal 96 remains.

> *" A RIF is a serious threat, not only to our jobs but to our national security. "*

AFSA's pasitian is that any RIF actian shauld be the instrument of last resort. It should not come before or in place af reductions in outside contracting, new hiring, majar new procurement, suspensian of limited career extensians, and other measures available to management to accommodate a smaller budget.

At the same time, we understand that the needs of the agency include reassessments of its averseas mission and haw it can best achieve that mission. Without adequate funding the effectiveness of long-standing pragrams is weakened, if not eviscerated. This could well meon the elimination of overseas FS jobs, and thus surplus FSOs. It is not a pretty picture, and we in AFSA would be failing our responsibilities if we did not analyze current and future palitical and fiscal developments reolistically. AFSA is currently engaged in developing a series of policy papers addressing personnel and program resource issues across all of the foreign affairs agencies.

In addition, if our government is to influence positively foreign publics and opinion and to exercise its leadership rale in international affairs, AFSA/USIA must continue to stand for the independence of USIA and its mission, including broadcasting.

A RIF is o serious threat, not only to aur jobs but to our national security. For more than two years USIA has been downsizing its operatians while trying ta meet the challenges of an increasingly unstable world. For nearly two decades USIA's Foreign Service has continued to lose jobs. Now we ore faced with the passibility of being shoved over a cliff with the loss of significant numbers of jobs and, unfartunately, the end ta Fareign Service careers.

AFSA needs your active support. If you are not an AFSA member, join now and help defend and preserve Foreign Service jabs and profes-sional standards. Oppase the "cantract-ing out" of U.S. diplomacy to non-gov-ernmental institutians, especially in the area of public diplomacy, international broadcasting and international exchange pragroms. Explain to Americans how their interests are served by a well-trained Fareign Service.

Traditionally, USIA has focused its activities autward, away from fellow Americans, and this has hurt us. When polls show thot Americans believe nearly one-fourth of the U.S. budget is spent on "give-aways" in foreign aid, (rather than the actual figure of 1.3 percent), and when elected officials in Congress denigrate the work we do, the risks we take, and the lives some of us lose, we must speak aut lauder.

AFSA is fighting for USIA and needs your help. Your elected representatives need to hear fram you, your friends and family. They need to know that we do not want our nation ta retreat into a new era of isolationism. They need to know that public diplomacy is an effective, cost-saving implement of U.S. foreign policy. Thot's the message we all must hammer home now.

CONGRESSIONAL UPDATE

Continued from page 3

etc. At this time, it seems likely the president will veto this bill, in port, becouse of proposed chonges to the Medicore/Medicoid progrom, but we have to moke sure Congress olsa understonds the impoct of its octions on federol workers.

A pracedurol deol hod been worked out between Senotor Helms, the odministrotion, ond Senote Democrots ta negotiote on the Helms foreign offoirs agencies consolidotion proposol, ond to bring it to o vote before the Senote.

The administrotion has agreed to let tolks go forword but hos not committed to buying into o resulting deol. We believe, however, thot the importont question in these negotiatians is how much sovings, over whot period of time, will be required. If the sovings are lorge enough, all types of consalidotions – whether by ogency or functions – could be forced to hoppen.

FCS

V.P. VOICE

• TOM KELSEY •

Hey, You, Participate

It's foll in Woshington, ond as I pen this inougurol column, I know thot o lot of you ore olso writing - evoluotions, justifications, wark plons, ond perhops even letters ta yaur elected representotives. By the time that you reod this, perhops we will oll knaw what Cangress hos written -- more abaut thot loter.

I'd like to thonk Potrick Sontillo, our first elected Commercial Service vice president, far his tremendaus efforts on our behalf. Potrick hos just stepped down, due ta beginning hord longuage troining, ond Keith Curtis, the newly-oppointed representotive, ond I will try and maintoin the poce.

How are we representing yau, our calleagues of the recently renomed Commerciol Service (formerly US&FCS)? We ore currently in negotiotion with manogement on o collective bargoining ogreement, replocing the portnership ogreement, to firmly establish aur rights, ond simultaneausly reviewing o number of policies ond precepts, including commissioning ond tenuring, performonce evaluotians, ond in the event that monogement chaases ta use them, reduction-in-farce (RIF) procedures. Monogement hos onnounced its firm commitment to the integration of the damestic field operotion with the Fareign Service, and CS/AFSA is doing its best to ensure thot the process follows the letter ond spirit of the Foreign Service Act.

Wont ta ploy o more octive role in your union? Since the mojority of our members ore serving ot posts overseos, the standing committee mechanism is vitol os a link between Woshingtan and aur posts, os is the Ad Hac Standing Committee. Particpotel.

Classifieds

PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

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Vietnam, 1995

WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Vietnam's destiny will be decided by its youth; indeed, half of Vietnam's population has been born in the last 20 years.

Reforms, U.S. Ties Spark Among Youth New Hope for Future

By Frederick Z. Brown

Bright, red-lettered banners bearing the words of the sainted communist leader Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969) hang from government buildings in Hanoi and other cities and towns throughout the Socialist Republic of Vietnam: *"Khong co gi quy hon doc lap tu do"* ("There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom"). But few citizens now pay mueh attention to once-rousing slogans. With fully half the present population born since 1975, Vietnam is in more ways than one a new country. Today, its eitizens are more coneerned with the everyday demands of the present than with the struggles, however heroic, of the past — a reality that may well distress the aged veterans of Dien Bien Plu and other memorable battles, taking their ease in the parks along the shores

As leaders of one of the few remaining communist regimes in the world, they know that they must change — or perish, although they are reluctant to take doi moi's reforms much further.

of Hanoi's lakes. But ambitious city dwellers, working hard to earn a living by day and then, in many eases, learning WordPerfeet for Windows, or studying English, or holding down a seeond job by night, are too busy to care about that. As for the farmers, who still make up three-quarters of Vietnam's 73.5 million people, their overriding concern is the same as it has been for 2,000 years: to plant the next rice harvest.

Yet the ubiquitous slogan of Uncle Ho carries more meaning than the busy populace perhaps quite realizes. His cherished "independence," bought with much blood and seemingly seeured 20 years ago when Saigon fell to the North Vietnamese, remains a question mark — and a very important one. "Freedom" also remains a particularly elusive quality. Within the Communist Party, and especially among the 77-year-old General Secretary Do Muoi and other members of the ruling Politburo in Hanoi, there is much uneertainty about where Vietnam is going — and whether the party will still be in power when it gets there. Outside party cireles, there is also widespread uneasiness. It is evident, for instance, in the eynicism toward party and government that ordinary Vietnamese often display, even to foreigners. In Hanoi, one finds graffiti that pointedly truncate Uncle Ho's slogan: "*Khong co gi*" ("There is nothing").

The uneasiness is well-founded. The regime's policy of doi moi, or "renovation," now in its eighth year, is limited to economics in theory, with the party attempting to set its extent and pace. But control is increasingly difficult. Even though the stultifying bureaucracy has slowed down renovation, doi moi could easily go too far. As the party has come to understand, economie reform cannot fail to have politieal and social consequences. With the Soviet Union no longer around to prop Vietnam up, the communist leaders have had no real ehoiee but to open the country to the outside world and hope that they can snbdue the forces thereby unleashed. Whatever the ultimate fate of the regime, and of its Marxist-Leninist ideology, there is an even larger question that eries out for an answer. For eenturies, what has happened in Vietnam has been determined less by the Vietnamese themselves than by others — by the Chinese especially, but also, of eourse, by the French, the Japanese, the Amcrieans, and, more recently, by nationalists in thrall to a foreign ideology. With Marxism discredited and Leninism inereasingly uncongenial to the younger gencration, will the Vietnamese at last be able to find their own authentic identity, and with it, true independenee and a greater measure of freedom?

