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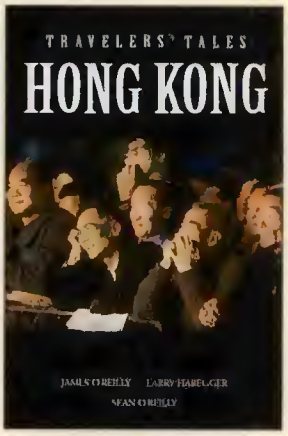

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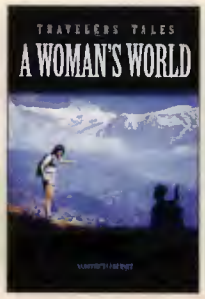

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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Doing the Job of Diplomacy

BY F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

National public affairs is the key to American diplomacy's future. There's a war on among federal agencies for adequate resources. The U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), from its administrator on down, has been fighting for its survival and its resources for more than a year on Capitol Hill and, most importantly, on Main Street America. The other foreign affairs agencies have practiced quiet advocacy focused only on the Hill. We need to make public advocacy a top priority of all the foreign affairs agencies. We must unite our public advocacy and congressional efforts. To paraphrase Secretary of State Warren Christopher, we must energize our America Desk now — and we must all serve on it.

The American public deserves an answer to its question: What is the payoff on Main Street for the $20 billion spent on U.S. diplomacy around the world last year? Lacking information, the public has too long castigated foreign aid as outrageously expensive, when in fact it was far below the 5 percent of national budget that most Americans thought fair. But until recently, the foreign affairs agencies' outreach programs failed to adequately tell their story. In fiscal 1994, for example, the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) budgeted more for outreach than the State Department did for its speakers program. We need to clarify to Americans that, worldwide, U.S. diplomacy is characterized by skilled, hard-working diplomats serving long hours to defend, protect and advance American interests abroad, not by people living in a handful of elegant residences cosseted by large staffs. The long-term funding outlook depends on which of these pictures prevails.

We must energize our American Desk now.

The foreign affairs agencies have been fundamentally weakened by their leaders' lack of consistent commitment to management and resource issues. With little leadership on these two key points, we have not obtained sufficient funds to do the critical work of diplomacy — work that is at risk of being transferred to other, better funded agencies.

We ourselves compound the problem. Increasingly, key parts of our operations are crippled due to underfunding or understaffing, but our loyalty demands that we do everything asked of us, so we remain silent when we should admit and exclaim the truth that we can no longer do everything. When everything is important, nothing is important.

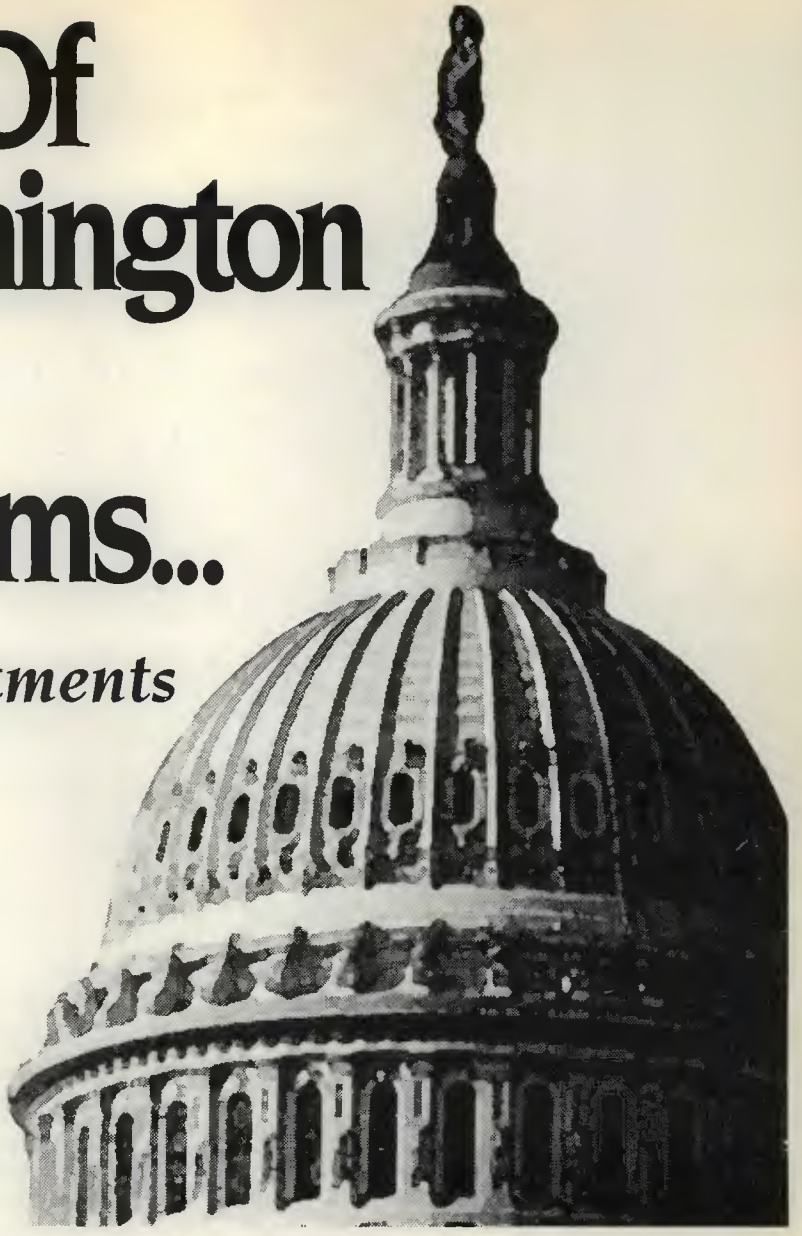
Morale is at a critical juncture. Our work is increasing and challenging, but confidence in the future is waning. Skepticism among experienced professionals is growing, as is attrition among new foreign affairs professionals. Psychic income has always been a a large part of our take-home pay, but it has plummeted. That is serious, since people are our most important resource.

Partisan politics rule foreign affairs. Only 10 percent of President Bush's foreign policy initiatives obtained Democratic support in his last year. President Clinton is now getting Republican support only about 25 percent of the time for his foreign policy initiatives. Proposed massive budget cuts for the foreign affairs agencies reflect these partisan disagreements.

In contrast, bipartisan agreement has boosted Defense Department and Intelligence funds. The combination of cuts for diplomacy with increases for Defense and Intelligence badly skews U.S. international affairs activities. Over time this will harm not only our overseas operations, but also our democratic commitments.Let's choose wisely. ■

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

For Those Of You In Washington Who *Want* Shorter Terms...



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LETTERS

To the Editor:

Nowhere in the very fine article by Larry Lesser, "Protecting Americans Abroad," (October *Journal*) did I read the name of Leamon Hunt, a career FSO assassinated in Rome in 1984.

At the time of his untimely death, Mr. Hunt was serving as director general of the Multi-National Force and Observers (MFO) in the Sinai with headquarters in Rome. Previously he had served as the director of the Sinai Field Mission based in the Sinai.

While I realize that the article could not include all 171 plus names of U.S. government employees killed while on service abroad. I felt that Mr. Hunt deserved some recognition for the sacrifice he made.

Bert Kurland
Retired FSO
Beaufort, N.C.

To the Editor:

As former chairperson of the A-100 class 10 times over, I appreciated Dean Allan Goodman's thoughts on educating diplomats in the 21st century ("Speaking Out," October *Journal*).

Just as Goodman emphasized the need to be sensitive to the growing role of religion as a global concern, I believe diplomats at the start of the new millennium should likewise be sensitive to the reemerging role of religion as a global consideration.

The Oct. 8 DACOR conference on "Religion in World Affairs" reinforced the importance of awareness of religious issues in conflict areas. It was clear from that meeting that the department can point to several situations involving religious issues in which good reporting did indeed occur and helped solve the problem at hand.

The bottom line is that the role which religion can play, whether in personal life, on the U.S. scene or in the international arena may well be a key one. Religion need not be a subject that any FSO feels reluctant to study, consider, raise or report.

Father John J. Hurley
Retired FSO
Associate Pastor, St. John the Baptist Church
Silver Spring, Md.

To the Editor:

An item in the "Clippings" section of the October *Journal* cites a *Federal Times* item that the closing of 19 overseas posts will not result in direct job cuts.

If I'm not mistaken, there will, in fact, be job losses by career employees at posts being closed and at other posts being downsized: numerous local employees — Foreign Service nationals, contract employees and others — many who have served for decades are being laid off.

Steven Koenig
Citizen Exchange Officer
USIA Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor:

The "Clippings" section in the October *Journal* was most interesting. Chet Bridger quotes State Department officials as saying that 19 posts would be closed, but no employees would lose their jobs. They would all be transferred or retired.

Does this mean that State and the other agencies have a new policy of transferring Foreign Service nationals (FSNs) among posts and countries? Or is this simply another example of the Foreign Service tradition that FSNs are not employees at all but rather something less than plantation slaves (who, after all, could usually be sold)?

Dan Gamber
Retired FSO
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor:

I have been astounded by the amount of commentary and cable traffic regarding the possibility of reductions-in-force (RIFs) and furloughs and assurances that we will have an open and equitable policy in this regard. Who's kidding whom? In case no one has noticed, the RIF policy is already in place and being implemented: look at this year's FSO-1 and officer consular promotion lists in conjunction with last year's and the numbers projected for the immediate future. We are simply reducing the promotion of senior generalist officers to the minimum required to avoid a class-action suit. Those who do not make the limit-

ed cut are out, a reduction-in-force of substantial numbers.

The promotion numbers are even more limited that it appears. An analysis of this year's FSO-1 list reveals that at least nine of the promotees were not generalist FSOs. Rather, they were officers with special medical, communications, security and other more narrow forms of Foreign Service expertise.

Conserve paper and save a few trees — spare us further agonizing commentary on the subject of RIFs. Instead we should concentrate our energies on responding to the real needs at hand: the creation of a unified foreign policy formulation and implementation process that effectively integrates global, regional and bilateral interests; the creation of a professional, disciplined U.S. diplomatic corps; and the ongoing restructuring and modification of our numerous Foreign Services, including that of State.

Stephanie Smith Kinney
Regional Counselor for Environment, Science and Technology
U.S. Embassy Copenhagen

To the Editor:

Sometimes I wonder if the State Department and Foreign Service officers are as conscious as they should be of the need to assure that only those who can effectively fulfill the requirements essential to promoting the best interests of the United States should be allowed to join the Service.

The fact that Congress has been reducing the foreign affairs budgets should be taken as an indication that it does not have confidence in what we are doing and that we have been ineffective in convincing Congress of the importance of our activities to our country's security and its international

business. When Congress does not respond as we would like, we complain that State and the Foreign Service do not have an effective constituency to fight for us. We seem to feel that it is beneath our dignity to enlist interested organizations that recognize the importance of our foreign affairs activities to speak for us.

We should have the courage to examine how we are doing and to undertake what should be done to ensure that we have the highest quality talents essential to solve the very complex problems we are facing in this rapidly changing world. There should be a really effective system of choosing the right people to enter the Service and in assessing their effectiveness.

Let us hope our leaders are concerned enough about Congress reducing our foreign affairs budgets and have the vision and initiative to do what has to be done.

Adolf B. Horn Jr.
Retired FSO
Guadalajara, Mexico

To the Editor:

Your "Focus on NGOs" (July *Journal*) aroused my interest immediately, for it deals with the contemporary phase of international outreach — the citizen organization. There is a history of such cooperation of non-government organizations (NGOs) with the U.S. government, which has contributed to the well-being of people overseas.

As an officer for the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) in Japan in the 1960s working with Japanese women in a program initiated by [the late] U.S. Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer, I relied heavily on American organizations for the latest in ideas and materials to assist me in strengthening our ties with Japanese

LETTERS

community leaders. The interchange served to increase awareness among both Japanese men and women of the importance of international fellowship. This approach built links of understanding between our two societies.

One of the most successful aspects of this USIA program was the series of annual regional conferences for women which U.S. Information Service (USIS) Tokyo and the various American cultural centers around the country sponsored in cooperation with Japanese women's organizations, adult education centers, and often, the local media. Subjects included the role of the citizen in society, international understanding and cooperation and the environment. The American speakers invariably came from American NGOs such as The League of Women Voters, consumer groups, world affairs councils, etc. In turn, under USIA's Educational Exchange Program, the visiting of Japanese women leaders to the United States was hosted by these organizations. Understanding of each other's culture grew.

For USIA purposes, positive public opinion was nourished through the cooperation that developed between the American NGOs and those in Japan. As the Japanese media became interested, the ripples of information widened. It was a good time, and the results gave me, at least, a sense of satisfaction that the most fundamental of the goals of public diplomacy were being accomplished.

Dorothy Robins-Mowry
Retired FSO, USIA
St. Michaels, Md.

To the Editor:

The American Foreign Service Association is calling for maximum public relations efforts on behalf of our embattled Foreign Service establishment. A recent personal experience indicates that, unfortunately, the Foreign Service itself, fails to seize ready opportunities to tell its story.

I [recently] toured Mongolia. Most of my travel companions, academics and retired executives from U.S. western states, questioned the need for an embassy in a remote country where the United States has few evident interests.

I tried to set up a briefing at U.S. Embassy Ulaanbaatar covering U.S. interests and activities in Mongolia. Unfortunately, the three telephone messages that I left with the secretary of the director of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) were unanswered. Whatever the explanation, a fine opportunity was missed to inform and sensitize a group of interested Americans about the role of their Foreign Service in Mongolia. These travelers could have taken home a positive image. Instead, they will more likely go home with stereotyped tales of an unnecessary, unresponsive embassy.

To build understanding and grassroot support for the role of the Foreign Service, embassies, especially in remote posts, should not only welcome but aggressively seek out opportunities to acquaint American travelers about our objectives in the country.

Harvey F. Gutman
Retired FSO
Sarasota, Fla.

To the Editor:

At the session of non-government organizations (NGOs) of the Beijing U.N. Conference on Women (October *Journal*), the Coalition Against Trafficking in Women sponsored a forum on sexual exploitation worldwide, which sponsored a new

LETTERS

convention against all forms of sexual exploitation, from sex tourism to sexual harassment. The program for Beijing was developed with support from UNESCO and women leaders from South America, Asia and Africa presented reports at the morning session on sexual exploitation worldwide. The afternoon session focused on legal and policy responses.

Barbara J. Good
Coalition NGO Liaison Officer
Coalition Against Trafficking in Women
Arlington, Va.

To the Editor:

"Management Deaf to Hispanics' Complaints," ("Speaking Out," September *Journal*) clarified exactly why the June 12 Supreme Court decision that will reduce affirmative action was a triumph for democratic ideals.

How ludicrous that the author would have the number and grade of FSOs exactly reflect each U.S. ethnic and racial grouping. What if we made every effort to ensure that hiring and promotion was fair and non-discriminating neither in favor nor against any group? Not very novel, but certainly fair to all Americans.

The most discouraging and demoralizing moment for me in the Foreign Service occurred the day a high-ranking official at the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) visited my Asian post and announced, happily, that a decision had been made at headquarters to skip over Grade 1 FSOs to promote Grade 2 FSOs who met the "right" ethnic, racial or gender profile to senior management jobs.

Hopefully, the June 12 decision as well as changes in AID over the next year or two will bring us together as equals, with no groups singled out as "special" or "privileged."

Thomas J. Walsh
Controller, AID
U.S. Embassy Guatemala

To the Editor:

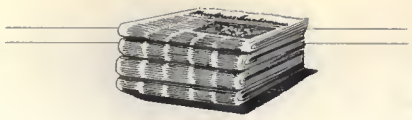
We were gratified to read the obituary notice concerning our son, John Kirby Simon, in the July 1995 issue of the *Journal* ("In Memory"). We wish, however, to offer this elaboration of the statement that he died on April 14 in Taipei "after a brief illness." There was a period of time, shortly after Kirby's death, when it was suspected that the cause of death was a respiratory illness, and early newspaper notices were to this effect. Yet the subsequent autopsy report, and a recent Mishap Investigative Report prepared by the State Department, make it clear that Kirby died of accidental carbon monoxide poisoning from a malfunctioning and unvented hot water heater in the post-leased apartment he occupied.

Our son loved his work in the Foreign Service; he greatly admired the dedication, intelligence and civility of his fellow Foreign Service officers; he had enormous affection for his American and Chinese co-workers at the American Institute in Taiwan; and, as a result, the last three years of his life — his Foreign Service years — were very happy ones.

Claire and John Simon
New Haven, Ct.

CORRECTION

Darien Hsu, the author of "In Search of Nude Parades" (October *Journal*) is a member of the board of directors of the Beijing American Chamber of Commerce. ■



CLIPPINGS

"With the end of the Cold War, there's no longer a single clearly identified global villain ... and no simple bumper-sticker slogan to explain America's role in the world."

— DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE STROBE TALBOTT, IN REMARKS AT THE FOREIGN POLICY COUNCIL, NOV. 1

FAS: AIDING FARMERS TO EXPORT ABROAD

Agriculture is one of the few sectors of the American economy that generates a trade surplus. According to reporter Jerry Hagstrom in the October *National Journal*, the Clinton administration wants to increase agricultural exports by $22 billion by the year 2000, up to $65 billion from $43.5 billion in fiscal 1994. President Clinton is asking Congress to expand the Foreign Agricultural Service's (FAS) 50-country network of offices, opening branches in the Caribbean, Africa, the former Soviet Union and Asia.

Hagstrom writes that the FAS is putting more emphasis on helping small producers get into the export game, and that FAS officers overseas are shifting the agency's emphasis from selling commodities like wheat and cotton to promoting brand-name grocery items and other value-added products.

FAS is one of the smaller government agencies in terms of budget ($118 million in fiscal 1995) and staff (908 employees, including 195 FSOs). But, wrote Hagstrom, FAS is one of the largest in terms of scope, monitoring agricultural production in 132 countries and maintaining 75 offices abroad. These offices collect and analyze information on the world's food supply and demand, trade trends and market opportunities; make contacts with local commercial importers; and administer U.S. trade subsidies available to foreign countries. About 40 percent of the agency's budget is spent on building markets overseas: One of its first programs, Food for Peace, gives food to poor countries in hopes that they will develop into commercial customers.

As world competition increases, some trade experts worry that FAS's structure is dated. Farm leaders worry that U.S. officials may get carried away with their estimates on exports and leave American farmers vulnerable to volatile world markets. But, Hagstrom points out, today everything is global.

FROM PIT BULL TO PUSSYCAT

North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms's prestige as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee is on the line, writer John Monk opined in the November *Washingtonian*. "In the past, he has specialized in blocking bills. Now he wants to pass his own." Monk wrote that Helms is paying his top foreign-policy staffers big money — more than $90,000 a year — to help him succeed.

"Some insiders think that he is trying to do too much too fast, but he has not self-destructed in the leadership role, as some predicted. In hearings he allows Democrats to get their views across. He's showing signs of pragmatism: dropping objections to the administration's plans to aid North Korea in return for its canceling its nuclear-weapons program; supporting a pending Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty; favoring aid to the PLO as part of the Middle East peace process."

Yet the old pit bull is still there, claimed Monk, and as Helms continues his opposition to foreign aid and presses for the reorganization of the foreign affairs agencies, he "plays hardball" by putting much of America's foreign-policy machinery on hold, freezing some 30 ambassadorships, hundreds of State Department promotions and a dozen treaties and international agreements.

CLIPPINGS

GIULIANI DOES DINNER FOR 150

Aligning cuisine with 150 world leaders was a major chore for the committee planning New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's Oct. 21 gala dinner in honor of the United Nations' 50th anniversary: no beef (Hindus), no shellfish (Jews and Muslims), no alcohol, no pork, no white hand linen. The State Department said "only chicken was going to fly," reported The Talk of the Town in the Oct. 23 *New Yorker*, but etiquette consultant Letitia Baldridge suggested an alternative: lamb. In addition, Ben & Jerry's donated something called a Multi Layer Ice Cream Bombe as ice cream seems to be one of the least controversial foods on the planet — as well as universally loved.

Diplomatic protocol demanded that all the world leaders be served at exactly the same time and more than 245 servers had been hired for the dinner. Some of the leaders had requested poison tasters, but the Secret Service had promised to handle all those details. *Bon Appétit!*

FINALLY, LANGUAGE FOR 'EVERYMAN'

The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* has actually managed to provide a discourse on the budget that everyone can understand. In a Sept. 29 cartoon column by David Horsey, the "Everyman" character is told, "Don't feel stupid, there are members of Congress who haven't realized the budget can't be balanced just by cutting foreign aid. Even if the entire international affairs budget was axed, it wouldn't put a dent in the deficit."

When "Everyman" says that he thought the foreign affairs budget just paid for a bunch of limousines for lazy diplomats, he is told, "That wasn't a limousine those three Americans were driving when they were killed in Bosnia a few weeks ago."

Horsey also points out that the defense share of the budget is already 16 percent. "Think how big it would have to be if we didn't pay for peacekeeping or arms control or diplomacy or all that other stuff in foreign affairs," points out "Everyman."

FOREIGN AID HITS HOME WITH HEALTH

Dengue fever in Texas, cryptosporidium in Milwaukee, malaria and tuberculosis transported into the United States via travelers: These are all diseases that are worldwide threats to U.S. public health. Budget cutbacks in the last decade have left the U.S. public health systems extremely fragile and are putting more Americans at risk, columnist Judy Mann noted in an Oct. 27 *Washington Post* column.

"The world has become smaller and therefore the interactions between people and pathogens from all over the world is significantly increased," Frank Lostombo, president of the National Council for International Health, told Mann. The House and Senate foreign aid bills show sharp decreases in money for disease control, with the house bill allocating only $9 million to combat all infectious diseases other than AIDS, figures Mann calls "woefully inadequate." The worldwide campaign to eradicate smallpox in the 1970s cost $30 million and the United States spends more than $200 million to vaccinate U.S. children against polio.

50 YEARS AGO

"It should be a sober thought that on this Christmas Eve our minds are filled with the implications of the atomic bomb," wrote the editors in the December 1945 *Foreign Service Journal*. "Throughout the world this awful weapon hangs over the scene, like the smoke of Hiroshima, forcing us to revise our entire thinking and outlook on life."

The editorial continues, "It is now or never that the world most urgently needs diplomacy of the highest order. Surely we must prevent at all costs that most disastrous of all armament races — the race for atomic armament. Before, when statecraft failed to avert the use of arms, nations were defeated. Today the failure of statecraft and its adjunct — diplomacy — may mean the destruction of the human race." ■

"AID thinks it's playing with monopoly money, and that it has landed on Boardwalk."

— SEN. JESSE HELMS (R-N.C.) OPPOSING AID'S PROPOSED MOVE TO THE NEW FEDERAL TRIANGLE BUILDING.
THE WASHINGTON POST, *OCT. 24*

Mann points out that the United States cannot afford to become isolationist. "The best way we can protect ourselves from a host of diseases and other ills that plague Third World countries is to work in partnership to help eradicate them," she wrote. "We need to understand that foreign aid is a form of defense spending that protects our national security — and at [little] cost."

CONTINUED FUNDS FOR TV MARTI

TV Marti —jammed since it went on the air in March 1990 — has almost never been seen in Cuba. According to reporter Guy Gugliotta in the Oct. 25 *Washington Post*, the station's 49-member staff has reported news, edited stories and put out reports destined for oblivion. TV Marti costs U.S. taxpayers $11.6 million a year and both the House and Senate appropriations bills for the departments of State, Commerce and Justice ensure funding for the unseen programs.

TV Marti has always thrived as a foreign policy imperative, since Congress believes that anything that causes Castro pain is worthwhile. The argument is that if people see TV Marti, it damages Castro; if Castro jams it, it costs him in time, money and irritation, Gugliotta wrote.

The other side is that Cuba policy might be pursued more effectively by doing something besides constantly trying to annoy Castro, Gugliotta points out. But, Cuba has served as a Communist whipping boy for most of the past 36 years, and the House and Senate seem determined to keep clobbering Castro, he writes. ■

SPEAKING OUT

Stop Cutting FS Employees' Medical Benefits

BY STEPHEN A. KLAUS

Secretary of State Warren Christopher has promised "family friendly" policies for State Department employees, but this message has yet to reach the cost cutters directly below him. There seems to be a conscious decision on the part of those managers to reinterpret or change the regulations to reduce employees' benefits. Numerous examples of unfeeling, unthinking cost-cutting measures regarding medical benefits have surfaced recently. Foreign Service employees are being fed reassuring phrases about how the new and improved "health care team" will make "unique contributions to the community needs," and how it will "emphasize quality practices and facilitate access to local health care facilities." But most employees in the Third World don't want "facilitated access" — they want facilitated removal.

Only someone with a perverse sense of humor would consider childbirth as providing either rest or recuperation. Yet, in recent months, two post managers have advised Foreign Service employees or their dependent spouses that in lieu of medical evacuation (medevac) travel, they should use their Rest and Recuperation (R&R) travel authorization to return to the United States for childbirth. R&R is designed to "provide relief from the onerous conditions at post," according to the Foreign Affairs Manual (FAM). Having to spend time in a hospital — or in a physician's office — hardly provides the kind of relief for which the benefit was designed. Presumably, the remainder of the family would use their R&R benefit at some later date. Separate vacations are hardly the "family friendly" policy touted by the secretary.

Saving dollars now seems to have taken priority over saving lives. One wonders why there are not more resignations.

The State Department's Office of Medical Services (MED) has stated in a cable that its medevac policy has not changed, but what has changed is MED's interpretation of the rules. On April 20, MED started using different language in cables approving medical travel. The standard cable now says: "Please inform MED if subject is eligible for R&R, and if so, whether the Regional Medical Officer (RMO) or Foreign Service Nurse Practitioner (FSNP) recommends medical consultation during R&R." It is disingenuous of MED to argue that the medevac policy remains unchanged when MED has only recently started using language in its approval cable that implies that R&R should be used in lieu of medevac travel — even for urgent medical conditions.

According to the FAM rules, "Travel is authorized for medical and dental treatment which cannot be postponed until home leave or R&R. ... The employee or dependent should schedule elective medical or dental treatment to coincide with other official travel." Although MED might reasonably respond to a medevac cable by asking if the treatment could be postponed, it is obvious that a pregnant employee cannot delay childbirth. FAM's intent is fair in encouraging that medical procedures where timing is not critical be scheduled during R&R travel or U.S. home leave, which is taken every two or three years between tours. However,

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extending this rationale to childbirth is ludicrous.

According to the FAM rules, R&R travel is meant to be taken in conjunction with annual leave, which is optional, but not with sick leave. By requiring employees in cases such as childbirth to use R&R travel in lieu of medevac, MED is, in effect, directing employees to take annual leave contrary to rules governing its use.

Sometimes strict interpretation of the FAM rules even leads to fiscally irresponsible decisions. For example, in early October medevac was requested for the wife of a very junior employee in Khartoum. Diagnostic tests were needed, surgery was expected, and the patient would be away from post for more than a month. The couple's three children, aged eight, four and 17 months, were included in the medevac orders, along with a medical attendant. The designated medevac point from Khartoum is London, but the patient decided instead to travel to Miami where she would have the help of her family. The employee has been asked to pay the difference in air fare, some $10,000 total, for travel to Miami instead of London. That's a reasonable requirement. However, the reconstructed costs should account for the costs of the total initial medevac: The department will not have to pay the high London per diem costs of $246 and will not have to pay for a nanny to care for the children while their mother is hospitalized. On a cost constructive basis, the department will save thousands of dollars. So why is the employee being billed for the difference in air fare? Is this "family friendly?"

Another medical concern deserves mention: immunizations. According to the FAM, employees and their dependents are to be provided all necessary immunizations at government expense. The new vaccine against hepatitis A is recommended in lieu of the formerly used gamma globulin shots. However, many posts lack sufficient funds to purchase this new, highly effective vaccine, even though hepatitis A is a real threat at most Third World posts. Here we have a clearly defined benefit that is being denied to many who might need it. Another concern, in Cairo, is that there are insufficient funds to replace the health unit's antiquated X-ray machine, or to retrain the FSN X-ray technician. Therefore, the embassy decided to refer patients to local health providers for X-rays, and patients will need to try to obtain repayment from their health insurers.

A further major change, to end coverage of hospitalization and related outpatient treatment for those conditions which were not attributable to living overseas, was proposed by the department earlier this year. It was expected to shift about $800,000 in medical costs each year from the department to employees, not taking into account the sharp increase in employees' medical insurance premiums likely to follow with increased use of the insurance. Following strong opposition by the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA) to taking back a benefit, MED retreated, and in September decided not to make changes in current policy. Unfortunately, this decision was apparently only made because "the time is not right," as a letter to posts from the head of the medical unit, Dr. Elmore Rigamer, stated.

However, this is one sleeping dog that will awaken again.

Most employees who have served at Foreign Service posts in Third World countries receive short-term prescription medicines without charge by embassy health units. This practice was justified because many of the illnesses being treated were directly related to overseas assignments. After all, one would not expect to contract schistosomiasis in Washington, D.C. Also, in most Third World posts, prescription medicines are often either unavailable or of questionable quality. Interestingly, the FAM does not specifically address this benefit, so, in post after post, management has eliminated it.

Finally, there have been many recent reassignments of RMOs and FSNPs. Management has told employees that the positions are being "realigned" to better serve those posts with poorer health facilities. Regional medical staff formerly traveled to the countries for which they were responsible on a regular schedule. Due to funding cuts, this is no longer true. Now, staffers presumably travel only when necessary, and several posts, such as Algiers and Yaounde have not been visited in more than a year or two. In reality, the "realignment" seems to have obscured a substantial cut in the total number of doctors and nurses worldwide. In addition, there are a number of locally hired nurses under contract. Within the past year the FSNP positions in both Rome and Seoul have been abolished, as have the RMO positions in both Cairo and Athens. The RMO positions in both Jakarta and Bangkok are expected to remain unfilled. Additionally, no new RMOs or FSNPs are being hired as career employees; instead five-year career conditional appointments have become the rule. Consequently, the quality of health care professionals can be expected to decline.

With fewer posts adequately staffed with RMOs, incidents like the recent one in Yaounde are bound to increase. There, a medevac was requested for a patient with acute appendicitis. When MED received the medevac request, it questioned if there was not an acceptable facility where an appendectomy could be accomplished in Yaounde. Hours passed before MED was convinced that medevac was the best option. Before the patient arrived in Europe the appendix had burst complicating recovery and further endangering the patient. In fairness, MED claims that these discussions were not based on monetary concerns, but medical concerns on how soon the patient needed surgery and that the discussion caused no delays in the medevac flight.

Health dangers faced by Foreign Service officers are steadily increasing. Thousands of Foreign Service employees and their dependents are serving in Third World countries with totally inadequate medical care. At many posts there is an AIDs pandemic; air pollution and lead poisoning dangers are increasing; and drug-resistant strains of malaria are on the rise — and yet management is pushing major cuts in health benefits and services.

Saving dollars now seems to have taken priority over saving lives. One wonders why there are not more resignations. Employees are either supremely dedicated, ignorant or unwilling to face that even greater cuts are down the road. ■

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The Saga of Harry Wu

Plight of Activist Altered Role Of Human Rights in US Foreign Policy

By Robert Senser

It was a nightmarish episode of the sort that would never have happened if foreign policy experts ruled the world. But they don't, and it did. On a sunny morning in June, Harry Wu, a naturalized American citizen born in Shanghai, presented his U.S. passport at the remote border crossing at Horgas on the China-Kazakstan frontier. It was a border point he had crossed before without incident, but the facial expression of a clerk checking out his name on a computer screen soon betrayed trouble. After a few minutes of agitated consultations with colleagues, a uniformed official asked Wu to step into a restricted area. Thus, shortly before noon on June 19, began an ordeal whose outcome remained in doubt until the Chinese government expelled Wu 66 days later, on Aug. 24.