Last April 30, it was 20 years since the Democratic Republie of Vietnam, or North Vietnam, overcame the Republic of Vietnam, or South Vietnam. To Vietnamese who were on the winning side, the "liberation" of the South in the face of the tremendous effort and vast resources of the United States still evokes pride. Shortly after the last U.S. chopper lifted off from the roof of the American Embassy on the last day of April 1975, Vietnam became a nnified country for the first time sinee 1887, when the French completed the absorption of the Nguyen dynasty into their Indochina empire.

Once the Americans were gone, Ho Chi Minh vowed, Vietnam would be rebuilt and made "10,000 times more beautiful." Yet today, in addition to pride, there is disillusion. It is not just those Vietnamese who fought on the losing side who are now dispirited. Twenty years after the "Great Spring Vietory," the quality of edueation and of health serviees, once the pride of the eommunist regime, has declined, and most of the people eontinue to live in poverty. Annual per eapita income is less than two million dong (about $185).

Frederick Z. Brown, a retired FSO, direets the Southeast Asian Studies Project at John Hopkins University's Nitze School of Advaneed International Studies. This piece was first published in the Winter edition of the Washington, D.C.-based Wilson Quarterly.

Americans, too, have mixed emotions 20 years later. How could a venture begun with such good intentions have ended so tragically? Millions of veterans do not easily forget their own futile efforts or the deaths of 58,000 of their comrades. Avoiding "another Vietnam" has become the conventional wisdom of U.S. foreign policy. And despite President Clinton's July 11 announcement of reestablishment of diplomatic relations with Vietnam or his February 1994 decision to lift the embargo on trade with Vietnam, the psychic wounds Americans suffered from the war that ended 20 years ago are not yet healed.

Nor are they in Vietnam, where life nevertheless goes on. The war with the United States was only one of many wars in Vietnam's long history, and Saigon did not really "fall." It was renamed Ho Chi Minh City, and even that change was superficial. Today, most of its 3 million inhabitants, including the party cadres, still call their city Saigon.

On a hot summer's Saturday night, thousands of young Vietnamese boys and girls circle the center of the city on shiny new Honda and Kawasaki motorbikes. "Swarming," they call it, this seemingly endless circling of tightly packed bikes and bodies, sometimes three or four people to a bike, the riders clad in blue jeans or black leather or, in the case of some of the girls, silken *ao dais*. The colorful stream flows around the old Hotel Continental, where Graham Greene set his prophetic novel *The Quiet American* (1956), and around the Ben Thanh Hotel. Back in the days when the Ben Thanh was named the Rex Hotel, U.S. Army officers reported there to brief the press on progress in the war against the Viet Cong. Reporters called the daily briefings the "five o'clock follies."

Today these hotels are filled with foreign tourists and businessmen. And in many ways, Ho Chi Minh City is as much a center of capitalist activity as it was in the days of Ngo Dinh Diem and Nyugen Van Thieu. Every imaginable commodity, from expensive European cosmetics to the most sophisticated computer devices, is available in Cholon, once the Chinese heart of Saigon's commercial district. Food markets abound, featuring a dozen varieties of rice and packed with succulent vegetables and fruit from the Mekong Delta, as well as imported delicacies. Bookstalls are crowded with students poring over American economics textbooks and the latest French novels. Not surprisingly, the Western influence, in the form of books, movies, music, and dress, is much more visible in Ho Chi Minh City than in the less prosperous capital of Hanoi, but even there, one finds a burgeoning interest in the West.

The economic reforms made under *doi moi*, the shift of the economy toward a free market, have made life better for many Vietnamese (although, it should be noted, 90 percent of Vietnam's roads remain unpaved). The improvement is especially evident in the South, where many of those who lived under the American-backed government possessed the entrepreneurial skills and outlook that were needed to take immediate advantage of the doi moi reforms. In the greater Ho Chi Minh City area, the average income of $500 per year is more than twice the national average, thanks partly to dollar remittances from relatives living abroad. The American influence, clearly, is not wholly a thing of the past. Nor, for that matter, is the old split between the northern and southern regions of Vietnam.

Ever since the 17th century, when the Vietnamese — after their centuries-long *nam tien*, or "drive to the south" – reached the Mekong Delta and the Khmer fishing village that was to become known as Saigon, the northern and southern regions have developed along different lines. Life was easier in the South, which had a gentle climate and abundant agricultural resources; in the North, where physical conditions were harsher and the populace more numerous, life seemed more of a struggle. Meanwhile, the people living on the narrow coastal plain in the center of what is now Vietnam developed their own character: taciturn, tough, and somewhat disdainful of both the North and the South. The French accentuated these regional divisions during their colonial rule by creating three different administrative zones.

At the 1954 Geneva Conference, which ended France's rule and its war with Ho Chi Minh's Viet Minh, the country was divided at the 17th parallel into two administrative zones, North and South. The division was supposed to be temporary. The Viet Minh agreed to withdraw its forces from the South, while the French left the North; then, in two years, nationwide elections were to be held to select a leader of the whole country.

For the North Vietnamese, it turned out, winning the war was not quite the same as making Vietnam an integrated nation with a functioning economy and a reconciled population.

Although Vietnam was halved, Ho Chi Minh held effective sway over about two-thirds of the country. Largely because of American fears of a Communist victory at the ballot box, the 1956 elections never took place. In 1954, the last of the Nguyen dynasty emperors, Bao Dai, who was living in indolence and luxury in France, chose Ngo Dinh Diem to be the prime minister of the new South Vietnamese administration. A devout Catholic who had once contemplated the priesthood, Diem was then staying in a Benedictine monastery in Belgium. With the assurance of U.S. material and political support, Diem was installed in Saigon in 1954 as the leader of the anticommunist South.

A civil war soon commenced between Ho's communist forces — supported, at first cautiously, later strongly, by the Soviet Union and China — and the U.S.-backed Saigon regime. Initially, the war pitted communist guerrillas, mainly in rural areas in the South, against the Diem regime; in 1960, recognizing that the South Vietnam government had become firmly established, Hanoi decided to unify the country by force and began infiltrating troops into the South. However, the fiction was maintained that the struggle for liberation was being carried on independently of Hanoi. The People's Revolutionary Party, formed in 1962, was ostensibly an independent organization of southern communists (Viet Cong), but it was actually under the control of Hanoi's Communist Party.

By the early 1960s, Vietnam had become a prime battleground in the Cold War, with the United States eager to test its counterinsurgency techniques against communist "liberation movements." In March 1965, some 3,500 U.S. Marines went ashore at Red Beach near Da Nang, and in May about 3,500 men of the U.S. Army's 173rd Airborne Brigade, stationed in Okinawa, were brought to the Bien-Hoa air base, northwest of Saigon, and to the base at Vung Tau, on the coast. By the end of that year, there were 184,300 U.S. troops in the country — and the Vietnam conflict became a source of great and prolonged agony in the United States. In 1973, the United States signed a peace agreement that all but guaranteed the demise of the Saigon regime — after a "decent interval." In April 1975, North Vietnamese Army tanks crashed through the gates of Saigon's Presidential Palace, and the war finally came to an end.

The "Great Spring Victory" had come far sooner than the North Vietnamese had anticipated. Heady with their triumph, they proceeded during the next four years to make a succession of disastrous political and economic decisions. It is no small historical irony that in 1991, Bui Tin, the lifelong Communist who had received the South's surrender, left the country and defected from the Hanoi regime, blasting the party's postliberation policies in an open letter to the Politburo. For the North Vietnamese, it turned out, winning the war was not quite the same as making Vietnam an integrated nation with a functioning economy and a reconciled population.

The communist "liberation" of the South, great "revolutionary" triumph though it was, and achieved only after decades of hard and costly struggle, evoked little enthusiasm from the South's populace. Its most natural supporters, the indigenous Viet Cong, had seen their ranks severely thinned during the Tet offensive of 1968. Although most southern Vietnamese were still poor seven years after Tet, they had had a taste of capitalism and of multiparty politics. U.S.-sponsored "pacification" campaigns had poured resources into rural areas. Many villages had experienced rudimentary forms of self-government. A new class of independent farmers, who owned their own land, was created. And the war-stimulated economy had encouraged the growth of a middle class in the cities and towns.