During that prolonged detention, Harry Wu's name, unbeknownst to him, resonated so often in Congress, in the White House and in the media that a listener to a Washington radio call-in show once asked, "Why on earth make such a fuss about just one person?" His skepticism about the focus on Wu was not unique. Kenneth Liberthal, director of the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan, told the Associated Press, "I am not saying we should not be concerned with human rights. But you don't allow a policy to develop in a fashion where everything can be brought to a halt if one guy goes over there ... and gets caught. That's crazy."

Wu's case was special in that circumstances and personalities converged in a highly unusual way that defies recurrence. Yet the various elements in the Wu saga offer clues to why Wu's won't be the last human rights drama on the world stage.

First of all, there is the 58-year-old Harry Wu himself, with an eventful history marked by 19 years of suffering in China's forced labor camps. Surviving those years — a third of his life — toughened Wu and haunted him with memories even after he emigrated to the United States in 1985. Here, he was surprised that Americans knew little about how China's Communist regime victimizes millions in its system of forced labor camps and uses it to undergird the Communist Party's monopoly of power. He resolved to dedicate himself to making the system, called the Laogai in Chinese, as notorious as the Gulag. He succeeded in visiting China without incident three times, twice in 1991 and once in 1994, always with proper travel documents. His last visit, in April 1994, was to remote Xinjiang Province, where he uncovered evidence of at least 21 forced labor camps with tens of thousands of prisoners working to reclaim desert for cotton and grain production.

Robert Senser is a retired FSO who is a part-time consultant to the Asian-American Free Labor Institute and was a volunteer in the Free Harry Wu campaign. He served in Brussels, Algiers, Saigon and Bonn. His articles on human rights have appeared in the Christian Science Monitor, *the* Los Angeles Times *and* Monthly Labor Review.

When he decided last summer to return to Xinjiang to continue investigating, he brushed aside a close friend's warnings that the timing of this trip would be especially perilous because of troubled relations between Washington and Beijing. After Wu's arrest, the former U.S. ambassador to China, James Lilley, speaking on national TV, dismissed Wu as someone with a "martyr complex." Whatever his basic motivation, however, Wu's very willingness to take risks — to be a modern Daniel in the lion's den — was a major element in the drama.

In addition, Harry Wu was no stranger to the growing circle of people concerned about human rights in China. These included readers of his two books, *Laogai: The Chinese Gulag* (Westview, 1992) and *Bitter Winds: A Memoir of My Years in China's Gulag* (Wiley, 1994). For years, he has given lectures to audiences small and large, and has networked among policymakers in the United States, Canada, Europe and Australia. The unanimous bipartisan protest that Wu's arrest aroused in Congress was no accident — it flowed naturally from his testimony at committee hearings and from the relationships he had cultivated. In Washington and elsewhere, hundreds of political leaders who differed on much else agreed on one thing: China must free Harry Wu.

Wu's wife, Ching Lee Wu, who had accompanied him on two previous forays into China, kept the Wu story on the front pages in the United States. Traveling in the United States and Europe, she pinned yellow ribbons on Margaret Thatcher, Bob Dole, Newt Gingrich, Tony Lake and others, and delivered a message that she repeated many times: "The longer Beijing keeps my husband in police custody, the greater the damage to its own interests, and the more it is helping publicize the Laogai."

The delay by Chinese authorities in revealing why and where they were holding Wu provoked fears, heightened media interest in his fate, and added to the ordeal of dozens of U.S. Foreign Service personnel working on the case, all the way from secretaries, communications personnel, political and consular officers in Beijing to Secretary of State Warren Christopher in Washington. With still no word about Wu's whereabouts almost two weeks after his arrest, the embassy dispatched a consular officer, Charles Parish, to Horgas. Upon his arrival on July 2, after an arduous trip — the last 375 miles from Urumqi taking 12 hours by taxi — he was told by public security officials that they had never heard of Harry Wu or Hongda Wu (his Chinese name) or Peter H. Wu (his legal name on his passport and Chinese visa). Nineteen days after his apprehension, the U.S. Embassy learned that Wu was being held under arrest in Wuhan, in central China, on charges of repeatedly "sneaking" into China under false names, stealing state secrets and disseminating those secrets to people and organizations outside China. Two days later — 15 days after the deadline for embassy access to Wu under the terms of the U.S.-China consular agreement — U.S. Minister-Counselor for Consular Affairs Arturo Macias was permitted to meet with him for 30 minutes. However, he was not allowed to discuss the formal charges against Wu, which had been kept secret from the prisoner.

No government can wipe out the intrinsic linkage in the modern world between human rights and foreign policy. They just keep on getting more and more interconnected.

Then, outside the White House, after a meeting with National Security Advisor Anthony Lake, Ching Lee Wu was asked, "If your husband were still in prison, should Mrs. Clinton boycott the U.N. Women's Conference?" Mrs. Wu replied, "Certainly."

Finally, on Aug. 24, a People's Court in Wuhan announced the results of a four-hour trial: a verdict of guilty, largely for stealing state secrets (mostly about the Laogai system) and revealing them to outsiders, to be punished by a 15-year prison sentence plus a "supplementary sentence of expulsion from China." By maintaining secrecy about the timing of Wu's expulsion until he was on an airliner bound for San Francisco, the Chinese prolonged the suspense and gave the continuing Harry Wu story an additional day of high media exposure.

Free again, tired but unbowed by weeks of police interrogations, Wu seized the new opportunities to

promote his cause: national TV interviews, lecture invitations, book signings, National Press Club lectures, an address to the Council on Foreign Relations, an award from the Anti-Slavery International in London, and an appearance on the "Tonight" show, during which host Jay Leno called him "a genuine American hero."

Wu's two-month-long story and its continuing sequel offer no consolation for those who believe that human rights should have a very low priority, or none at all, in the practice of modern statecraft. Why won't these issues fade away? Didn't President Clinton delink trade and human rights for China in 1994? Actually, he didn't. He did "delink" U.S. renewal of China's Most-Favored-Nation (MFN) trade privileges from the specific human rights conditions that he had imposed by executive order a year earlier. But no government can wipe out the intrinsic linkage in the modern world between human rights and foreign policy. They just keep on getting more and more interconnected.

A major reason is that there are people like Harry Wu around — not very many, but enough men and women who, whether courageous or just foolhardy, are willing to risk everything to challenge even the most powerful and repressive regimes. The Soviet Union had its Andrei Sakharov, South Africa its Nelson Mandela, and Poland its Lech Walesa. Now their counterparts are emerging in East Asia: Aung San Suu Kyi in Burma and Wei Jingsheng in China. Many more are unknown or little known, such as Muchtar Pakpahan of Indonesia, who in defiance of the military government organized a genuine union independent of the regime's own labor apparatus. Dr. Nguyen Dan Que, whose 1990 appeal to Hanoi for democracy remains a rallying cry for many inside and outside Vietnam, has been locked in solitary confinement in a "reeducation camp" for 20 years.

Such men and women cannot be denounced as outsiders poking into their country's internal affairs. Theirs are indigenous voices, expressing the grievances and aspirations of fellow citizens muffled by fear. Moreover, they provide details that turn the abstract term, "human rights violations," into graphic reports about the persecution of those practicing a religion not blessed by the regime; or the enslaving of children to produce carpets and shoes for export; or the jailing of students and workers who try to found their own organizations; or the harsh reprisals against journalists whose writings diverge from the party line; or the growing practice of infanticide to comply with government childbirth quotas.

Many such problems are not new, and even have centuries-old precedents. Yet their context has changed now for several reasons:

First, the communications revolution is the powerful new ally of human rights advocacy. A video camera can capture human tragedy with a force not possible through the printed word or the still camera. Hidden cameras now can penetrate areas that officials declare off-limits. Millions of TV viewers in the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom have seen Harry Wu's videotaped exposes of China's forced labor camps.

Second, there has been a phenomenal increase in the number and effectiveness of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) dedicated in whole or in part to monitoring and publicizing human rights abuses. These range from large groups, notably Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, to thousands of smaller ones, like Wu's own Laogai Research Foundation. Most significant of all is how many home-grown human rights groups now operate in developing countries, where they manage to carry on despite government harassment. They constitute an often overlooked new force in international politics.

Third, the global economy, with its huge flow of goods and services across national frontiers, creates unprecedented connections among the world's people. At least a few parents have been upset to learn that Chinese school-age girls, working long hours in an unsafe factory, made their child's toys and athletic shoes. Involvement in the global economy inevitably fosters global concerns. Harry Wu's crusade against the Laogai hits home because the customers for so many of its products, from socks to artificial flowers to diesel engines, are in the United States and other Western nations.

Fourth, the complexity of global integration has created a need to establish or strengthen a host of supranational bodies, setting down rules for operations in the international marketplace. It should not be surprising that the notion to add a human rights dimension to those operations has gained ground. Even the World Bank, long a bastion for policies narrowly fixated on pure economics, has recently added "equity" concerns to its education projects.

Fifth, the U.S. Congress and the parliaments of other industrialized nations are increasingly sensitive to human rights concerns. That sensitivity is unlikely to diminish.

Like it or not, foreign affairs professionals will continue to pay more than rhetorical attention to human rights, especially in areas having the greatest potential for crises with unforeseen reverberations. The No. 1 trouble spot the People's Republic of China has running through its entire economic, social and political landscape is a deep fault line between the rights of its citizens and the rights assumed by an all-powerful party and state bureaucracy. The tension

between the two could erupt at any time. Despite much vaunted economic reforms, China remains, in the words of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "sometimes totalitarian, sometimes authoritarian, always unpredictable."

Modern China dazzles with skyscrapers and superhighways built where once were only rice paddies. In awe over its "miraculous" growth statistics, however, foreign observers have downplayed how much of China has not changed, not even in its economic system. While losing its faith in Lenin as an ideology, China has not abandoned a Leninist power structure. How reformed is an economy in which the central government still owns 90 percent of the banks, and lower government levels own most of the rest?

The regime has watchfully opened many doors to foreign trade, investment, technology and assistance. In a major concession to Western opinion, the country's economic system is now advertised as "market socialism." The new label is catchy, suggesting that the positive-sounding adjective "market" somehow neutralizes the negative-sounding noun "socialism," and signifies progress toward capitalism and private ownership of property. However, Vice Premier Zhu Rohgji, quizzed by *Business Week* reporters about China's economic reforms, was straightforward about the meaning of market socialism: "What we want to achieve through reform is to adopt the operating mechanism of a market economy ... The only difference is that your economic system is based on private ownership, while our market economy will still be based on public ownership."

Beijing is engaged in a delicate balancing act. That little place called Hong Kong won't make the job any easier. As the clock ticks toward July 1, 1997, when the British colony will be absorbed back into China, many of its residents, as well as its friends around the world, are understandably worried that the Beijing regime will make life difficult for Hong Kong. But members of China's Politburo have good reason to worry that Hong Kong will also make life more difficult for Beijing. The latest shocker came in the Sept. 17 legislative council elections in which Hong Kong citizens, voting in greater numbers than ever before, handed pro-democracy forces a sweeping victory. Despite warnings to show respect for the "motherland" by electing pro-China candidates, the one clearly pro-China party won only six out of the council's 60 contested seats. Humiliation of humiliations, that party's top three leaders were all defeated.

Imagine that you are a member of China's Politburo pondering the results of that election. If the Communist Party of China had to face a similar election, you would be a goner, as well as your comrades, the mightiest of the party. No wonder, then, that you have promised to wipe out the legislative council as soon as the Red Flag flies over Hong Kong. But how can they dissolve its counterrevolutionary people?

Hong Kong, though still a colony, has been the crucible for a courageous corps of democratic leaders, men and women who refuse to kowtow to Beijing despite a Communist campaign of vituperation and intimidation. Martin Lee, a lawyer who chairs Hong Kong's Democratic Party, is the most famous. But there are many others. Among those who won big in the election are Emily Lau, a journalist; Lee Cheuk-yan, a trade unionist; Szeto Wah, a teacher; Lau Chin-shek, a labor activist; and Christine Loh, a former business consultant. During the remaining months of British rule, they and their democratic colleagues hope to strengthen laws protecting freedom of the press, to enact a freedom of information ordinance and to amend the colony's Basic Law to guarantee an independent judiciary after 1997.

For Beijing, Martin Lee and his friends are subversive counterrevolutionaries who, unless they reform and repent, richly deserve long terms of reeducation in the Laogai. Another person falling in the same category is Han Dongfang, a former railroad worker who has already spent 22 months in the Laogai for founding a short-lived trade union on Tiananmen Square in June 1989. Han now works out of Hong Kong to keep alive the hope for a free labor movement in China. Barred from returning to China, he has developed a network of international contacts paralleling those of Harry Wu and Martin Lee. Like his democratic colleagues in Hong Kong, he is firm in remaining after July 1997.

So Hong Kong will not go gentle into the night. In fact, many of its people and institutions believe they are destined to join like-minded neighbors to bring more light into China. The odds may be against them, but the risks they take and the fate they meet will impinge on all with interests in Hong Kong and its surroundings. It would be wise for the United States and other countries with a large stake in the area to consider a strategy now, rather than to "wait and see." What should they do if, in a year and a half or so, Martin Lee, Han Dongfang and their closest colleagues are locked up as counterrevolutionaries and sentenced to 15 years in the Laogai?

Meanwhile, on a grander scale, some experts are trying to mold a foreign policy useful for the post-Cold War world. That endeavor, always daunting, has become much more so in a complex world that won't hold still for any all-purpose formula. But one item is sure to figure more prominently in any international equation: a concern for human rights. The likes of Harry Wu will make sure of it. ■

Defensive Disclaimers

One Can't Be Too Careful, When Protecting the Rights of the Wronged

By Antonia Stearns

Some years out of bureaucracy now, I am dismayed by how far the government lags behind the private sector in the art of defensive paperwork. While leafing through "The Hazards of Walking, and Other Memos from Your Bureaucrats," I was reminded of this case in point. The title memorandum, issued by U.S. Army headquarters, warned military personnel and their dependents that daydreaming, reading and inappropriate footwear posed hazards to walking that could "result in injury to an individual's pride or person" as well as "loss of productive time." Individuals who engaged in the act of walking were instructed "to maintain a state of constant awareness, in order to efficiently accomplish their assigned missions at reduced costs, and to improve the morale and welfare of the military/civilian community."

That should be worth a commendation in the safety officer's file — or should it? Note the failure to absolve the army of responsibility in the actual event of a walking mishap. Not a word — in four paragraphs and six subheadings. One can only shudder to realize that daydreamers and paper shufflers, to this day, are limping to the infirmary at no cost to their careers. This is not the first time that public servants have stood on the cutting edge of inaction and unaccountability, only to see the profit makers turn our best efforts to their own advantage.

Take the instructions that were delivered along with our lawn fertilizer this spring. Right up front, the landscape company assumes no liability for allergic reactions, damage to surrounding property, dead pets or even the failure of the grass to grow. The last bit was couched in obtuse language, but any first-year law student could take out the double negatives and see the crabgrass left behind.

No, government service ill prepares us for the scale on which the private sector protects its flanks from blame or risk, or for the strategies the private citizen must devise, in a litigious society, to hold his own — to gain on the swings, as it were, what is lost on the roundabouts. Or is it the other way around? I am working on strategies myself. After coming out way behind as a consumer on the fertilizer case and an axe whose warranty, when I opened it, began "Avoid excessive force," it was time to recoup as a victim.

As usual, I am too late to spot opportunity, even when it hits me in the face, or the fender, as the case may be. "No harm done!" I have called, too often, to little old ladies wedging their 15-foot Buicks into 10-foot parking spaces with my car at one end of the space. But when I deposited a dab of my Toyota's paint on the hubcap of a new Lexus, its owner was well versed in the rights of the wronged. "I'm taking you to the cleaners!" she shrieked when I offered to remove the spot with an emery board kept in my

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purse for just such occasions. And she did. In seven years I will be point-free, and the insurance bills back to normal. For someone who's spent a lifetime abroad, steering nimbly past drunken soldiers at road blocks, trucks with no lights and livestock with no sense, bumping into a contentious driver at home can be a real confidence crusher.

Nor have I struck the right tone in a tiresome exchange of defensive memoranda with a day-care center situated behind our lower garden. I don't object to its presence, as some savvier petitioners do, only to the toys and rubbish that a yearly crop of Amandas and Kevins and Kimberlys and Jasons persist in throwing over the low fence into our yard — in full view of the playground supervisors who sit on the swings discussing the Simpson trial, occasionally breaking off to yell "'OK guys, cut it out,' or, 'It's no Barney video after playtime.'"

In several exquisitely tactful notes to the director, I gave my encouragement and blessing for teachers and/or children to retrieve the toys from our property. They continued to mount up, until one day I lost patience and hoisted one of the Kevins over the fence to our side. Maternal habits die hard; Kevin was safely returned with a sackful of toys, but also with an injunction not to throw them on purpose, or I would give them to charity. I shall pass over his reply but not the copy of the day care's safety regulations, which arrived promptly the next day. I scanned down the fire- and hand-washing drills to the non sequitur, "Children may not leave the property unless accompanied by an employee or responsible adult," and then to the highlighted clincher, "Enticing a child off school property is a federal offense, subject to maximum punishment by the law." What with the mood to bring back the death penalty for perverts, I'm lying low until this blows over.

But at last I may be on a winning track, if I can stretch consumer protection rights to include birdseed. The chickadees of Massachusetts have grown fat and spoiled over the years, hanging around our feeder in all seasons while nature's bounty lies untouched around them. When the supply bucket got low, as it does every week, and I went to the supermarket for more seed, the shelf was bare. I tried another market, then the nature stores, then the local wildlife society. "Didn't you know?" the bird lady asked, aghast, "It's been recalled."

Now I had become eagle-eyed watching for recalls, indeed hoping the serial numbers matched appliances and machines I'd love to replace free of charge. But the hazards of bird seed slipped right past me; in fact our birds were still eating the last, condemned package. "Get rid of it," the bird lady warned, "and watch for listlessness, sometimes accompanied by diarrhea."

Still thinking small, I asked, "Can I get a refund at the store?"

She explained: "That depends on when you used it. Before or after the recall." Curses, foiled again. "But you can sign this petition," she added, "for a consumer-action suit." That was more like it. I signed in bold letters.

"And look for dead birds in your garden," she called after me as I drove away, "for our evidentiary survey."

Well. You can imagine how closely I've been studying droppings on the driveway and scanning the skies for lethargic birds. Actually, they seem somewhat friskier, and may even have lost a little weight now that they're foraging on their own. But the bird case may be headed toward a triumphant conclusion. I have a dead sparrow to present in evidence. That it turned up in the jaws of our cat is a minor detail I leave to the lawyers, who should have no trouble proving that Felix was only a pall-bearer performing his civic duty.

If I don't recoup on this one, it's back to my search for a squashed banana to slip on in the produce section, but so far I've never made it before they put out the orange safety cones. Too many years in the public sector, I fear, may have dulled my competitive edge. ■

No, government service ill prepares us for the scale on which the private sector protects its flanks from blame or risk, or for the strategies the private citizen must devise, in a litigious society; to hold his own.

Cold-War Moscow

An Ex-FSO Recalls Working With Ambassadors Bohlen and Thompson in 1956

By Robert J. Martens

In 1956, I was in the advanced Russian program at Oberammergau, Germany, when I received emergency orders to go to Moscow to replace a Foreign Service officer who had to leave suddenly. I was a bachelor at the time and housing was then so limited that my non-marital status was a factor in the assignment.

The embassy staff was small and physically confined to the chancery site on Chaykovskogo. Two buildings, joined by an archway, contained both offices and apartments. Consular and administrative offices were on the ground floor of the larger building and political officers and military attaches had offices on the top three floors, with apartments located on the five or six floors in between. The smaller building was devoted entirely to staff housing, with secretaries and junior officers assigned two to a single-room flat. The only outside housing was a deerepit small flat for the new information/cultural officer and his family, and my quarters in the old billiard room at the ambassador's residence, Spaso House. These cramped conditions reinforced the already oppressive atmosphere of 1956 Moscow.

There is something of a myth that the Khrushchev era was some kind of golden age compared to what followed. I think not. Things were marginally better than in the immediately preceding Stalinist period, but change came slowly and fear, even terror, permeated the society. The liberalization, such as it was, of the summer of 1956 quickly became blunted by the events of that fall — the Suez crisis, the Polish October and, above all, the Hungarian Revolution.

The Soviet Union had been truly closed to the world since World War II. There were few tourists or other foreign visitors, and for embassy personnel, virtually no contact with Soviet citizens. The foreign community consisted of the foreign embassies, most of which were quite small, and a handful of journalists, including half a dozen Americans.

Under the ambassador, first Charles "Chip" Bohlen then Llewellyn "Tommy" Thompson, and Deputy Chief of Mission (DCM) Dick Davis, toiled the chancery staff, which consisted of its chief, John Guthrie, and later Dave Mark, and five political officers and one economic officer. When more housing became available in 1958, a second economic officer arrived. This staff was rounded off with two consular officers, a publications procurement officer and an information/cultural officer, and a senior administrative officer. All were Russian speakers.

I was initially the political officer responsible for a daily telegram summarizing press coverage of

Robert J. Martens, who served in Moscow from 1956-58, also served in Washington, D.C., Indonesia, Burma, Romania, and in Sweden, as DCM. He retired in 1982.

foreign policy, and after nine months, one of two officers reporting on internal Soviet matters. I was reporting almost entirely on a basis of "Kremlinology," which meant reading the tea leaves of the Soviet press and observing whatever there was to observe around the city. There was a technique to reading the press, since much of it was so predictable that scanning was easy. The Pravda front page editorial always followed the Marxist dialectic of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. The thesis would describe the wonders of building socialism and could be glided over until the word odnako, meaning "however" appeared. This signalled the antithesis, which would be the meat of the article, if any. The synthesis followed, consisting of blather about how all obstacles would be overcome under the leadership of the party, etc., etc. But much of any newspaper was devoted to a panorama of monolithic unity and idealized descriptions of a false reality and denunciations of an evil and decadent West. And there was nothing in the superficial demeanor of the population to cause one to think that this constant brainwashing didn't work. This work in Moscow was stultifying much of the time.

During my last 15 months, I travelled extensively in the hinterlands, which produced interesting insights into the real country and the real state of mind of the people. I travelled whenever I could, spending a number of weekends in towns that could be reached overnight from Moscow and taking six three-week-long trips during my last year in Moscow. All those trips required advance notice and exact itineraries. There were frequent adjustments of the itinerary and always heavy tailing by the KGB once on the road, since I was talking to Russians who were not supposed to talk to foreigners. I remember about 20 people tailing me in the Siberian town of Barnaul, I think a result of KGB anger over my earlier conversations that it had found out about, and partly an opportunity to provide "live" training to the KGB in a place seldom visited by foreigners.

Cities like Leningrad and Kiev were well worth visiting for their cultural attractions, and there was also considerable beauty, even grandeur, in the vast countryside. But there was also much squalor in the towns of rural Russia, especially away from town centers. Deeply rutted mud streets, log cabins and driftwood shacks were commonplace in this part of the world, but in these boondocks of rural Russia, one found vivacity, openness and insight among the people. On long train rides where a casual atmosphere was so prevailing that passengers walked around in their pajamas, people opened up in a way that one could never have imagined back in Moscow.

I came to believe that, under the surface conformity, Russians harbored great disillusionment and enmity toward the system. Many conversations and experiences contributed toward this assessment, but the most startling was a long train trip that began with a two and a half day first leg to the grubby town of Petropavlovsk in northern Kazakhstan.

I was in a compartment with three Russians, one of whom was a recent graduate of Moscow University in political economics on his way to a teaching job in the Altai Krai. He soon engaged me in conversation; my responses contradicted his entire Marxist education leading to an off-and-on running debate that gradually attracted shifting groups of people in the corridor. When I arrived in Petropavlovsk, my travelling companions were astounded to find that a great horde of people got off to carry us and our baggage over a succession of parked boxcars to the station. The message, without a word being spoken, was one of support for what they had heard from me.

I may not have felt the same warmth toward Ambassador Thompson that I did toward Ambassador Bohlen, but Thompson was at least as great a contributor to U.S. Soviet policy and the long-term positive evolution that gradually attenuated and eventually dissolved the Cold War.

But back in Moscow, the ineessant drumbeat of propaganda soon had one doubting the reality of travel experienee, and this oppressiveness affeeted the small embassy community both positively and negatively. Warm friendships were formed that have lasted a lifetime, but irritations and minor ineompatibilities were also magnified. As an inhabitant of Spaso House, I lived in the same dwelling as the ambassador and his family and got to know both Bohlen and Thompson, who were outstanding figures in the Foreign Serviee. Their towering reputations are fully justified in my view, but they were very different in personality and style, as I would learn all too well.

I lived in a small apartment on the ground floor of the ambassador's residence, while the rest of the floor's huge spaces were vacant exeept for offieial functions. The Bohlens occupied a small portion of the seeond floor. An Ameriean school teacher, Betty Lewis, lived in one second-floor room, and there were also unoccupied guest rooms. The two older Bohlen children were away at sehool in the States but the youngest daughter, Celestine, about age six, lived with them. The Bohlens were very hospitable to both Betty and me. We were invited to a family lunch with them every Sunday and were frequently asked to join them in mid-week to listen to records. To this day whenever I hear the score of "My Fair Lady" I recall the seene in the Bohlens' living room where we all heard it for the first time. I also remember several tramps through the woods near Moseow looking for mushrooms, an old Russian eustom that the Bohlens had acquired.

Bohlen had a great easy-going personality, and a twinkle was usually in his eye. It was apparent that he was from an upper-class baekground, but he was easy to talk to, and democratic in every way.

The Thompsons were also kind to us when they took up residence at Spaso House. However, the family Sundays and outings of the Bohlen era did not eontinue with the Thompsons, as they just didn't think of Betty or me outside the formal relationship. However, one informal relationship with the ambassador remained — the Sunday night poker game. Both Bohlen and Thompson were avid poker players, and I had been recruited into the game when I first arrived. I was the most regular of the embassy players, although the two administrative officers, Ted Eliot and later, Idar Rimestad, also participated quite often. Several American journalists were regulars, including Henry Shapiro of UPI and Ed Stevens, a freelaneer. Both were married to Russian women who could not leave the country. Reporters Dan Sehorr, B.J. Cutler and Bill Jordan were occasional players, as well.

When I first arrived in Moscow, I partieipated in Ambassador Bohlen's free-for-all meetings that he occasionally held with all his major officers. He gave his views on both internal and external topies and listened to his offieers' views. He listened to everyone, whatever his rank, and there was no sense of hierarchy. Bohlen's intellectual strength was largely intuitive. This mental quickness and reeall ability were at the root of his exceptional linguistie eapability. It eould also lead him astray, I think. He stuck too long or too strongly with his view that eolleetive leadership was really working, only to have that view shown up later by the departure of Premier Nikolai Bulganin, Chief of State Kliment Voroshilov and Marshal Georgi Zhukov in 1958, the year after he

left. Bohlen could be brilliantly correct because of his intuitive feel and long experience in Soviet affairs, but also badly wrong because of his somewhat cavalier approach to analysis. I also admired his intellectual courage. Some of this is on the public record — comments on McCarthyism, defense of Roosevelt at Yalta, etc. I also know that when Bohlen was counselor of the State Department he strongly defended an old colleague in writing against an attack by McCarthy.

He wasn't perfect, of course. In 1962, we were negotiating one of the early U.S.-U.S.S.R. exchange agreements, trying to expand opportunities for American visitors to the Soviet Union, who were much more restricted than Soviet visitors to the United States. Bohlen was the nominal chief negotiator; and I was one of four real negotiators. At that time, I ran the student and other academic exchanges for the European Bureau of the State Department. Many of us thought that Bohlen often didn't do his homework and that he caved in to others' beliefs in preliminary negotiations. The problem was that he had been operating so long at the stratosphere level that he didn't take this grubby low-level work seriously enough, even though it was the only area where anything could be accomplished in U.S.-Soviet relations at that time.

Bohlen's successor, Tommy Thompson, was also a Foreign Service giant. Thompson was DCM in Rome when I was vice consul in Naples. My second Foreign Service assignment was to Vienna, where Thompson was Allied high commissioner and ambassador from 1952-57. I was assistant U.S. secretary of the Allied High Commission and a very junior officer. The four high commissioners met on alternate

Fridays at a building on Stalinplatz for usually lengthy, but sterile, sessions of the Allied Counell. The four seeretaries drew up minutes, prepared agendas and arranged for interpreters and stenographers.

When Thompson eame to Moscow as ambassador in 1957, I was on hand in Spaso House when he arrived. He talked to me at length in a friendly way about the administration of his new residenee, the Russian staff, where food and other supplies were stored and other details. He had lived in Spaso himself as a junior officer in a earetaker capacity when the U.S. Embassy joined the Soviet government in flight as the German forees approaehed the eapital during World War II, but he was new to the eurrent setup. He asked me politely about my previous assignments and was surprised that I had been in both Italy and Austria when he had; he had no recolleetion of ever seeing me before.

My insight into Thompson, valid or not, was shaped by this encounter. I believe Thompson was naturally one of the most shy and introspeetive men I have known. Obviously he had overeome much of these tendencies to operate so effeetively at the senior levels of U.S. diplomaey. No one disliked Thompson; everyone, I think, respeeted him. Certainly I did. He was never unkind. But he was aloof. This was not in a disdainful or undemocratie way. He was simply remote, doing his own thing, which was dealing at the ambassadorial level with Soviet offieials, insofar as that eould be done, and with other ambassadors. He laeked the soeial ease, graee and friendliness of Bohlen.

Thompson was not so intuitively oriented as Bohlen, either. He was intelleetually deep where Bohlen was broad. He was also more committed, I believe, to a sustained poliey of improving relations with the U.S.S.R. over the long term. This was with full recognition of the long, long road ahead. This approach inereasingly found resonanee in Washington and gave him great impaet behind the seenes, especially in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. His humility and self-effaeement, whieh made him a superb negotiator and disereet advisor, allowed political figures to take credit for his ideas.

I wrote up an interesting trip from Western Europe to Moseow by rail through Poland and the eastern U.S.S.R. shortly before Thompson arrived as ambassador. Thompson saw this report and warmly eongratulated me on my stories of extensive conversations with Russians and Poles that revealed strong eritieisms of the system. I had a number of interesting trips thereafter but, on one of them, I got into some particularly revealing eonversations and prompted rather severe reaetions from the KGB, whieh ineluded heavy surveillanee, two attempted entrapments and, finally, administration of a poison that caused me 24 hours of agony in the Urals eity of Ufa. After a meal of borseht, I beeame violently ill, although my two lunching eompanions felt fine. We missed our train, prompting a visit from the KGB, who accused us of being spies and eseorted us to the next train, whieh we were forced to board without suffieient food for the two-day trip baek to Moseow.

This time, there were some detailed insights in my report, but no eompliments from Thompson. Instead, at a large all-embassy staff meeting some weeks later, Thompson spoke in the abstraet about the role of FSOs. He said we needed to be eareful about stirring up the Russian authorities, and that we were not in the U.S.S.R. to provoke debate. There was no referenee to me or eritieism of anyone, but I knew he had my report in mind. And he was probably right. However, I had not originated the eonversation that had prompted the surveillanee. But I learned from all this and espeeially from Thompson's quiet admonition. Indeed, when I ran a crisis management exercise program at various U.S. embassies in the Middle East, I eited this example to show that senior offieials needed, in delicate situations, to set guidelines on the proper balanee between the need to keep one's finger on the pulse of the soeiety and the need to avoid exacerbating the suspicions of paranoic governments. Thompson had his eye on the big pieture and the long term, and was highly sensitive to nuanee.