Although the South Vietnam regimes, from Diem's (1954-63) to Nguyen Cao Ky and Nguyen Van Thieu's (1965-75), had often governed corruptly and with a

heavy hand, most of the populace had little appetite for the communist alternative. The triumphant North Vietnamese were perceived less as liberators than as potential oppressors. Yet, exhausted by war, many southerners were probably ready to give the victors a chance. Hanoi, however, missed it. By its obtuse actions, the North confirmed the historical mistrust that southerners harbored, and mutual hostility has affected life in Vietnam ever since.

In 1975, the Vietnamese Communists had achieved their long-sought goal. The Americans were gone, and South Vietnam was theirs. Now, Hanoi had to create a unified nation. To accomplish this, General Secretary Le Duan and other members of the Politburo decided, they had to get rid of what was left of the "enemy forces," consolidate their power, integrate the South into the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and transform the southern economy into a socialist one. This was a tall order, and in trying to fill it, the Communists committed blunders, with disastrous consequences.

First, they set about dealing with those who had been officials in the vanquished regime and with the military officers and men who had served it. General Tra, the newly installed military governor of Saigon, and his fellow Communists dealt harshly with those who had been in authority or who seemed to represent a future threat. The Vietnamese Communists were less barbarous than their counterparts in Cambodia, the notorious Khmer Rouge, but they were capable of brutality. Many thousands of southerners were summarily executed, and at least 1 million were sent to re-education camps.

The communist victory and ensuing crackdown on the erstwhile enemy prompted an exodus of refugees in the spring of 1975, mostly from South Vietnam's upper crust officers, doctors, lawyers, senior civil servants. Almost 200,000 Vietnamese refugees came to the United States that year. They would be but the first wave.

Next on Hanoi's agenda came the consolidation of

power. Before the defeat of South Vietnam, the Communists had hinted that unification of the country would take place in phases, over a 15-year period. This was probably no more than a ploy to win over "undecided" southerners who had misgivings about northern domination. In any case, only a few months after Saigon's fall, Hanoi decided to get rid of the separate communist organizations that had been set up for South Vietnam during the war. The leaders of the Provisional Revolutionary Government and of the National Liberation Front were obliged to vote their organizations out of existence in November 1975. Then, in April 1976, a new National Assembly for the entire country was elected, in a process closely controlled by the party. The assembly soon approved a new government for the newly unified country: the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. On paper at least, unification was finally a reality.

Hanoi then turned to the question of the southern economy. After the 1968 Tet offensive, the economy had revived somewhat thanks to President Richard Nixon's "Vietnamization" of the war and an infusion of U.S. resources into the rural "pacification" program. But the cumulative effect of the gradual withdrawal of U.S. military forces by 1973, the closing of American bases, and the drastic cuts made in U.S. aid in 1974, resulted in massive unemployment. By April 1975, as provinces and whole regions of the South passed into communist hands, the southern economy was in desperate shape.

At the Fourth Party Congress in 1976, the party decided that it wanted both economic development and the complete "socialist transformation" of the South by 1980. In pursuit of these contradictory ends, the congress's Second Five Year Plan set extremely ambitious — and totally unrealistic — production goals for the entire nation. Central planners, not market forces, determined the targets. Heavy industry was stressed, farms and light industry in the South were collectivized, the need to give farmers and workers incentives was disregarded. And, in practice, it all worked about as well as might be expected, which is to say not at all. Popular discontent grew,

and by late 1979 the Vietnamese economy had ground to a near halt.

As if that were not bad enough, Hanoi in 1977 and '78 mounted vicious campaigns to close down all small private businesses in the South, in the Saigon area and the Mekong Delta. The result was a stampede of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese small businessmen and their families to get out of Vietnam. The refugees, many of whom were "Hoa people," ethnic Chinese whose families had been in Vietnam for generations, came not only from the South but also from the North, skilled mechanics from Haiphong's port, for example. Escaping by sea in most cases, these "boat people" wound up on the Chinese mainland or in camps in Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia, and some made their way to the United States and Canada, the second wave of the Vietnamese exodus.

Why did Hanoi, with military victory achieved, follow so self-destructive a course? Why did Le Duan and the other communist leaders, having achieved the independence for which they had fought so long and suffered so much, take their nation down the road to economic ruin, and then drive away so many people who could have been of use to their country?

The main reason has to be that they were simply blinded by their Marxist-Leninist ideology. They could not analyze the situation they faced, except in terms of communist dogma, and this, to put it mildly, was a poor guide to reality. But fear also played a part — fear that unless they used all available means to secure their control over the former South Vietnam, they might again be faced with enemies there, either from the old Thieu regime or, even worse, from the cadres of the erstwhile National Liberation Front.

The state of ruin to which their ideologically driven policies had reduced the economy by 1979 forced Vietnam's communist leaders to recognize that some change was necessary. Conservatives contended that, with perhaps just a bit of modification, the Marxist-Leninist program would produce prosperity. But

reformers such as Politburo member Nguyen Van Linh — a native of the South who had spent much of his life advancing the communist cause there — believed that tinkering with the economic system now was useless, that there had to be profound changes. The very survival of socialism, they argued, depended on renovation, on change that was selective but nonetheless real.

As an influential member of the ruling Politburo during the late 1970s and early '80s, and as party chief in Ho Chi Minh City from 1981 to '86, Linh pushed hard for economic reform and achieved some modest results. The party in 1979 approved the use of "output contracts" in both agriculture and industry, allowing families in cooperatives to sell on the open market any excess they produced above the quota they had to deliver to the state. This approach was first tried in limited areas, and the incentives increased production significantly. In early 1981, "output contracts" went into use throughout the nation. Other market-oriented reforms also were cautiously introduced.

Vietnam's economy began to recover — but the hyperinflation that accompanied the nascent recovery wiped out much of the improvement. The reforms were deemed a failure, free-market activities were curtailed, and the reformers were made scapegoats. At the Fifth Party Congress, in March 1982, Linh was ousted from the Politburo and kicked off the party's central committee. "Restore socialist order in the market," *Nhan Dan*, the party newspaper, demanded.

But this retreat did not do much for the economy. On the contrary, production in all areas declined and inflation soared to 700 percent by 1986. The situation once again turned desperate. That December, after the death of General Secretary Le Duan, Linh (who had been brought back to the Politburo the year before) was chosen at the Sixth Party Congress to succeed him. No doubt inspired somewhat by the example of Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika in the Soviet Union, Linh and the party now took bold steps to move away from a command economy and toward a free-market one. The trick

for the party was to do that without abandoning "socialism" or, perhaps more to the point, power.

In 1989, as Hanoi was about to withdraw its forces from Cambodia, Moscow cut back deliveries to Vietnam of fuel, fertilizer, steel, chemicals and cotton. After independence, Vietnam had been heavily dependent on Moscow, receiving $1 billion a year from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in economic and military assistance. Now, tens of thousands of Vietnamese guest workers in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, witnesses to the failure of communism there, were sent home. These developments spurred Nguyen Van Linh's reform efforts, pushing Vietnam toward a free-market economy.

During 1988-89, Linh and the party somewhat relaxed their controls on the press in the South, which led immediately to outspoken criticism. After that, Linh's influence in the party began to diminish. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe in 1989 and of the Soviet Union itself in 1991 made it crystal clear to the Hanoi Politburo that, while economic change was urgent, any political change would have to be very carefully controlled. At the Seventh Party Congress, in June 1991, Linh was replaced as general secretary by conservative Do Muoi, whom the party judged better equipped to achieve those objectives.

Recognizing its growing isolation and the limits of its military power, Vietnam tried to improve its relations with China and began to seek a negotiated exit from Cambodia. In October 1991, it joined in a United Nations-sponsored comprehensive political settlement of the war. With the Soviet Union crumbling, Hanoi, still keeping a wary eye on its Chinese neighbor, had come to see that its own interests now lay with the other, non-communist nations of Southeast Asia, with Japan and with the West. By agreeing to an end to the Cambodian war, Vietnam was now able to move closer to those nations and to its former enemy, the United States.

Since 1991, Vietnam has made some impressive economic progress. The Communist Party and the government have sanctioned private entrepreneurship in a wide range of small and medium-size enterprises, and collectivism in agriculture has been all but abandoned. The party has agreed, in principle at least, to reduce its effort to administer the economy on a daily basis. Prices of commodities — with the notable exceptions of gasoline, electricity, public transportation, and certain food staples – are determined now by market forces. Gross domestic product increased by eight percent in 1993 to 125 trillion dong ($11.5 billion), and was expected to grow by about nine percent in 1994. Inflation was around 11 percent in 1994, roughly one-hundredth of what it had been during the late 1980s.

Total trade amounted to $6.25 billion in 1993, and was expected to increase by about 30 percent in 1994. With last year's lifting of the U.S. embargo on trade and investment, pledges of foreign investment have grown, adding up to more than $10 billion as of last September. By that time, Americans had announced 21 investment projects worth $187 million. U.S. firms are building part of a new highway system along Vietnam's central coast, and an American-led consortium is creating a huge resort area near Da Nang. Citibank and Bank of America have opened branches in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City. With Mobil, Continental, and other U.S. firms involved, oil has become one of Vietnam's most important exports. Rice is another. Food-deficient until recently, Vietnam is now the world's third-largest rice exporter, after Thailand and the United States. Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Japan have been far ahead of the United States in trade with, or investment in, Vietnam.

Even with *doi moi*, Vietnam is far from being the picture of economic health. With help from international financial organizations, rehabilitation of the country's physical infrastructure has begun, but it will take decades for Vietnam to catch up with its noncommunist neighbors. The international trade market now is intensely competitive, and office space in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, because of the scarce supply and big demand, is almost as expensive as in Hong Kong and Tokyo. The full-fledged conversion of Vietnam's economy to anything like a free market one is by no means accomplished, or even assured. Many basic problems remain. Under the 1992 constitution, the state is still the sole owner of land, although individuals have the right, avowedly extending for 50 to 70 years, to use, divide, and inherit it. The ultimate ownership of the land remains a controversial issue.

Moreover, the regime seems to be deliberately dragging its feet on privatization, and it could well reverse course at any time. A large number of state-owned enterprises are being kept alive through subsidies or special loans from the state bank.

The ideological preachments of the Vietnam Communist Party seem very remote from what one sees and hears now in the streets. Vietnamese listen to foreign news broadcasts without interference. Many Western magazines and books — so long as they do not violate major taboos — are available. American rock music and Vietnamese variations on it are almost impossible to avoid. American films are shown in theaters and

available on videotape. Blue jeans and other types of Western dress are popular with the young. Many young people are studying English, French, and Japanese in hopes of getting jobs as tourist guides for foreign firms in Vietnam. Fax machines and copiers are widely available. The gradual increase in foreign companies doing business in the country can only add to the sense of a traditional society that is more and more in a state of flux.

Making their own, less dramatic contribution to the ferment in Vietnam are the 1 million Vietnamese living in the United States, the *Viet kieu*, as they are known. Some of them have gone back to live in Vietnam. The number is small, but since the lifting of the U.S. embargo, it has been growing.

For the most part, however, the influence of the *Viet kieu* is exerted from afar. The refugees who fled their homeland in 1975, and their children, are now well-established as doctors, nurses, engineers, businesspeople, even graduates of U.S. military academies. Many *Viet kieu* send back to their relatives and friends in Vietnam remittances that total an estimated $500 million a year.

The pressure for greater economic and political latitude seems to be growing ever stronger. The knowledge of Western affluence, the sight of Western and other foreign goods, have stoked popular discontent with the economy. The reforms of *doi moi* hold out hope, but the lumbering bureaucracy and massive corruption diminish it. The South's increasing prosperity makes people in the North and in central Vietnam more resentful. The gap between rich and poor has widened.

Do Muoi and his colleagues in Hanoi, leaders of one of the few remaining communist regimes in the world, know that they must change — or perish. They are reluctant to take *doi moi's* reforms much further — but they cannot go back. Nor can they keep unwanted foreign ideas and influences out. Technological advance alone has seen to that. And Hanoi now needs the United States and its allies not only to improve its

economy but also to serve as a political counterweight to China.

And according to Richard C. Macke, the commander-in-chief of U.S. forces in the Pacific, Hanoi recently has shown "tremendous cooperation" in the continuing effort to account for the 2,214 U.S. servicemen still considered "missing in action."

As Vietnam shifts its position in the world, so, inevitably, will it have to change at home. "Peaceful evolution" is dismissed by the Vietnamese communists as something cooked up by foreigners, an anti-Vietnam plot. But, in truth, peaceful evolution — perhaps toward the sort of "soft authoritarianism" practiced in Singapore, which draws on Confucian values and allows multi-party elections, or toward the "guided democracy" of Indonesia — now appears to be the only realistic course open. Giving the Vietnamese people more say in their own governance seems essential if the regime hopes to build popular support. Independence alone, it is evident, is not enough.

Pluralism is not the only thing Vietnam needs. It also needs to be honest and conciliatory in dealing with the past. Along virtually every road in the South, there are small cemeteries in which are buried the local Viet Cong soldiers killed in their long struggle for Ho Chi Minh's "independence and freedom." The cemeteries — in some of which doubtless lie the bodies of North Vietnamese soldiers — are carefully preserved. And yet, to the best of my knowledge, there are no such cemeteries for the Vietnamese soldiers killed fighting for South Vietnam. Indeed, after 1975, some cemeteries containing the graves of soldiers in the Army of the Republic of Vietnam were deliberately bulldozed over.

It may well not be until generations hence that all the dead of that war can be given the respect they deserve. But it seems that until the Vietnamese come to terms with their own recent past, their quest for an authentic and secure national identity will not be at an end. ■

VIET-NAM, 1968-69

WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

In this 1966 photo, a U.S. Marine, loaded down with belts of ammunition, leads his squad through a swollen creek just south of the demilitarized zone in Vietnam.

EX-FSO FROM CORDS RECALLS THE HORROR OF MY LAI MASSACRE

BY C. EDWARD DILLERY

The killing of hundreds of villagers at My Lai by U.S. soldiers was one of the most regrettable incidents of the Vietnam War. Much has been written about what happened in this hamlet in Quang Ngai Province on March 18, 1968, and about the investigation and public treatment of the incident. I was involved in the aftermath as a member of CORDS — the U.S. advisory team in the province — from April 1968 to December 1969.

Quang Ngai is a large province in Central Vietnam, about 100 miles south of Da Nang. Stretching from the South China Sea to deep in the mountains, the province at that time was divided into six lowland and four mountain districts. Long a

The My Lai incident had more psychological impact in the United States than it did in Vietnam. People had seen so much violence that the incident did not seem much worse than others.

center of political activity, it is also the birthplace of former North Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong. In 1968-69, the province had a population of some 600,000, of whom 300,000 were refugees in 1969, and there was a well-established Viet Cong infrastructure. In 1968, the government had real control only over the capital city and district towns. The province was the home of a North Vietnamese Army Division and one of the most effective Viet Cong military units in Vietnam — the 48th VC Battalion. The battalion's operating area was in the Son Tinh District, just north and east of the capital city in rough terrain known as the Batangan Peninsula.