I may not have felt the same warmth toward Thompson that I did toward Bohlen, but Thompson was at least as great a contributor to U.S. Soviet poliey and the long-term positive evolution that gradually attenuated and eventually dissolved the Cold War. People like Thompson, Bohlen and others contributed to this positive evolution as did hundreds of others at various levels over the next two or three decades. This is not to overstate the U.S. role. The central eauses of change were internal and arose from the failure of the totalitarian system, as well as the eventual good sense of millions of ordinary people to see through the false pretenses of Soviet power. But, fortunately, U.S. policy and practiee worked effeetively over the years to support these natural trends in positive, long-term ways. Bohlen and Thompson, different men in detail, both showed great leadership and discretion in aiding this process, not by an unworkable hyperaetivism, but by a combination of forbearanee and long-term vision. And so did our whole profession. ■

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association

AFSA Negotiates New State Precepts

All Foreign Service emplayees of the Department af State shauld include in their New Year's resalutians a cammitment ta study the new promatian core precepts that will be used during the 1996 rating and pramatian periad. These amended criteria, which became effective Oct. 31, 1995, are the result af lengthy negatiatians between AFSA and State's Bureau af Persannel. They represent the mast extensive revision of the precepts used by State's Foreign Service Selectian Baards since the passage af the 1980 Fareign Service Act.

The precepts negatiatians nat anly praduced what bath AFSA and the Bureau af Persannel believe is a vastly improved method of evaluating emplayees; they alsa demonstrated the increased effectiveness af AFSA's State Standing Cammittee (SSC), which in recent months has begun to develap its own substantive pasitions an major persannel issues, such as RIFs and budgets. Mareover, the talks were marked by a high degree af caaperation and civility between the negatiating teams.

The new precepts will be used by the 1996 selectian baards ta judge whether employees have attained the skills necessary far pramatian. Priar ta this year, the precepts were unifarm far members af all grades, generalists and specialists. The new precepts distinguish amang skills that are expected at the juniar, mid-level and seniar ranks.

By naw all pasts shauld have received the State cable, "Decisian Criteria far

Continued on poge 6

• AFSA Dateline •

• COLEAD (Caalitian far American Leadership Abraad) and the Department af State, alang with 11 nan-prafit fareign affairs groups, sponsored a most successful Nav. 1 Town Meeting at the State Department. Same 570 representatives fram dozens af cammunity foreign affairs arganizatians attended the day-lang sessian an "American Interests in a Changing Warld." After a keynote address by Deputy Secretary Strobe Talbatt (which ran an C-SPAN), there were panels an security, ecanamics and glabal issues. In the afternaan participants attended workshops on the media and an organizing groups to work on foreign affairs issues. A reception at the Department af State ended the meeting. COLEAD is warking an similar meetings in the next few manths.

• The Foreign Cammercial Service and AFSA are currently negatiating a Callective Bargaining Agreement (CBA). The CBA will pravide a framework under which FCS and AFSA will canduct negatiatians cancerning canditions af employment. Reduction-in- Force (RIF) regulatians far Fareign Service emplayees at FCS are also being negatiated. Each Fareign Service agency is required ta pramulgate RIF regulatians ta camply with legislation passed in 1994.

• AFSA was ane af the spansaring arganizations for the Salute to World War II veterans held Nov. 9 in the Dean Acheson Auditarium.

• Admiral William Owens, vice chair af the Jaint Chiefs af Staff, spake at the Fareign Service Club Nov. 14 an "U.S. Military Farces in a Changing World."

• AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris spake an Nav. 11 at Hutchinson Island, Fla. to the annual meeting af the Associatian far Flarida Retirees and an Nav. 16 at the U.N. ta the New Yark area retirees.

STATE DEPARTMENT

V.P. VOICE

• BY ALPHONSE F. LA PORTA •

Ethics or No Ethics

Far too little is heard in the Stote Department of the ethical considerations or values as public servants that we strive to uphold in the Foreign Service. In recent yeors, we hove been treated to public flaps concerning the alleged misuse of funds by both political and career ambassadors, purloined consular information and personnel records, ond – perhops more importontly – policy disputes in which the professional judgments of Foreign Service officers, to their detriment, hove been impugned.

By ethics, I'm not tolking obout the mindless opplicotion of legol rules of the Ethics in Government Act – or "No Ethics in Government Act" as former under secretory and five-time Cabinet member Elliot Richordson would say. Richordson reasons that if we hod ethics in government, we wouldn't need on oct.

Many commentators have argued that we have reached a crisis of moral values in contemporary government. After Wotergote, Richordson wrote about the weokening of our institutions: "Distrust ond cynicism, complexity ond the pervosiveness of government, government intrusiveness ond citizen vulnerobility, centrolizotion ond unresponsiveness, work dissatisfoction ond the loss of a sense of community, impotience with inequolities ond pressures for equolity of result – eoch in its own woy hos contributed to o loss of confidence ond o decline of morale."

A few yeors ogo, o little-heralded (at least in State) effort of the Council for Excellence in Government produced o stotement, Ethicol Principles for Public Service, which posited that "The true public servont:

- will not act out of spite, bias, or fovoritism;
- will not tell the boss only whot she or he wonts to heor;
- respects the competence and views of others;
- does not succumb to peer or politicol pressure;
- contributes to o climote of mutuol trust ond respect;
- refuses to let official action be influenced by personol relotionships, including those orising from past or prospective employment;
- hos the courage of his or her convictions;
- is not seduced by flottery;
- unflinchingly accepts responsibility;
- does not try to shift blome to others;
- con distinguish between the need to support on unwelcome decision ond the duty to blow the whistle; ond
- never forgets thot she or he is working for the people – oll the people."

As we approoch the New Yeor, we should reflect on the state of State in light of these ethicol ond morol guideposts. Con we ochieve o higher stondord?

AFSA Award Nominations Due

The deadline for AFSA Award nominations of outstanding colleagues is January 31, 1996. Awards are conferred on a senior officer, a mid-level officer, a junior officer, a Foreign Service secretary and a Community Liaison officer. Also, a Foreign Service family member is honored for volunteer service. Each of these awards includes a cash prize of $2,500. Details were corried in the November *Journal*. Questions? Contact AFSA's Coordinator for Professional Issues, Richard Thompson, 2101 E Street NW, DC 20037, tel: 202-338-4045.

AFSA, DACOR Offer Scholarships

Help Foreign Service children pursue their college dreams by designoting the AFSA Scholarship Fund in the Combined Federal Campaign (CFC). Just mork Agency Code 2104 on your pledge card. The Fund is listed under the Military, Veterons, and Patriotic Public Service Orgonizations of America. Pledge cards need to be returned by December 15.

Art Merit Award Expanded: AFSA offers three types of owards (finonciol need, merit and art merit). The art merit oword is now open to groduating high school seniors, college freshmen, sophomores, and juniors in visual arts, musicol orts, drama or dance.

AFSA Scholarship Fund applications are now avoilable and need to be returned by Februory 15, 1996. Call 202-944-5504 for scholorship application or e-moil AFSA ot ofso@ofso.org with your name and oddress.

DACOR Fellowships Available.: Fellowships for children of FSOs for study ot Hotchkiss School ond ot Yale University are available through DACOR (Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired) Bacon House Foundation with o bequest of the late Ambassador Louis Dreyfus Jr.

Students moy opply for the Yale Dreyfus award at the time of their application to Yole. Awords ore olso available to students already enrolled at Yale. Preference will be given to students in a field reloted to foreign affairs and for study toword o mosters degree. Undergroduate awards of up to $5,000 will be based on need. Groduote owords of up to $10,000 ore bosed on merit. The number and levels of owords will be determined when the number of eligible applicants is known. The deadline for applications to DACOR is April 1, 1996.

Hotchkiss will select two qualified enrolled students for $5,000 scholarships. Applications should be made directly to Hotchkiss through the Director of Admissions, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, CT 06039-0800.

For more information on these fellowships contoct William Hamilton of DACOR's Education Committee at (202) 682-0500 or fax at (202) 842-3295.

Congressional • Update •

By Ken Nakamura
Congressional Affairs Director

Reporting on Congress and its activities is like reporting on the designs in a kaleidoscope – the legislation is ever changing.

The State Department/USIA/ACDA Authorization Legislation. Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.)and Senator John Kerry (D-Mass.) continue ta try and reach agreement an a "manager's amendment" ta S.908. The effort is not focused on mandating a consolidation of the foreign affairs agencies anymore, but rather in seeking changes through mandating savings. Currently, the two sides are about a billion dollars apart with Senator Helms wanting a $2.5 billion savings over 5 years, and Senator Kerry proposing a $1.6 billion savings over 4 years. It appears that the preponderance of the savings is to come from operating funds. AFSA has been arguing the need for a serious study of the consequences of such cuts, believing that such cuts would hallow out our foreign affairs structures and make it impossible to carry out many of the functions currently being performed overseas. If these are the levels of cuts that will be settled on, AFSA argues that both programs and operating accounts should be reduced.

Senatar Helms, believing that the Democrats have not been seriously negotiating with him, has held up Senate consideration af several treaties, promatian lists, and confirmations af ambassadorial appointments. AFSA has made its objectians ta this "hostage taking" public through press releases and its cantacts with the media, resulting in articles in the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Federal Times* and the *Washington Times*.

The Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill. This bill, H.R. 1868, funds the U.S. foreign assistance program and the agency for

Continued an page 4

AID

V.P. VOICE

• By Garber Davidson Jr. •

New Paradigms for AID

By now nearly everyone is aware of the meat-ax approach the 104th Congress is taking toward foreign affairs and foreign assistance in particular. After Camp David and other "earmarks" are satisfied, including transfer authority af $25 million from development assistance to operating expenses, AID will suffer as much as 40 percent cuts in "unprotected" accounts which fund population, democracy and environmental activities. The FY 1996 Foreign Operations appropriations bills have just passed both houses, but abortian language in the House bill would draw a presidential veto.

"The agency should seek development models which will conserve resources."

In the midst of the most difficult budget and appropriations process the agency has seen in recent years, the administratar has suggested that AID will have ta revisit the way it does business and prepare ta make significant changes. Same seniar officials have suggested that AID may have to close posts, bring home FSOs and rely increasingly upon either Washingtan ar regianal "hubs." Human Resources has suggested cast-cutting measures such as lengthened tours, "strictly enforcing the Foreign Service up-or-aut policy," and limiting awards and bonuses. Some advocate variaus degrees af consolidation of functions and services.

Administratar Brian Atwood has contributed ta a vision for U.S. engagement in the post-Cold War era. He has helped elevate the debate beyond the budget and "consolidation" issues ta a discussion of the role of foreign assistance in a modernized and mare effective foreign palicy. As AID faces the undeniably tough choices mandated by the budget, we hope that the administrator's visian far the future of foreign assistance will nat became a victim of the "closedown" mentality of much of Washington these days. The agency shauld seek development madels which will conserve resources and meet the demands af the trans-national era.

The visian of an integrated develapment policy that the administratar describes suggests a stronger if leaner field capacity, and an ability to assist natians ta reach "sustainability" in their civic and economic develapment. Such a visian will require new thinking about how AID organizes, how it integrates its development gaals with averall domestic and foreign policies, and how it uses its reduced resources to maximum benefit.

The agency may want ta look at a more creative and expansive rale for Foreign Service nationals; the "missian cancept" shauld be reviewed to consider the feasibility of jaint missions and administrative services with the World Bank and other international institutions; host countries might be looked to for underwriting costs of logistical support; and the entire paradigm of the "Washington backstop" might be reviewed with the idea of delegating all but the highest palicy and budget decisions to the field. AID should cantinue to pursue vigorausly the consolidation of administrative functions with other U.S. agencies abraad and even privatizatian af functions where feasible. These and similar cancepts could help salvage the Atwood vision for future foreign assistance in an environment of mandated cost savings.

RETIREE

V.P. VOICE

• BY EDWARD ROWELL •

Medical Issues for FS Retirees

Foreign Service retirees are at risk on two fronts: premiums for the private insurance they carry under the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program (FEHBP) and Medicare.

The State Department wants to start billing Foreign Service employees' private health insurers for medical services it naw pravides at posts around the world. The House budget recanciliatian bill "autharizes the secretary af state ta recaver fram insurance campanies the reasonable costs of health care services provided by the department." Wauld this include inaculatians far cholera and rabies, or malaria prophylaxis ar medevacs from Africa for childbirth?

Na ane has specified any details, but Congress and the department are talking about picking up $13 million per year from the insurers. Who really pays? Everyone who is paying premiums under an insurance plan that covers active duty Foreign Service people. AFSA is concerned abaut this issue and is pressing the department for details on how it will handle medical callections. The situation is not promising.

Changes in Medicare will affect us all. As the budget recanciliation act stands in early November, maney will be saved an Part A af Medicare by putting the screws to doctors and hospitals. Part B, the part we use for visits to doctor's offices, will have higher premiums (about $90 per month instead of $84 in 2002 if enrallees keep paying casts instead af dropping back ta 25%). Cangress also is debating a higher deductible before Medicare pays ($150 instead af $100 per year) and, starting in 2003, a gradual increase (from 65 to 67) in the age of eligibility for Medicare.

We all know that without revisians Medicare will be bankrupt by 2002. Medicare's trustees say that if $110 billian can be trimmed fram its costs during the next seven years, it will remain solvent for 10 years – to 2005. Congress believes it has trimmed $270 billian. Nobady has said exactly what it would take, especially with past-World War II baby-boamers entering Medicare after 2010, to make Medicare permanently solvent. But it would help a lot if we could eliminate Medicare fraud, which is currently estimated to be costing us at least $18 billion per year.

The president has vetoed the recanciliation bill that cantains all the Medicare changes. That means they will prabably still be under negotiation when you read this. So make yaur own moral and practical judgment af the trade-offs: higher personal medical expenses on a retirement income on one hand vs. some tax reductians ($500 per child far some middle-income families) and the need for both Medicare solvency and national (balanced budget) solvency. You still have time to contact your congressperson.

PUBLIC SERVICE EXCELLENCE AWARD

The Public Service Excellence Awards given by the Public Employees Roundtable, of which AFSA is a member, this year include a category in international achievement.

These awards are granted to units of gavernment (two or mare employees) who have made outstanding cantributions to public service. Selection factors include: improvement in productivity or services; increased quality of life for Americans; enhanced cost-effectiveness af programs or services.

Details on this award are available fram Richard Thompson, AFSA coordinator for professional issues, at 202-338-4045 or FAX 202- 338-6820. Nominations must be postmarked by Feb. 15, 1996.

Congressional • Update •

Continued fram page 3

International Development. Both the House and the Senate accepted Conference agreements to this bill, but disagree on one issue: abortion. While this is not a great bill (the non-children and health protection portion af Develapment Assistance takes a 30 percent cut), it has bipartisan suppart and is probably the best that can be expected from Congress this year. Even the deal on the AID Operating and Expenses account, while not great is livable. The Hause and Senate disagreement on anti-abortion language – a disagreement which will affect the fate of not only the foreign operations bill but also the defense and the District of Columbia appropriations legislation – could unfortunately cause this bill to be thrown into same larger endgame negotiation.

The Commerce, Justice, State Appropriatians Bill: This bill has passed bath the House and the Senate and is gaing to Conference to resolve the differences between the two versions. AFSA has prepared its views on this legislatian – expressing the need to provide adequate resources for the operating accounts, and its cancerns aver the lack af funding ta important areas such as international organizations and peacekeeping. Because af the need far mare maney in this appropriatians, there are some in the administratian who hope that this could be part af the budget reconciliation negatiations. They believe that if funds can be shifted from defense to other areas, the 150 International Affairs account might get some of the crumbs. At this point, the administration continues to have a veto threat against this bill.

The Continuing Resolution: As "AFSA News" went ta press, President Clinton had vetoed the CR extension. Thousands of government employees were furlauged on Tuesday, Nav. 14, although AFSA remained open to assist employees.

USIA

V.P. VOICE

• BRUCE K. BYERS •

We Need a Strong AFSA Union

Recently, the AFSA Gaverning Baard met far nearly twa days ta develap an actian plan addressing the mast seriaus Fareign Service issues and ta rank ather prablems facing the assaciatian. We alsa develaped a better understanding af AFSA's unian respansibilities as exclusive bargaining agent far FS emplayees af the five fareign affairs agencies. We studied issues – sharp rises in grievances and FS RIF regulatians, as well as AFSA's membership and increasing financial abligatians. These are all linked tagether. While same members may place greater emphasis an AFSA as a prafessianal assaciatian, the irrefutable fact is that as an emplayee unian AFSA has certain legal abligatians and limitatians in representing its bargaining unit canstituents.