On the government side, Quang Ngai was the headquarters of the 2nd Division of the regular Vietnam Army (ARVN). The American Division had U.S. military responsibility for Quang Ngai. The advisory team worked with the province administration in almost all areas of government. CORDS provided equipment and training for the Regional and Popular forces and advice and support to the province administration — including food and housing materials for refugees, medical personnel and hospital supplies, police support, and education support. There was a large CORDS contingent in the capital city and district teams in the lowland areas. The advisory team worked closely with U.S. Special Forces detachments in the mountain districts. Most of the time, there were five FSOs assigned to the advisory team — a relatively large number for such a team.

Quang Ngai was hit hard in the Tet offensive, which began in late January of 1968. With the Viet Cong reaching almost to the center of the main city, everybody's nerves were still on edge in early April; nightly Viet Cong attacks against government and U.S. facilities all over the Province continued through much of 1968. In March, an American unit had been sent to engage the 48th Battalion. The killings in My Lai on March 18 occurred during that operation. Rumors about the killings circulated within the American Division and there were investigations, by the division itself and by Army inspectors, but nothing surfaced in public until November 1969.

After March 1968, the 2nd ARVN Division, the American Division and CORDS continued to try to deal with the difficult situation in the Batangan Peninsula. In late 1968, five battalions of Vietnamese and American forces carried out a "purse seine" operation, surrounding the area to trap the battalion — this time with extensive efforts to protect civilians. As the military forces advanced, CORDS established a temporary holding center just outside Song My village. When U.S. troops advanced to a hamlet, the people were evacuated and brought via helicopter to the holding center, where they were given food, shelter and medical treatment. Vietnamese authorities conducted interrogations of persons thought to have Viet Cong connections, but there was no use of force in carrying this out.

At the end of the operation, the villagers (including those from My Lai) were moved to further temporary hamlets near the South China Sea, some 10-15 miles away from their home villages. The plan was to put all the hamlets together in one location defended by the government to protect them from the VC and to encourage them to support the Republic of Vietnam. Schools were established, elections held and clinics set up. Later in 1969, the people moved back to their own villages. Word of the 1968 massacre never surfaced to CORDS members during those activities.

The Viet Cong did not take lightly the government advance into the Batangan Peninsula. In one incident in the summer of 1969, they made a night attack against a crude government fort defended by province forces in the midst of a driving monsoon rain. A delegation from

C. Edward Dillery, an FSO who retired in 1994, served as ambassador to Fiji from 1984-87, and as director of Management Operations from 1988-90.

the province and the advisory team went to the fort the following morning to give medals to the surviving defenders. The bodies of the attackers were still hanging on the barbed wire surrounding the fort, and the terribly exhausted defenders received their medals with their fallen comrades at their feet. The sight of those ragged, battered and tired young men trying to form ranks in the rain and gloom could not be forgotten: It was a true demonstration of the courage of both the regional forces and the Viet Cong. The Batangan Peninsula was important to both sides.

In mid-November, 1969, 21 months after My Lai, a U.S. Army investigator appeared at the CORDS office in Quang Ngai City with a six-inch-thick file of documents and photos — taken by a photographer who accompanied the operation — of the My Lai massacre. I realized instantly that something terrible had occurred. I had believed I was well-informed about happenings in the province and felt we in CORDS were helping the people of Quang Ngai deal with the human problems of the war. I was personally shattered that I had known nothing of the killings. In retrospect several events came to mind, including two mysterious investigations of U.S. Army operations in spring 1968 near Song My Village that must have been related to My Lai. In neither of these or in any other venue had there been direct questions about My Lai from any source.

So it was a complete surprise when the investigator appeared. I immediately took the file to the very able and dedicated province chief, Col. Ton That Khien. That day, there was a meeting of district chiefs at headquarters and Col. Khien immediately called for the Son Tinh district chief. From their discussion, it was clear they already knew of the incident.

At the same time, news of the massacre was breaking in the United States.The province chief, recognizing the negative impact the news would have in the United States, asked for advice on handling it. I recommended complete disclosure to the press, because it was the right thing to do. And, since the story was out, a coverup would only lead to

more problems. The province chief cooperated with the press for about two weeks until he attended a regional meeting with President Thieu, where he apparently received instructions to stop talking to the press. Our intervention might have helped bring two weeks of accurate information to the public.

The whole situation was very sad. We in the advisory team could understand what faced the soldiers. They had only been in Vietnam for a few weeks, had been through the 1968 Tet attack, already had lost friends to mines and snipers but had not had face-to-face exposure to Vietnamese peasants — all of whom must have looked like Viet Cong soldiers or supporters. They knew they were going into a very dangerous area to face a strong VC military unit and had been briefed that no villagers would be in the hamlets that day, since all were expected to be at market in another village. And when the soldiers encountered the peasants, they were confused and nervous. However, this was no excuse for the killings.

A strong element of the improvement in 1969 was American Division work with ARVN and province officials and the advisory teams to provide temporary security in remote villages to allow the government to establish village governments, police forces and local security forces. The disclosure of My Lai was an emotional blow to the people of the division, even though almost none of the participants were still in Vietnam in late 1969.

The My Lai incident had more psychological impact in the United States than it did in the province. The people had seen so much violence and lost so many friends and relatives to the war that the incident did not seem much worse than many others. Ironically, even in the Batangan Peninsula after the killings, peasants seemed to dislike the government less than they disliked the Viet Cong.

But we Americans in the advisory team will never forget the shock of learning about this terrible event caused by fellow Americans, which seemed to strike at the heart of all our efforts to help the people of the province. ■

ANAM, 1832-1935

GOVERNMENT GENERAL INDOCHINE

A palace guard watches over a dynastic urn at the imperial compound in the traditional capital of Vietnam, Huà.

AMATEUR US DIPLOMAT WOOED ANAMESE AS TRADE PARTNERS

BY W. EVERETT SCOTTEN

On the banks of the indolent River of Perfumes, overhung by lilae and flame-tree, where it slips from among the pine-clad hills to mingle shortly with the greenish waters of the China Sea, stands the imperial city of Huà. When the powerful Nguyàn family, whose descendants are now the ruling dynasty of Anam, chose in 1635 this spot as the seat of government of the surrounding feudal fief, it was already the site of a fortified city of aneient Champa, the land of the Chams, an Indonesian race, and had been their chief bulwark against incursions of the Chinese. Chinese history makes mention of a number of assaults that were made upon it with varying success. Long before, as early as 111 B.C., the latter had set up here a provincial government, which endured until they were driven out by the Chams

Few Americans know that the first diplomatic mission of the United States to the Far East was sent in 1832, not to China, but to Anam, Siam and Muscat to negotiate treaties.

in 248 A.D. The Chams in turn were expelled by the Anamese in 1312 A.D.

Of the old Anamese city little remains except for the portions of the unofficial town outside the walls and a few scattered temples. Today the imperial Red City is enclosed by endless dingy brown ramparts, flanked by innumerable crumbling bastions, and the stagnant moat dappled with lily pads. This citadel, six miles in circumference, was laid out after the best principles of Vauban by the French officers whose Occidental military art had set upon the throne Gia-Long, the first emperor of the present line, paving the way for the Protectorate.

The history of Gia-Long is bound up with that of a heroic missionary bishop, Pigneau de Behaine, who saw in aiding him against the rebellious Tay-Son a means of both advancing the faith and obtaining a foothold for France in Indochina to compensate for the loss of India. When the fortunes of Gia-Long were at their lowest ebb, the bishop set out with the young Prince Canh for the court of Louis XVI to obtain the aid of that monarch.

Pigneau de Behaine was able to secure an audience with the king, full powers to negotiate a treaty of alliance, and the promise of troops and munitions from the forces at Pondicherry. These made it possible for Gia-Long to regain his patrimony and found the Empire of Anam.

Gia-Long and his more or less illustrious descendants lie, surrounded by their immolated wives and slaves, in sumptuous tombs built under their own direction. And today the young emperor, Bao-Dai, bred in the schools of France, wise in the ways of Paris, sits in the gilded throne room before the tapestry on which writhes the ancient dragon of Anam to receive the homage of his courtiers or prostrates himself before the altars of his exalted ancestors.