> *"Membership in AFSA has grown rapidly and now constitutes nearly one half of all USIA FSOs."*

Since late 1992, AFSA has been the exclusive representative far FS emplayees at USIA. Membership in AFSA has grawn rapidly and naw canstitutes nearly ane-half af all USIA FS prafessianals. Since assuming the office of USIA/AFSA vice president, I have been working very hard ta represent FS emplayees ta USIA management in what is the mast threatening enviranment ta FS careers in my 25 years in USIA. The grievance warklaad has risen almast vertically since last year, but AFSA membership amang USIA FS emplayees has nat increased cammensurately. AFSA dues determine the resaurces AFSA has ta address prafessional and career issues, including persanal grievances, negatiatians with management representatives an such matters as RIF regulatians, and AFSA's ability to labby far key legislatian an the Hill.

The assaciatian faces a budget shartfall in 1996 and, as a member af AFSA's Finance Cammittee, I can repart that we are agressively seeking ways ta save maney. We cannat affard ta skimp in meeting aur grawing unian respansibilities, but expansian af aur labar relatians staff is unlikely, even as its warklaad increases. This situatian will remain ar warsen unless mare FS members jain the assaciatian and cantribute financially ta its ability ta defend their prafessianal and career interests.

AFSA annual dues are substantially lawer than dues paid by members af ather federal gavernment unians and have nat increased since January 1993. A slight increase is likely as membership remains static. Currently, far example, a Class 1 afficer pays $165 per year in dues. The FSJ nearly pays far itself thraugh advertising. The baard has greatly reduced the subsidy far the club. On the ather hand, funds budgeted far AFSA's Labar Management and Member Services cansume nearly ane-third af AFSA's 1995 budget and will increase slightly in 1996. We require mare suppart from all FS employees to continue AFSA's successful representatian of FS employees' interests. An increase in membership will increase AFSA's ability ta meet its respansibilities and alsa strengthen its vaice an the Hill.

Currently, AFSA vice presidents, and Baard members are seized with the task af navigating the AFSA ship thraugh shallow, dangeraus waters, but we need mare passengers an deck, willing ta help and suppart aur difficult wark as the river's current increases. If yau are nat yet a member af AFSA, please jain. If you are in Washingtan, please be active in ane af the cammittees the new baard is farming. We encaurage members and nan-members ta became mare engaged in the tasks facing us.

Board Approves Dues Increase

After a thorough review of AFSA's income, expenses and operations the AFSA Governing Board unanimously approved a 4 percent dues increase for FS grades 9 to 4 and an 8 percent increase for active-duty grades 3 to Senior Foreign Service, as well as retirees and associate members. The last dues increase occurred in 1993. The 8 percent increase reflects the cumulative CPI since 1993 and is in accordance with the AFSA bylaws.

AFSA has had to increase both staffing and resources in 1995 to confront congressional attacks on the foreign affairs agencies, and monitor and counter proposed budget reductions. We added a staff position, director of congressional relations, and increased our legislative efforts with additional mailings and phone-a-thons to retirees around the country to create grassroots support for our legislative positions.

As a result of the foreign affairs agencies' reduced resources, the demand on AFSA's Labor Management Office and grievance staff has increased significantly. Our grievance staff has been handling a 50 percent plus increase in cases. AFSA has improved the quality of service to members by upgrading most of our grievance staff positions to law school graduates.

AFSA's investment in computer systems has proven to be a vital tool that greatly enhances our communications with members. Through AID e-mail alone, we have received more than 200 messages, inquiries and requests for assistance per week. AFSA/State will soon be connected to DOSNET, in addition to our current internet connection (afsa@afsa.org) and AFSANET (e-mail updates and news).

To meet the demands on AFSA's resources the Governing Board has reduced expenses and increased income by negotiating an improved management contract with the Foreign Service Club, decreasing printing costs of the Foreign Service Journal and increasing its advertising revenues, reducing two staff positions from full-time to part-time, streamlining the membership renewal process and cutting costs by printing the Retiree Directory only every two years. Despite these and many other actions, the Finance Committee has determined that even a basic carryover of current activities into 1996 would create an unacceptable deficit.

While considering a dues increase the Finance Committee looked at our dues structure as a percentage of salary or annuity. To improve the equity of our dues, FS grades 9-4 will be increased only 4 percent. The Finance Committee will continue to examine and maintain all of AFSA's expenses and revenue in order to maintain AFSA as an effective and efficient organization.

In 1996 the Governing Board will emphasize AFSA's critical role as a union seeking to protect employee rights, particularly in this environment of downsizing and reduced resources. AFSA will enhance its aggressive campaign on the Hill to protect the Foreign Service and the foreign affairs agencies' budgets. We will also be looking at professional and outreach programs to improve the public's perception and support of the role of diplomacy and the foreign affairs agencies.

How You Can Help

Recruit a new member. There are many active and retired Foreign Service employees who have benefited from AFSA's activities, but are not members. Ask your colleagues to share in the responsibility. Call (202) 338-4045 for membership applications today.

1996 dues schedule		Increase
FS grades 7,8,9	$ 88	$3
FS grades 4,5,6	$130	$5
FS grades 1,2,3	$178	$13
Senior FS	$203	$15
Annuity < $25,000	$49	$4
Annuity < $35,000	$59	$4
Annuity > $35,000	$67	$5
Retiree Spouse	$49	$4
Associate	$54	$4

AFSA Board Retreat Confronts Challenges

The AFSA Governing Board and the AFSA professional staff held a retreat the weekend of Oct. 14-15 to discuss challenges and priorities for 1995-96. The retreat took place at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center in Arlington, Va. The sessions bridged the many interests that are inherent organization such as AFSA, that represents diverse communities. Board members and staff identified the main challenges facing the Foreign Service today: congressional-driven budget reductions and agency integration initiatives; declining public and congressional support for diplomacy; weak administration leadership and agency management; and increasing difficulties in the political/career interface.

Retreat attendees also identified the priority institutional challenges for AFSA: becoming a more effective union representative; improving AFSA's fiscal base; emphasizing common interests within the Foreign Service and developing coordinated public affairs programs and legislative strategies. As a result of the retreat, the board is realigning AFSA's committee structure and implementing new action plans.

New Precepts

Continued from page 1

Tenure/Promotion – Foreign Service Core Precepts", which explains the new precepts and instructions for using them in counseling sessions and in the preparation of EERs. Rating officers are required, prior to Dec. 31, 1995, to use the new precepts to conduct with rated employees at least one individual performance counseling session of the two mandated during the rating period (May 1995-May 1996.)

AFSA strongly urges every employee to ensure that his or her supervisor has met this requirement by the mandated deadline. If problems are encountered in this area, contact AFSA's labor-management office immediately.

AFSA's negotiating team was composed of SSC members Eva Groening, Tod Kushner, Dennis Hays, and Angelo Dickey. Richard Scissars, AFSA's coordinator of labor relations, and Alphonse La Porta, AFSA State vice president advised the team.

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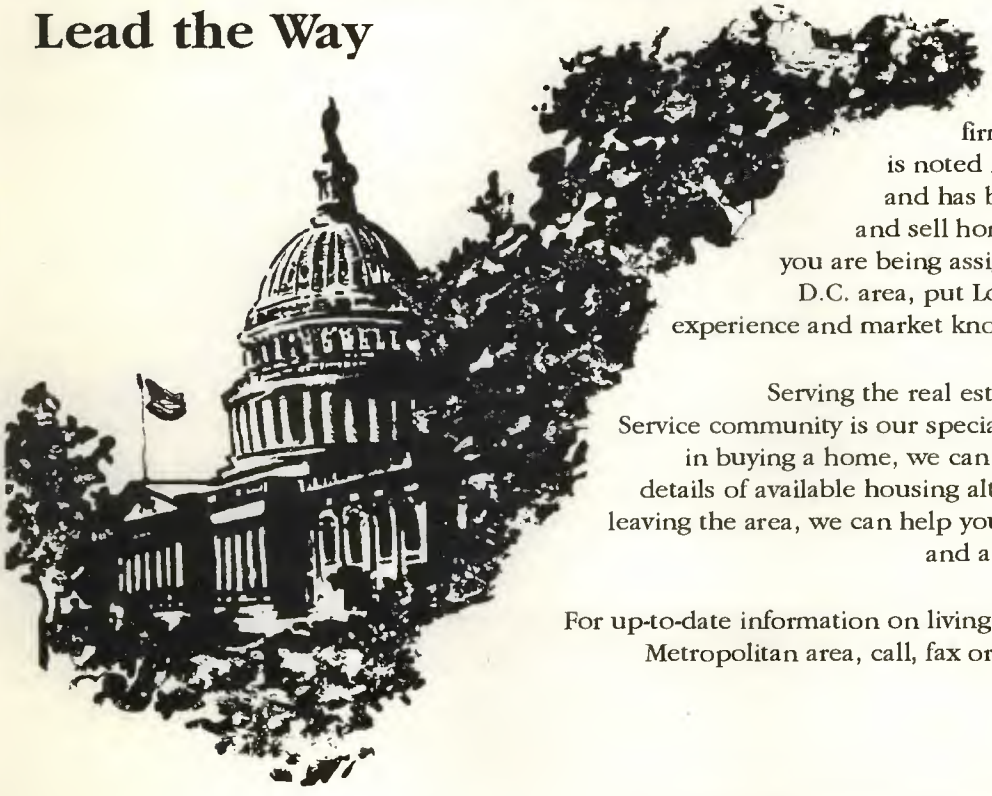

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THE LESSONS OF WAR

RULES NEEDED BEFORE DEPLOYING 'FIRST US DEFENSE'

BY JONATHAN DEAN

Last year the Clinton administration adopted a national policy on peacekeeping that leaves peacekeeping far outside the circle of primary U.S. security interests. It is now considered an occasional optional activity motivated by humanitarian considerations. However, there is no justification in this policy for the administration's risky decision to send a U.S. division to Bosnia on peacekeeping duty, justified as that decision is. However, there is a bipartisan rationale for U.S. peacekeeping in Bosnia and for future peacekeeping operations if they fit among U.S. post-Cold War national security interests.

The most important and pressing requirement with regard to peacekeeping today is to reach a common understanding in the American public and between Congress and the executive branch on the role and significance of peacekeeping for U.S. national security. It is the function and the responsibility of the administration and of the congressional leadership to draw from the current debate — over American foreign policy, peacekeeping in general, and over deploying U.S. forces in Bosnia — a general orientation around which enduring bipartisan consensus can coalesce. This is not yet being done.

The concept of "national security interest" is one that governments the world over have traditionally used to justify committing their military forces to potential combat situations. Potential combat situations are often distant from U.S. territory, but are deemed by national leaders to affect its extended security environment. Historically, definitions of the national security interests of the United States have shifted: Defeating Germany was the primary U.S. national security interest during World War II; defending Germany became a primary interest during the Cold War.

In democracies, of course, the public has to share these leadership perceptions; democratic governments should be engaged in continuous dialogue with their publics over defining national security interests. Any discussion must acknowledge that subjecting citizen-soldiers to injury and death through decisions to use military force is government's most serious responsibility, exercised with the greatest restraint.

JAMES YANG

The Cold War confrontation, which threatened the physical existence of many countries, provided a convincing rationale for making these decisions. After the Cold War ended, the problem of justifying combat commitment of armed forces became far more difficult for Western governments. Today, these governments are all faced with commendable resistance from their publics to committing national forces to combat, intensified in the case of the United States, by many people's conviction that earlier administrations tragically erred in this decision with regard to Vietnam. When this normal public

If peacekeeping becomes widely seen as belonging to a category of national security interests, committing U.S. forces to combat can be justified, under select conditions.

resistance is amplified by televised coverage of shocking glimpses of combat, increasingly the case since the Vietnam War, government decisions to commit armed forces to combat must have very strong justification.

When U.N. peacekeeping operations in which the United States participates are presented as humanitarian acts of altruism, as they have been by the Clinton administration, they do not justify committing national forces to combat and potential casualties. To save the lives of others, the American electorate is normally prepared to contribute money, resources and logistics, but not numerous casualties of its own troops. However, if peacekeeping ultimately becomes widely seen as belonging in the category of national security interests, it follows that, under stringently selected conditions, a decision to participate in a given peacekeeping operation can justify committing U.S. forces to combat conditions. All this is relevant to the administration's desire to send U.S. peacekeepers to Bosnia. But is peacekeeping in Bosnia or elsewhere really a U.S. national security interest?

In its description of its post-Cold War national security strategy, the Clinton administration identifies four main actions: promoting non-proliferation; supporting U.S. allies; enlarging the area of free-market democracy; and frustrating the activities of regional rogue states. This list of security interests is acceptable, but something important is missing from it: cooperation with other countries to reduce conflict and large-scale armed violence throughout the world. In more positive terms, this goal would be to enlarge the world's "zones of no-conflict," similar to enlarging the areas of democracy. Zones of no-conflict are regions like North America and Western Europe, where resort to war to resolve country differences has become highly improbable. Democracy and free markets cannot spread or even exist unless there is some modicum of international and domestic order. Increasingly effective peacekeeping and conflict prevention to lower the world conflict level are prerequisites to achievement of these widely accepted national policy goals.

In the last decade, the world has witnessed political change of epochal dimensions that was almost entirely free of violence and bloodshed. There has been revolutionary political and economic change in the entire area once covered by the Warsaw Treaty: the liberation of Eastern Europe from Soviet domination; German unification with membership in NATO; and the peaceful collapse of the Soviet Union itself. It is unparalleled in human experience that change of this scope and significance should have taken place without war. These changes were followed by much misery as well as joy and by the outbreak of fighting in the former Yugoslavia and in some of the new republics around Russia. But the changes themselves were almost nonviolent. This fact alone is highly encouraging for efforts to prevent future wars.

These developments also made possible other positive events: One is the liberation of the United Nations from its Cold War paralysis together with the emergence of a widespread, although still rudimentary network, of regional security institutions. A second development is that, for the first time in written records, no conflict is brewing between the world's major powers. To the contrary, the United States, Russia, India, China, the countries of the European Union and Japan all support the concept of global peacekeeping and are cooperating to resolve conflicts. The extent of that cooperation is insufficient, but it is cooperation.

Jonathan Dean, adviser on international security issues of the Union of Concerned Scientists, was U.S. representative to the NATO-Warsaw Pact force reduction talks in the 1970s. He worked with U.N. peacekeepers in The Congo, now Zaire, in the early 1960s. His book, Ending Europe's Wars, *on which this article is based, was recently published by the Twentieth Century Fund. As an FSO, he served in Bonn, Prague, Vienna and The Congo.*

In the past, most peacekeeping operations have been a reaction to conflict after these conflicts, like forest fires, have burned themselves out. But our century, largely because it has been the bloodiest in the history of humanity and because it also threatened to become infinitely more bloody, has broken with the tradition of accepting war as an incurable affliction of humanity. A broad range of measures has been developed to prevent conflict, to reduce the effects of conflict if it occurs, and to end conflict. This positive harvest of the Cold War includes confidence building, restrictions on deployment and activities of armed forces, negotiated force reductions and limitations, control over weapons production and proliferation, and also conflict prevention, mediation, conflict resolution and multilateral peacekeeping.

World peace is still a distant vision. On the other hand, it has become feasible to think in a very hard-headed way of preventing an increasing number of potential conflicts and curtailing them when they do occur. It is also feasible to consider, gradually and over a long period, using measures like those listed above to lower the level of organized armed violence throughout the world, and, in some cases, to add to the regions within which conflict is improbable. The goal of a world with a progressively lower level of conflict is a pragmatic one, implying as it does that there will almost always be some incipient or actual conflict in progress, but that something can be done about many of them.

Neither the existence of the Cold War nor its end has meant the end of armed conflict. To the contrary, up to 50 million people have died in more than 100 conflicts since the end of World War II. Today, violence rages in Bosnia, Rwanda, Angola, Sri Lanka and many other places. Nonetheless, the statement remains true: Never in history has there been a better opportunity to combat armed violence and to lower the level of conflict throughout the world.