W. Everett Scotten was the vice consul in Palermo in January 1935, when this article, entitled "Sire, Their Nation Is Very Cunning," was published in the Foreign Service Journal.

Let us wander back a hundred years from the crowning of Bao-Dai in 1932 to the reign of Minh-Mang, son of Gia-Long. This was a reign of reaction in the court against the influence acquired by the doughty gentlemen of Louis XVI who had taught his father the use of big guns and to besiege a fortress as well as build one. Foreigners were the object of suspicion. The frontiers were closed. Missionaries and converts were being persecuted. Few Americans know that the first diplomatic mission of the United States to the Far East was sent out, not to China, but to Anam. In 1832 Edmund Roberts, a New England shipowner who had traveled extensively in the Orient, was selected by President Jackson to proceed to Anam, Siam and Muscat to negotiate treaties. He set out in the *U.S.S. Peacock* provided with autographed letters from the president to the sovereigns of these countries, and, after touching at Manila and Canton, he arrived at length off the coast of Anam.

No less impressed by the resourcefulness of this amateur diplomat than were the mandarins of Phu-Yen and having occasion to visit Huà, the "Wonderful Capital," the writer determined to unearth the traces — if any could be discovered — of his mission. With the kind assistance of M. Sogny, chief of the Suràte and a moving spirit in the local historical society Les Amis du Vieux Huà, it was possible to obtain access to the royal archives. After not a little research on the part of the scholarly custodians, there were found and transcribed in the Chinese character portions of the annals of the kingdom dealing with the visits of the *Peacock*.

As appears from the text translated below, the letter from President Jackson was never brought to the throne. But the quaint attitude of the courtiers and their royal master toward the barbarians from the Occident, characteristic of the suspicion encountered by the western nations in their earlier dealings with the countries of the Far East, is instructive. In this modern day the more

thoughtful subjects of Bao-Dai, already covertly looking to the example of another oriental empire, could well reflect on what might have resulted from the mission of Edmund Roberts had the courts been more ... hospitably inclined.

But let us hear rather the words of the royal chronicles:

"Winter; the 11th month of the 13th Year of Minh-Mang. ... The president of the Republic Nha-D-Ly, situated on the Atlantic Ocean and known also under the appellations of Hoa-Ky, Ma-Ly-Can, or Tên-Anh-Cat-Ly, has sent his subjects, Master Nghia-Duc-Mon-La-Ba and Captain Duc-Giai-Têm-Da, and their followers into our country bearing a letter expressing the desire to enter into relations with us. Their ship was anchored at Vung-Lêm, a port of Phu-Yàn. Our government ordered the Viàn-Ngoai, Nguyàn-tri-Phuong, and the Tu-Vu, Ly-van-Phuc, to join company with the mandarins of the said province, go aboard the ship, and there give a banquet of welcome.

"Questioned concerning the object of their voyage, these foreigners answered that their intention was to create good commercial relations. Their words were filled with deference and courtesy. But after their letter had been translated, it became apparent that it contained numerous expressions lacking in logic. An Imperial Edict then was issued, couched in the following terms: 'It would be superfluous to cause the letter in question to be brought to the throne. For as concerns this letter the envoys Nguyàn-tri-Phuong and Ly-van-Phuc are authorized to assume the quality of other officials of service of Thuong-Bac that they reply succinctly to the Americans in this wise:

"'Your nation asks to enter into commercial relations with us. It is our immutable decision that no opposition shall be made thereto. But in return you must conform strictly to the rules which are already in effect in our country governing the matter.'"

Following is the account of the second visit:

"Summer: the 4th Month of the 17th Year of Minh-Mang. An American man-of-war anchored in the bay of Tra-Son, the port of Quang-Nam. Its officers made known that they had a letter to present from their country requesting the opening of relations and asked to be introduced into

the presence of the emperor. The mandarins of that province brought the matter to the knowledge of His Majesty, who thus held conversation with Master Dao-tri-Phu, the Thi-Lang of Exchequer:

"'The intentions and the words of these men seem to me to be filled with deference and courtesy. Would it not be fitting to acquiesce to their desire?

"'Sire, their nation is very cunning, and it is advisable to break off relations with them. To tolerate them this time would be to make way for annoyances in the future. The people of olden times closed the frontiers of their countries so as to shut out the nationals of Occidental countries and so defend themselves against incursions of those barbarians. That is good politic. They have made a voyage of 40,000 leagues across the sea impelled by sentiments of admiration from the power of and virtue of our government. If we resolutely break off all relations with them, we shall thus give them proof that good will is not to be found in our land.'"

"His majesty dispatched to the scene Master Dao-tri-Phu and Master Là-ba-Tu (Thi-lang of the Ministry of the Interior) invested with the functions of attachés to Service of Foreign Trade to enter into friendly negotiations and examine the situation. Upon their arrival the commander of the vessel, giving out that he was ill, did not present himself in person to receive them. The imperial envoys then sent an interpreter to pay him a visit, and the commander for his part sent a representative to give thanks. The same day the vessel made sail surreptitiously. Master Dao-tri-Phum addressed a report to the Throne giving an account of his mission and said among other things:

"'In haste they came, in haste they departed, they have indeed shown themselves lacking in politeness.

"And the emperor annotated the said report with a quatrain which runs as follows: 'Not to oppose their coming, not to pursue them upon their departure, is for us to follow the rules of courtesy of a civilized nation. What brooks it to complain of barbarians from abroad?'" ■

"All anecdotes, no directions." —Jim Gullo, Diversion

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BOOKS

LISTENING TO RL, RFE STORIES

Radio Hole In the Head/Radio Liberty
James Critchlow, American University Press, 1995, cloth, $47.50, paperback, $21.95, 192 pages.

BY EDWARD ALEXANDER

Anyone put off by this seemingly flippant title need only read a dozen pages to learn not only its significance but also to realize that this is a thoughtful, highly entertaining account of the origins and vicissitudes of a major instrument of American policy towards the former Soviet Union.

James Critchlow, a founding member of Radio Liberty (RL), tells a fascinating story, replete with intrigue and murder, and a huge cast of characters - some Russian and so colorful as to arouse the admiration of a Gogol or Dostoyevsky. Added to it all was the hostility of RL's sister station, Radio Free Europe (RFE), which, after their merger in 1973 (20 years after RL's first broadcast), erupted into open acrimony, converting Munich, where both stations were based, into what the author calls "a broadcasting battleground."

Skipping from Munich to Washington, Paris, New York, Moscow and Almaty, Critchlow, who is recognized by colleagues as the foremost American expert on Central Asia, introduces readers to an astonishing assemblage, including the impressive Shub family: Boris who was a guiding genius of RL; his brother Anatole who became a leading player at RL and later *The Washington Post's* Moscow bureau chief; and their father David, who in addition to his regular RL broadcasts on Soviet-censored Russian history found the time to write a popular biography of Lenin.

But there are U.S. government officials as well, and the author provides incredible stories and anecdotes of infighting and attempts to derail the relatively new weapon in the American anti-communist arsenal. Thus, we learn in harrowing detail of Sen. William Fulbright's full-scale warfare against RL and RFE, the exposition of which reveals Critchlow's narrative skill, and the campaign of hatred waged against the Board for International Broadcasting (the oversight body established by Congress) by one NSC member whose very responsibility it was to be the liaison between the administration and the two radios. Another revelation is the author's firm belief that, despite initial CIA funding, the organization's influence on RL was negligible.

His canvas is rich and colorful, not only in the full-length portraits he paints of the idiosyncratic emigres whom he recruited, but in cameos of such legendary figures as the British traitor Guy Burgess, or the Polish analyst Victor Zorza, whose inherent grasp of Soviet politics established for RL a research archive that is still unmatched. The author's emphasis is on the Russian audience, and that is understandable inasmuch as RL's initial target was the Russian speakers of the Soviet Union. At its peak, however, RL broadcast in the languages of almost two dozen other Soviet nationalities, and that aspect of this unique facility remains to be explored.