Conflict prevention and peacekeeping are the major tools to achieve further no-conflict zones. "Peacekeeping," as the term is used here, includes the whole spectrum of measures designed to prevent or

contain regional conflict: identification of potential conflicts in the making, negotiation of interstate differences; third-party mediation; and preventive peacekeeping and also large-scale military intervention to prevent war. Peacekeeping in this sense represents America's first line of defense abroad, preventing threats from developing that could, in one form or another, ultimately threaten Americans or U.S. territory. It is much broader than post-conflict peacekeeping that has become familiar in past decades, although this activity is still very useful in guaranteeing post-conflict political settlements, as would be the case in Bosnia.

However, in the Department of Defense, organizing, training and equipping troops for more effective peacekeeping is not an assigned major mission. To the contrary, the administration has repeatedly rejected the idea of earmarking or identifying and training U.S. troops who might be engaged in peacekeeping. As a result, military commanders often complain these operations drain personnel, resources and money that are supposed to be used to prepare for assigned war missions. Their complaints reinforce the impression that peacekeeping is a charitable luxury that detracts from national defense, instead of contributing to it.

But even if peacekeeping does become more broadly accepted as a national security objective and this priority is reflected in the budget structure, mission and training of U.S. armed forces, the goal of reducing conflict in the world has clear limits: Peacekeeping intervention will long have to remain selective. Given limitation of resources, the frequency of conflict and the difficulties in effective intervention, including the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of sovereign states, decisions to engage in peacekeeping missions will often need to be guided by mere feasibility rather than weightier criteria.

Moreover, it is not urged here that the United States should take on the sole responsibility for moving toward this objective. Instead, the Clinton administration should move toward the goal of enlarging the zones of no-conflict in cooperation with other governments and through gradually enhancing the conflict prevention capabilities of the

United Nations and of the emerging network of regional security organizations. The administration should state that, as a consequence of its decision to promote this policy, peacekeeping and associated activities will have an appropriate place among the missions assigned to U.S. armed forces.

In explaining why the United States should send peacekeepers to Bosnia, the administration should use the occasion to make the general case for the significance of peacekeeping for U.S. national security. Doing so will make it easier to gain support for individual peacekeeping operations in the future.

Thus, if systematically explained, the proposed policy can bring gains for U.S. national security. Governments will still have to justify decisions to intervene in one case and not in another, but the overall purpose of the activity will be more understandable to the public, as well as its potential to contribute to gradual achievement of a previously declared long-term goal. On the other hand, if there is no comprehensive rationale for peacekeeping, it will remain a random reaction largely dependent on the degree of television coverage of various crises, and the subject of fierce debate on each individual occasion.

Conflict-reducing peacekeeping should be a priority as a U.S. national security interest: In a world of interconnecting communications, environmental, trade and financial links — with 25 percent of U.S. gross national product (GNP) dependent on foreign trade — the United States usually ends up paying in one way or another if major regional conflicts erupt. The United States is the sole surviving world class power, with military strength and GNP far larger than any other country. As a result, when major conflict erupts, the United States cannot avoid being called on for help, as in Somalia, Bosnia, Rwanda and Haiti. To stand aside or to respond only weakly in such cases is to risk damage to the credibility and worldwide influence of this country. President Clinton justified the NATO bombing of Serbian positions in Bosnia and the U.S. invasion of Haiti by saying that U.S. credibility and reliability were at stake, as they were.

Some diminution of U.S. stature and influence has taken place over the past four or five years in connection with faltering U.S. policies toward Bosnia, Somalia and Rwanda. If these trends continue, the United States will not long remain an unquestioned world power, and U.S. capacity to constructively influence the course of world events without the use of force will decrease. And when force must be used, the United States may have to use more to be effective. We might still be the big kid on the block, but people will not turn willingly to us for help and leadership. This, together with the near mortal damage to NATO, and therefore to U.S. capacity to draw on the cooperation of the world's richest and most powerful states in Europe, plus the high risk the war in Bosnia will spread, is the main reason for sending U.S. peacekeepers to Bosnia.

In the final analysis, of course, unchecked regional violence and apprehensions of further violence can lead to development of nuclear weapons, as in the case of Israel, South Africa, India, Pakistan, Iraq and, presumably, North Korea. A world with 20 or 30 nuclear weapon states would not only make impossible the creation of a more effective global security system. It would lead to an increase and modernization of weapons by present nuclear weapon states and would increase the vulnerability of the United States to direct attack by nuclear weapons, significantly reducing its international influences and war power.

Instead of shrugging at human fallibility, accepting war as inevitable, and reacting to it after it happens, U.S. policy should aim at establishing an international peacekeeping system that can head off more and more conflicts. The objective should be an international system that can increasingly do more in order, in the long run, to do less.

A declaration by the administration of its decision to pursue a goal of lowering the worldwide level of violence through more purposeful multilateral efforts is the essential step. It should be complemented by

a Security Council summit meeting with heads of government of the member countries and by a special session of the General Assembly with government heads, so that a maximum number of countries can endorse this goal as their own.

Many specific actions would flow from such a joint declaration. The United Nations itself needs a professional Observer and Mediation Corps and an Institute for Conflict Prevention to study, disseminate and apply new methods of conflict prevention and resolution and to continually analyze potential conflict situations, warning the Secretary General and Security Council well in advance of those that could in time erupt into armed violence.

The United Nations also needs a small, highly trained standing readiness force of a few brigades of volunteer personnel to head off or extinguish conflict in the crucial early stages. It takes from three to six months to organize the personnel and initial financial support for a U.N. peacekeeping operation. By that time, conflict has often intensified to such an extent that efforts to deal with it require a major military force. In most circumstances, a large force is not forthcoming or peacekeepers are provided in such small numbers that the force cannot cope effectively. Often, the United Nations can be called in only after a conflict burns itself out and the combatants on both sides are sufficiently exhausted to see the benefits of a supervised truce. We need a professional approach, but we are treating peacekeeping like the operation of a small-town volunteer fire department. We wait for the fire to break out instead of preventing it. Then we call around trying to gather the volunteer firefighters. Governments and publics the world over perceive these weaknesses in U.N. peacekeeping. As a consequence they are denying the United Nations the additional support and resources to enable it to be more effective. So the weakness continues, and we all proceed to condemn a resource-poor United Nations for its lack of capability and dependability. What the Republican Congress is so vociferously doing merely carries to the extreme a frequent practice.

This vicious circle must be broken. One obvious way is with a U.N. readiness force. Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali has proposed a modest force composed of several battalions of national forces stationed in their home countries, but which come together for training and operations. The United States should act to implement this proposal.

The administration has not rejected this concept but has been thus far unwilling to designate a U.S. battalion to serve as one component of a readiness force. Unconvincingly, it argues that it does not want to designate specific units of the U.S. forces for peacekeeping when a broader force selection may be needed. Why doesn't the administration set up a roster of these units — designating on a rotating basis — an infantry battalion from the Marine Corps, and an Army infantry battalion, plus logistics and air transport? They could serve on call and train for a six-month period, and then be followed by a succor battalion. Assignment of only one battalion at a time should be authorized in advance by Congress. The United States should also make available intelligence and logistics teams to form part of readiness forces.

Preventive action, both political and, where needed, military, is the core aspect of efforts aimed at reducing the incidence of conflict. Both parties in Congress should support this as the cheapest, most practical approach to peacekeeping. Preventive action was not taken in Croatia, Bosnia or Rwanda. For this, in addition to an apparatus for early warning and early mediation, readiness forces are needed that can be sent out within one or two days after a Security Council decision. However, peacekeeping forces used in incipient phases of conflict may be assigned tasks that could involve casualties, and also require flexibility and rapid action. They cannot meet the stringent requirements of predictable course and duration for peacekeeping that the administration has announced.

Viewed properly, peacekeeping is the United States' first line of defense. There should be adequate budgeting for major multilateral peacekeeping operations approved by the Security Council and peacekeeping contributions should, of course, form part of the normal U.S. defense budget. If the United Nations also has its own autonomous financing for peacekeeping, as should be the case, additional national contributions would be required only for major operations.

Upgrading effective peacekeeping to a national security objective can bolster public support for U.S. armed forces. Once reducing conflict in the world is presented as a cooperative international U.S. security objective, it will become clear that both preventive deployment of larger forces to deter conflict — and the preventive deployment of smaller peacekeeping units to prevent a conflict from

igniting or spreading — belong on the same spectrum of conflict prevention activities. Moreover, if we are successful in avoiding war among the major powers, as appears possible, at least in the short run, peacekeeping operations of various kinds will become the main activity of U.S. forces — in fact, they already are — and the main practical justification for the defense budget.

The U.S. role in this endeavor would be one of political leadership in defining goals, urging and encouraging, not one of providing the bulk of troops or finances. The task of setting up an effective worldwide network of regional organizations dedicated to lowering the level of conflict will take a long time, much longer than the span of a single administration. However, if it can be pushed persistently during three or four presidential administrations, there will be real results.

Now, after the Cold War has ended, Americans have a decisively important choice as to how to pursue U.S. national defense in the coming years. That choice will largely be made through sending U.S. peacemakers to Bosnia or not sending them. Americans, including the congressional majority with its efforts to cut back U.S. support of the United Nations, can reject responsibility for establishing a more effective system of conflict prevention. The probable result will be that the United Nations and existing regional security institutions will lapse into decades of ineffectual formalism, waiting for conflict to erupt and then responding as best they can. Or the U.S. government and the American people can accept that the United States is indeed a world power with worldwide security interests, permanently engaged with the rest of the world. If so, the United States should use the unique conditions of the post-Cold War world to make a real breakthrough in reducing the incidence of armed conflict through more effective conflict prevention and peacekeeping. In pursuing this aim, it should exploit to the full the opportunity to progressively enhance U.S. national security through enlisting the energies, resources and capabilities of the millions of people and the world's governments who want to increase their own security through better peacekeeping. ■

THE LESSONS OF SOMALIA

US POLICY 'ANOMALY' SPARKED GUIDELINES FOR FUTURE UN EFFORTS

BY JOHN L. HIRSCH

This month's third anniversary of the U.S. Marine-landing in Somalia in December 1992 provides an occasion to consider what the United States has learned from its intervention in that remote African nation, and the ramifications for future policy decisions. Participanting in the U.S.-led coalition UNITAF, the United States can be proud of its role in seeking to assist the people of Somalia to deal with a severe humanitarian crisis. The inability of Somali political leaders to move from confrontation to compromise and the loss of American lives in the manhunt for General Aideed should not obviate the importance of the positive role we played.

Somalia, in many minds, has become a metaphor for the failure of United Nations peacemaking and a warning to Americans to stay away from intractable internal conflicts. Indeed, the repute and promise of U.N. peace operations seems to be on the line globally. Genocide in Rwanda, the renewed siege of Sarajevo, and Bosnian Serb defiance of the United Nations reinforced what was already the prevalent mood in peacemaking. Whatever we may do in Bosnia, and however that situation evolves, it seems likely that we have passed the high point of large-scale militarily engaged U.N. peacemaking.

Any assessment of U.N. peace operations must start with the distinction between peacekeeping and peacemaking. Risks and costs are low when parties to a conflict have reached agreement and the U.N. role is limited to supporting their undertakings. Hence, U.N. peacekeepers in the Sinai before 1967 and again from 1974-79, as well as in Cyprus and on the Golan Heights to this day, are uncontroversial. They operate under the traditional peacekeeping concept of lightly armed Blue Helmets governed by the rules of engagement that allow force only in self-defense. Since armistice lines or demilitarization arrangements have already been agreed to, these peacekeepers have rarely been confronted with life-threatening challenges.

JAMES YANG

U.N. peacekeeping and mediation have had important successes. In Namibia, Cambodia and El Salvador, and more recently in Mozambique and Angola, the United Nations has brokered or facilitated political settlements, conducted and monitored elections, and contributed to the beginning of economic reconstruction. The results in each case, perhaps excluding Namibia, must be judged as fragile. Yet the steps taken toward democratization and rebuilding of shattered economies should not be dismissed as insignificant, just because they no longer win media attention.

Peacemaking or peace enforcement — where there is no agreement among the parties and the conflict is taking a devastating toll on the local population — is considerably more difficult than peacekeeping. With the end of the Cold War, the international com-

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Somalia has become a metaphor for the failure of United Nations peacemaking and a warning to the American public to stay away from intractable internal conflicts.

munity finds itself dealing with a new kind of problem — internal conflicts fueled by clan, ethnic or tribal antagonisms. When the protagonists in these conflicts have little interest in accommodation, and the international community has limited security or economic interests at stake, the prospects for effective intervention are inherently limited. These difficulties have been evident in Somalia, Rwanda and most recently in Bosnia.

Somalia may well constitute an anomaly in U.S. foreign policy — a humanitarian intervention under Chapter VII of the U.N. charter allowing the use of force — in a country in which the United States had no vital security or economic interests. U.S. involvement overlapped with the transition from the Bush to the Clinton administrations during which peacemaking efforts passed through four distinct phases. While the United States played a positive role in saving an estimated quarter million lives and giving the Somalis an opportunity to rebuild their country, these achievements were overshadowed in public awareness by the subsequent confrontation with Gen. Mohamed Farah Aideed in which 18 American servicemen lost their lives and 75 more were injured. That event has created a Somalia syndrome with direct consequences for U.S. policy toward Rwanda, Bosnia and elsewhere.

Operating in a remote and logistically difficult terrain, the U.S.-led coalition UNITAF did better than its successor UNOSOM II, due mainly to a focused mandate and realistic objective — ending the famine crisis — in contrast to the highly ambitious goal of rebuilding a failed state. Whatever the shortcomings or misjudgments of the United Nations or the United States, and these have been exhastively analyzed elsewhere, the ultimate responsibility for Somalia's plight must fall on the Somalis, and especially on Aideed and Ali Mahdi Mohamed, who chose continued confrontation over a negotiated compromise.

There have been many lessons from Somalia:

■ Using preventive diplomacy. Clearly, there would have been much less suffering, death and destruction if it had been possible to ward off the utter collapse of the Somali state, and the subsequent international effort would have been commensurately reduced. But the issue of who could have undertaken the task of prevention and with what incentives in hand to persuade Siad Barre to step down, or later to get the warlords to settle their competition peacefully, is complex. Similarly we can ask whether preventive diplomacy could have averted genocide in Rwanda and will it be able to do so in Burundi? While U.S., U.N. or European Union mediation remain important options, there is clearly a role for regional groupings such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) or the Organization of American States (OAS) and for nongovernmental organizations with credibility and access to those individuals most able to affect the outcome. At present the OAU and OAS suffer from internal rivalries and limited capabilities. The United States urgently needs to work with these regional bodies to strengthen their skills, but above all, to bolster their political will to act.

■ Deciding whether to use force. Where preventive diplomacy does not occur or fails, the international community has to decide whether to intervene by military means. The use of force by a U.S.-led coalition under U.N. authority (Chapter VII) worked in Korea in 1950 and Kuwait in 1991 because in both cases the United States decided its vital interests were at stake and committed the requisite manpower and resources. The

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Weinberger-Powell doctrine applied in Desert Storm required the massive use of force, but this was an exceptional situation.

The Somalia experience points to several conclusions — be careful and know what you're doing. UNITAF achieved its goals with virtually no confrontation and few casualties because Ambassador Robert Oakley and U.S. Gen. Robert Johnston acted with great restraint, using limited force when confronted but keeping lines of communication to the warlords open. UNOSOM II got into trouble when it went to war against Aideed. It quickly discovered it was playing by Somali rules on Somali turf, and by those rules could not win — certainly not at an acceptable cost.

■ Using subcontractors. From this experience, the idea of the United Nations in effect subcontracting a large scale military enforcement operation to a major member state emerges as both relevant and effective. Desert Storm was precisely that kind of operation. Decisions and operations were under the control of the Pentagon and Central Command, not of U.N. headquarters. The same approach was followed by UNITAF in Somalia, UNMIH in Haiti and the French in Rwanda. In Bosnia, partial responsibility mainly for air support was given to NATO. Any large-scale U.N. peace enforcement effort undertaken needs to be subcontracted to the leadership and control of a major power. We cannot assume that a handoff back to the U.N.-led coalition, as in Somalia and Haiti, absolves the United States of all further responsibility. U.N. headquarters does not have the organizational and logistical capability to undertake and sustain such complex large-scale operations. This would still leave the United Nations with plenty to do in managing important but smaller operations, such as on the Kuwait/Iraq border, in Mozambique or in Angola.