Even so, with this historical memoir James Critchlow — always self-effacing about his many achievements and candid about a few misjudgments — has illuminated a vital and hitherto obscure facet of U.S. broadcasting to the Soviet Union about which American taxpayers have been in the dark.

Edward Alexander, a retired FSO, was the Deputy Director for the USSR and East Europe from 1969-72 at the U.S. Information Agency.

IN ISRAEL, MAKING WAR AND PEACE

Broken Covenant: American Foreign Policy and the Crisis Between the U.S. and Israel
Moshe Arens, New York Simon and Schuster, 1995.
$25.00, hardcover, 320 pages.

BY ROBERT BLAU

Moshe Arens, who was Israel's foreign minister from 1988-90, and defense minister from 1990-92, has written a wonderfully frank and objective accounting of those four action-

paeked years. He devotes most of the book to the theme of strained U.S.-Israeli relations, making the case that the Bush administration treated Israel with a stiffness and formality unbeeoming a friend, ally and benefactor. Part of the stiffness was substantive: The United States was searehing for a middle position in the Arab-Israeli dispute so as to play honest broker and pursue other interests in the Arab world. The other part was stylistie: President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker dealt roughly with the Likud government, and made no secret of their preference for the Labor opposition, according to Arens.

Israel's 1989 peace initiative and the Gulf War are the international issues that form the backdrop for Arens' narrative, and he was well-placed to give his readers first-hand reporting of the actions and attitudes of the major players dealing with both.

The peace initiative — eulminating in the 1991 Madrid Conference — provides Arens with many examples of getting thrown hardballs by the Bush administration. Arens' main gripe is that the United States negotiated behind his baek with the Labor half of the National Unity government to obtain a peace proposal more palatable to Egypt and the rest of the Arab world. Arens actually overdoes this theme. Arens himself makes much of his own and other Israeli lobbying efforts on Capitol Hill. He even concludes that sonr U.S.-Israeli relations helped bring about President Bush's electoral defeat in 1992. Although this latter claim is something of a stretch — Bush, not President Clinton, scored electoral points on foreign policy experience — it points to the truth that both Israel and the United States are active in the interference business.

Arens' discussion of the Gulf War is sobering, as it highlights Israel's vulnerability to attack when restrained from defending itself to the best of its ability. Although Arens gives the United States eredit for putting together the anti-Saddam coalition — after he blames the West for building up Saddam in the 1980s — and although he understands how Israel could not be part of that coalition, he is fiercely eritical of U.S. unwillingness to share intelligence or permit Israeli retaliation against SCUD missile attacks from Western Iraq. This was not a question of showing restraint to stay in the United States' good graces, but of Israel's inability to carry out reprisal raids without some kind of military-to-military coordination with allied forces.

Perhaps the book's greatest achievement is Arens' articulation of his party's world view. The world aecording to Likud looks politically incorrect in most world capitals, including Washington; however, as set forth by Arens, it is internally consistent, grounded firmly in Jewish and Israeli history, and still supported by ronghly half the Israeli electorate. But some of it, such as not talking to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), has been overcome by events.

In his epilogue, Arens wonder if the Labor world view, symbolized by Yitzchak Rabin shaking hands with Yasser Arafat, is leading Israel toward increased territorial concessions, but no peace. He argues throughout the book that peace with the Arabs is only possible and snstainable when the Arabs pereeive that Israel is unbeatable on the battlefield. During the four years covered by this book, Arens cites many examples of Israel having defended its citizens successfully from attack only because its forces were forward deployed — in the very territories that Labor is considering negotiating away. He ends fearing that "...when the day comes on which even the most dovish of Israelis will refuse to submit to further demands, Israel, weakened

by territorial concessions, may then not be strong enough to defend itself."

The book reads easily, and is filled with juicy assessments of world leaders, which come across as sincere, given their lack of political or national bias. For example, Arens admired and was friendly with former secretary of State, George Shultz, but always on guard with former Secretary Baker. Arens takes us through the thicket of Israel's meschugeneh electoral system, and provides colorful biographical sketches of all the heavyweights, and in many ways, he is harsher on fellow Israelis than he is on other world figures, except for genuine villains such as Saddam Hussein or Hafez Assad. Anyone who deals with Israel will get to know its leaders better by the end of this book.

Robert Blau, an FSO recently assigned to Panama, was previously with the Board of Examiners and the Bureau for International Narcotics Matters.

On the Trail Of the Aztecs

The Codex Mendosa
Frances F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt, University of California Press, 1995, four volumes, hardcover, $295.

By Karen Krebsbach

What can be said about this exquisite four-volume set of the 16th century *Codex Mendoza*, the most comprehensive document of Aztec civilization available to the general public? For once, the public relations spin is accurate: "This is the most extensively illustrated document of Aztec civilization within reach of a broad audience ... an unsurpassed source of information about Aztec history, geography, economy, social and political organization, graphics, writing, costumes, textiles, military attire and indigenous art styles," proclaims the pamphlet introducing the set. Yet, it is all this, and much, much more.

Compiled in Mexico City around 1541 under the auspices of Spanish clerics, the *Codex* was designed to inform King Charles V about his newly conquered subjects. The work contains pictorial accounts of the entire range of Aztec life, from the Indian emperors' conquests to a dazzling ethnographic record of daily life.

It is also a fascinating account of the values of the day: "In the year 1440, on the death of Itzfoatl, Huehue Motecuhzoma succeeded to the said lordship of Mexico. ... [He] was a very serious, severe, and virtuous lord, and was a man of good temper and judgment, and an enemy of evil. He imposed order and laws for the conduct of life in his land and on all his subjects, and imposed serious penalties for breaking the laws, ordering execution without pardon to any who broke them. But he was not cruel. He was kind to his subjects and jealous of their welfare. He was moderate with women, had two sons, and was very reserved in drinking; during his lifetime he was never affected by drunkenness although the Indians generally are much inclined to drinking. He ordered offenders to be corrected and punished, and by his severity and good example, he was feared and respected during his entire [rule] of 29 years."

Pricey though it is, this collection is designed to give mainstream Americans access to a scholarly work; still, the *Codex Mendosa* would be a jewel in any university setting or personal library collection. ■

Karen Krebsbach is editor of the Journal.

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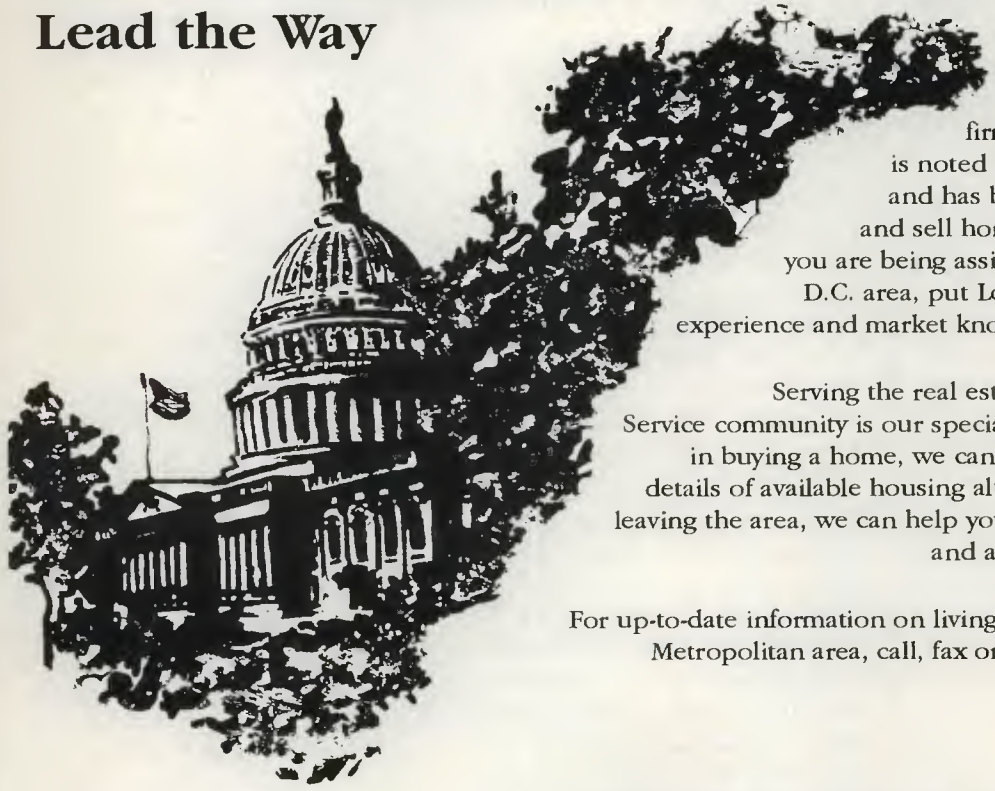

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Postcard From Abroad

Encountering Danger and Innocence in Vladivostok

By Greg Elftmann

This is a place where you can never let your guard down. There are too many things that can hurt you — crime, traffic accidents, bad microbes, radiation and pollution. As if that weren't enough, every spring for the last three years we've had an arms depot explosion.

I don't want to leave the impression that I spend my days in fear; Vladivostok, with a population of 648,000, does have a highly visible criminal population, but, so does Moscow. In both cities normal lives are lived too. One of the pleasures I receive from attending cultural events and visiting schools is the reassurance that there are ordinary people getting on with their lives despite the chaos surrounding them.

There are many days when this city takes on a peaceful, almost small town flavor — quiet Sundays, for example, when many stores are closed and there's nothing much to do but take a walk. During warmer weather, the area where our temporary office is located becomes an evening congregation point for families and couples; people bring a snack or a bottle of Soviet champagne and sit watching the sun set over the ocean. There is an innocence here not reported in the U.S. press.

But there is also danger. I have never lived in a place where I felt the need to carry Mace everywhere, as I do here. Though I've never yet had to use it, I've had to draw and aim it once — and to prepare to draw it many more times than that. And I've already seen more dead people here than I have in all my previous postings combined.

> *I have never lived in a place where I needed to carry Mace everywhere.*

Foreigners as well as Russians can become targets of deadly violence: Last year a New Zealand lawyer made headlines as the first foreign diplomat slain in Vladivostok, when he was found along with a Russian call girl in a Mafia-style double murder. As it turned out, he wasn't a diplomat at all — the local press had misunderstood his business card, which listed him as a "counsel," just a plain-vanilla attorney. Other consulates also worry about crime: After one of the Japanese consulate's Land Cruisers was stolen, the consul ordered his drivers to carry firearms.

So far, our consulate FSOs have been pretty fortunate regarding crime. Peace Corps administrators and volunteers who live in downtown Vladivostok have had a harder time. One Peace Corps administrator noted that his organization averages about "one volunteer going down each month" due to muggings, accidents or illnesses that require medevacking.

During the work day, my life is not much affected by impending harm. I try to leave work about 6:30 p.m., allowing for a short walk to the train station to catch the 7:04 p.m. express home. I generally take the train to and from work, and have never encountered any problems from the public. Indeed, it's been quite the opposite. People have been too friendly: students eager to start up a conversation with a foreigner and an old *babushka* who saw me nodding off one evening and offered to wake me at my stop. There are times when this city seems more like a small town. But maybe I've just been lucky: At least two other FSOs have complained of being harassed on the train.

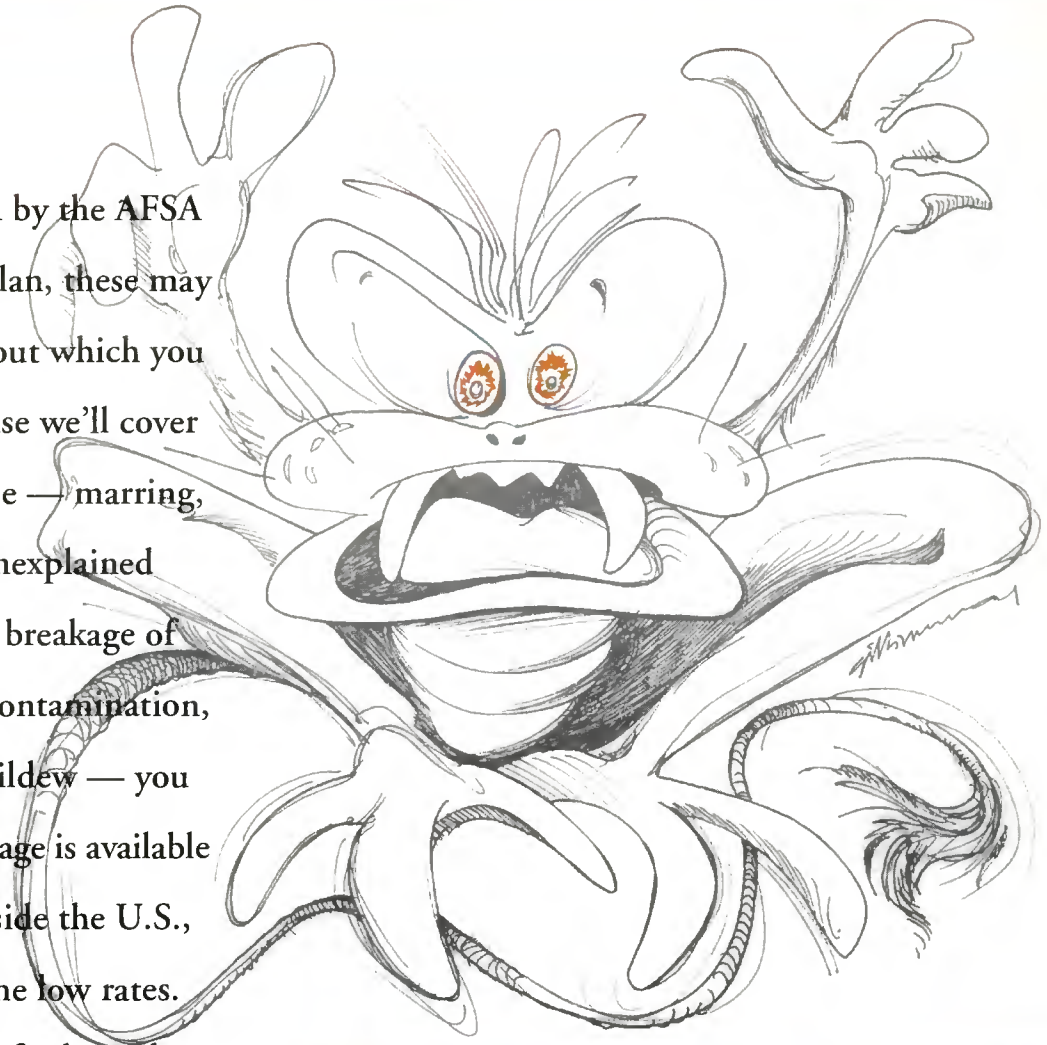
After work hours, my social life is basically limited to official representational events. As long as there's a way to get to an event, my philosophy is to accept all invitations. The word is out: if you invite me, I will come. During the coming week, we have almost one event per evening, and we may have to run from gallery opening to concert or play some nights. A normal week during the winter months may yield only one invitation — or none at all. Whenever the invitation is for couples, I bring my wife along. Such events are important as a way to combat the isolation we often feel from living in this tough town of innocents. ■

Greg Elftmann is the branch public affairs officer for the U.S. Information Service at the U.S. Consulate General in Vladivostok.

Rampaging monsters; War, expropriation, nuclear reaction;

Wear, tear, mechanical breakdown;

In some cases, breakage of fragile articles.



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