■ Needing public diplomacy. Any involvement of U.S. forces, whether under a NATO or U.N. umbrella, in peace enforcement operations has to be clearly explained to Congress and the American public. This is important at the outset, but even more so as the effort proceeds. This may seem self-evident but its application in practice is more complex. One of the reasons for the great consternation in

Congress when Americans were killed and wounded while trying to capture Gen. Aideed was the preceding breakdown in public diplomacy. If the United States cannot convincingly explain its purpose and approach to its public, especially why we and not others are in the lead, it shouldn't be there. At the same time, the United States needs to explain that a risk-free enforcement operation is simply not possible — as the troops themselves understand clearly.

■ Securing agreement of troop contributors. UNOSOM II's experience underscores the need for detailed advance agreement among troop contributing nations on clear mandates, rules of engagement and command and control procedures. In UNITAF the U.S. command was able to obtain agreement on the ground from the other participating contingents by virtue of their respect for U.S. leadership and the flexibility Gen. Johnston extended to commanders in each sector. When UNOSOM II started its manhunt for Gen. Aideed, unified command and control quickly broke down; the French and Italians who disagreed with the policy turned to their capitals for guidance, eroding the authority of Johnston's successor, Gen. Cevik Bir. The U.N. Security Council, troop contributors and the U.N. Secretariat took action to remedy this situation through regular consultations in New York. But, ultimately, there has to be highest-level agreement and coordination among key troop-contributing capitals as well as on the ground. It has been clear from what happened in both Rwanda and Bosnia how difficult this coordination can be.

■ Working with the military and humanitarian relief communities. The U.S. military has acquired valuable experience in facilitating the work of humanitarian agencies by providing armed escorts and opening major supply routes, first in northern Iraq (Operation Provide Comfort) and subsequently in Somalia. Bridging the gap between the military and the humanitarian relief community was accomplished in Somalia by conscious design with creation of the Civilian-Military Operations Center. While perhaps self-evident from the outside, in practice the building of rapport and mutual respect between quite different cultures took hard work. Effective, mutually supporting

political, military and humanitarian relief efforts could be developed even where chronic problems of security could not be fully resolved. Key is the calibre, ingenuity and commitment of the leadership in all three communities.

■ Rebuilding civil society. One of the main challenges for a peacemaking mission is devising a viable exit strategy. This requires developing enough indigenous institutional structure of civil society to rebuild the society and to contain pressures for renewed confrontation. In Somalia, the United Nations proposed to reestablish a national government and to devolve institutions downward. Given the impediments to a national government, the U.S. approach focused on rebuilding civil society from the bottom up. In addition to encouraging district and regional councils, stability has been achieved in many towns precisely because local councils and police are again in place. This presupposes a measure of political will but it also requires support – salaries, uniforms and equipment. Based on the Somalia experience, the Pentagon has made reestablishment of an acceptable and well trained police force a top priority in Haiti.

■ Maintaining impartiality. Where prior agreement among parties exists, impartiality is straightforward. In Korea and Kuwait this was not an issue as the aggressor was clearly identified. But in Somalia, as in Rwanda and Bosnia, this is a complex matter. The UNITAF position was clear: Remain impartial and don't take sides. Indeed, UNITAF worked hard to get this message across. Oakley and Johnston were keenly aware of how the Marines in Lebanon in 1982-83 had been maladroitly drawn into the whirlpool of conflict when they were seen as taking the side of the Christians against the Muslims. The suicide bombing that claimed 241 Marine lives precipitated the American pullout; in eerie fashion the scenario was repeated in Somalia when the Oct. 3 showdown with Gen. Aideed's SNA set the stage for withdrawal of U.S. forces.

The complexity of this issue can be seen most starkly in Bosnia, where the United Nations has sought to maintain impartiality only to find itself drawn into mortal combat by the Bosnian Serbs. As in Somalia, a limited relief effort has run head-on into the bitter realities of ruthless conflict.

There is something deeply amiss in a situation where a U.N. War Crimes Tribunal has indicted Serbian leaders for crimes against humanity while the U.N. Special Representative negotiates in Belgrade and Pale with those same leaders. It seems in Bosnia appropriate to identify the aggressor and act accordingly. This is one more reason to remove the United Nations from peace enforcement, and to subcontract or carry out enforcement under national or NATO command.

UNITAF's effectiveness was due to the U.S. military's organizational and managerial strengths, enabling 23,000 U.S. troops and 10,000 troops from 20 other countries to be deployed rapidly. Command and control were clearly established from the outset. The unique logistics capability of U.S. forces, including prepositioning of equipment in the Indian Ocean, the rapid availability of suitable ships, and quick access to worldwide U.S. Air Force and commercial charter transport, enabled UNITAF to overcome the infrastructure shortcomings in Somalia. While the United States cannot and should not go into every peacekeeping effort, without U.S. capabilities, some operations could never get off the ground.

Former U.N. Under Secretary General Brian Urquhart for several years has proposed a standing U.N. force, with assigned national contingents. In the present political environment, U.S. participation in such a force seems highly unlikely. But an alternative, such as earmarked units and appropriate training, is feasible. While political decisions on future U.S. involvement in peacekeeping operations remain uncertain, the U.S. military is expending a great deal of effort in training for humanitarian operations.

Peacekeeping courses have been expanded at U.S. Army facilities in Louisiana and Germany and are part of the curriculum for Marine Corps training at Quantico. These efforts can usefully be extended to include multinational cooperation in training and exercises as well as advance planning to standardize equipment in key categories such as communications. Some equipment could be earmarked for potential use in U.N. operations. These steps would be a great improvement over the present situation where units and equipment need to be identified on an ad hoc basis for each new operation.

The shock waves of Somalia will persist after all U.N. troops have left. Under Secretary General Kofi Annan has characterized the situation in Bosnia as "crossing the Mogadishu line," which means that the United Nations has placed itself in an untenable position by establishing safe havens without effective demilitarization. The French-British Rapid Reaction Force is a pragmatic effort to protect UNPROFOR, but cannot bring peace to Bosnia.

Given the current congressional and public attitudes, it seems unlikely that the United States will be involved in another large-scale humanitarian intervention under U.N. auspices in the foreseeable future. The humanitarian impulse and idealism of the American people, whose capabilities and leadership remain indispensable, have not disappeared. Indeed, vigorous diplomacy has created a new prospect for peace in the Balkans. If U.S.-led negotiations succeeds and Congress approves, 25,000 U.S. troops could be seen deployed within a NATO framework. Those of us who served in Somalia know that the United States, and often only the United States, can make the difference between hope and despair for millions. In that spirit, it is my hope that the United States will continue to exercise its leadership role in the world. ■

THE LESSONS OF THE UN

Madeleine Albright is the U.S. ambassador to the U.N.

Q DO YOU AGREE WITH U.N. CRITICS, WHO SAY IT'S TIME TO RETHINK THE USE OF U.N. TROOPS FOR PEACEKEEPING, PARTICULARLY NOW THAT TRADITIONAL PEACEKEEPING CONTINGENCIES ARE OFTEN MORE INVOLVED IN HUMANITARIAN AND REGIONAL SECURITY?

A In the post-Cold War world, U.N. peacekeeping remains a vital tool for preserving global security and enhancing U.S. interests. Peacekeeping operations have the capacity to separate adversaries, maintain cease-fires, facilitate delivery of humanitarian relief for refugees, demobilize combatants, and create conditions for political reconciliation.

That's why the United States is taking the leading role in reforming U.N. peacekeeping. Because of our efforts, the Security Council has become far more disciplined about when and under what circumstances to begin a peace operation. Today, tough questions are asked about the cost, size, risk, mandate and duration of a mission before one is started or renewed. There is a growing recognition of the need for more specialized political and mediation skills and we are likely to see smaller missions with more observers and more modest military components. We're making more vigorous efforts to respond before conflict breaks out — and full-scale peacekeeping operations are required. Greater use is being made of preventive diplomacy — as in Burundi where our ambassador [Robert Krueger] and his staff have performed magnificently — and of observer missions, such as in Georgia and Tajikistan.

We're also working with the U.N. to make greater use of coalition operations in which the Security Council authorizes one or more member states to lead the response in peacekeeping or humanitarian crisis, for example the French in Rwanda or the U.S.- led multinational force in Haiti.

The goal is to ensure that U.N. peacekeeping contributes to a less violent, more stable and more democratic world than it otherwise would be. We want to ensure that peacekeeping provides the president with an option between unilateral action and standing aside when emergencies arise. Although U.N. peacekeeping is not the right tool in all circumstances, it's too valuable to throw away.

JAMES YANG

ALBRIGHT DEFENDS WORLD BODY'S ROLE IN KEEPING THE PEACE

BY KAREN KREBSBACH

Q U.N. PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS SINCE 1945 HAVE BEEN CRITICIZED AROUND THE WORLD FOR INEFFECTIVENESS, BUT, IN FACT, THEY'VE BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN BROKERING THE END OF CIVIL CONFLICT IN EL SALVADOR; MAINTAINING PEACE BETWEEN TRADITIONAL REGIONAL RIVALS GREECE AND TURKEY, AS WELL AS MANY OTHER EXAMPLES. ITS MAJOR CRITICS ARE ON CAPITOL HILL. IS IT JUST THAT THE UNITED NATIONS NEEDS A BETTER PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGN FOR ITS PEACEKEEPING EFFORTS?

A While there are those on Capitol Hill who have been unyielding in their criticism of peacekeeping and our participation in the U.N. in general, the good news is that we're working very closely with a bipartisan group of senators and congressmen in an effort to resolve some of the very tough questions of U.S. participation in and financing of U.N. operations and appropriate congressional notification procedures.

Poll after poll demonstrates that large majorities of Americans remain strongly supportive of the U.N. and recognize that the U.S. benefits from our involvement.

We're working very hard to explain how the peace and security operations of the United Nations directly support U.S. national interests. We're reminding people that nations that would not otherwise deploy their military forces outside of their own borders send their own men and women around the world on U.N. peacekeeping missions. In so doing, they help to prevent small wars from growing into larger conflicts, which would be far more costly in terms of lives and resources. Also, in today's global marketplace, peace and stability provide economic dividends that translate into new jobs and increased prosperity for Americans.

Q FOR MANY YEARS, THE SOVIET UNION DID NOT PAY ITS PEACEKEEPING BILLS, AND NOW THE U.S. IS $1 BILLION IN ARREARS. MANY BLAME THE GROWING ISOLATIONIST MOVEMENT IN THE COUNTRY — AND IN CONGRESS — FOR KEEPING INTERNATIONAL ISSUES SUCH AS PEACEKEEPING OFF THE U.S. AGENDA. IS THAT THE REASON THE UNITED STATES HASN'T PAID ITS SHARE, OR ARE THERE OTHER, DEEPER ISSUES AT THE CORE? AND WHAT KIND OF EXAMPLE IS THE LONE SUPERPOWER SETTING BY NOT PAYING ITS BILL?

A "Representation without taxation" is what British Prime Minister John Major called our failure to pay our bills during his [United Nations' 50-year anniversary] speech. It's a good line, but, remember, while we are the biggest debtor, we also remain the largest contributor. While the payment process may be slow, the U.N. receives substantial contributions from the U.S. We have paid approximately $400 million for peacekeeping to the U.N. over the last year. In 1994, we paid over $1.2 billion for regular and peacekeeping assessments. In addition, the U.S. has made substantial cash and in-kind contribution to U.N. peacekeeping and humanitarian operations. I think it is also important to note that a significant proportion of peacekeeping money returns to the United States. For example, U.S. businesses receive 45 percent of headquarters peacekeeping procument – almost $200 million last year – and the United States is paid by the U.N. for the participation of U.S. troops in peacekeeping operations.

Nevertheless, because of the financial situation, it's becoming harder for me to gain support for our goals at the United Nations. While there are some powerful isolationist voices in Congress, and around the country, the debate over our payments is driven less by ideology than the realities of federal budgeting. By law, this year, we reduced our share of the peacekeeping assessment from approximately 30 percent to 25 percent and we are pushing for a more equitable assessment scale for all peacekeeping contributors. At the same time, Congress envisages a 40 percent cut in our international affairs and operations spending over the next few years. We are working very hard to establish agreement, with Congress, on a funding formula for our assessed U.N. contributions while establishing a process to pay off our arrearages. Most of our arrearages reflect the significant increases in peacekeeping missions in the past few years. With the winding down of these operations and with the prospect of far fewer, less expensive, peacekeeping ventures in the future, our hope is that we will be able to establish a funding mechanism to pay off our debt and provide predictability for future contributions.

Q IT'S BEEN REPORTED THAT THE U.S. SHARE OF U.N. PEACEKEEPING COSTS IS A SUM LESS THAN HALF OF 1 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL U.S. DEFENSE BUDGET. FIRST OF ALL, IS THAT FIGURE ACCURATE, AND SECOND, IS THAT ENOUGH OR TOO MUCH, IN YOUR OPINION?

A Yes, the figure is accurate. The total assessed cost to the United States of U.N. peacekeeping in fiscal year 1994 was roughly $1 billion — about $4 per American — and less than one-half of 1 percent of our foreign policy and national security expenditures. Over the last five years, however, as I have mentioned, peacekeeping costs rose sharply. Although those costs are now in decline, this

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Karen Krebsbach is the editor of the Foreign Service Journal.

trend exacerbated concern in Congress over the role of United Nations peacekeeping in global conflicts. If America pulls the plug on U.N. peacekeeping, our ability to lead at the U.N. will be seriously damaged. In each instance, when we have come to the aid of others, we have acted also in America's interest. Our interests would not be served by destroying U.N. peacekeeping or by making it more difficult for us to gain support for our objectives at the U.N. While U.N. peacekeeping costs must and can be better contained, they represent a far cheaper choice than the alternatives: acting unilaterally or taking an isolationist stance until forced to confront crises after they've spread to directly threaten U.S. national security interests.

Q PEACEKEEPING COSTS HAVE INCREASED FROM $450 MILLION TO $3.7 BILLION FROM 1990-94, A NEARLY EIGHT-FOLD INCREASE IN FOUR YEARS. THAT'S ABOUT 34 PERCENT OF THE U.N.'S TOTAL ANNUAL BUDGET, MOSTLY DUE TO MISSIONS IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. WHAT IS THE BUDGET OF THE NEXT FIVE YEARS LIKELY TO LOOK LIKE?

A Projected peacekeeping costs over the next few years are, obviously, unpredictable. However, once the Bosnia operation is closed down, and barring any major new unforeseen operations, the peacekeeping budget should stabilize at $1 billion to $1.5 billion for the next few years. As I discussed earlier, we're working to ensure more cost-effective and cheaper peacekeeping operations in the future and a more equitable scale of peacekeeping assessments.

Q IN THE COMING FIVE YEARS, WHICH COUNTRIES ARE POTENTIAL HOTSPOTS RIPE FOR U.N. PEACEKEEPERS?

A It's impossible to predict. However, we can assume that areas without democracy or open markets are most likely to see conflict that could require U.N. involvement.

Q EARLY U.N. PEACEKEEPING CONTINGENTS WERE FEWER THAN 6,000 TROOPS. THE LARGEST — MORE THAN 20,000 — WERE IN THE CONGO (NOW ZAIRE) IN 1960-64, IN SOMALIA IN 1993-94, AND IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA FROM 1992-94. WILL FUTURE CONTINGENCIES BE SMALLER OR LARGER, AND WHAT FACTORS DETERMINE THAT NUMBER?

A U.N. blue-helmeted missions of the future will be smaller than those in the former Yugoslavia or Somalia, because peacekeeping tools can be sharpened. We are working with other U.N. members to make peacekeeping more effective. The number of troops we deploy will depend on how effectively the U.N. can respond when the risk of combat is high and the level of local cooperation is low. ... The goal is simple: Ensure that UN missions have clear and realistic objectives, that peacekeepers are equipped properly, that money is not wasted and that an end-point to U.N. action can be identified.

Q PLEASE COMMENT ON THE ROLE OF U.N. PEACEKEEPERS THUS FAR IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.

A I've already discussed some of the ways that we have begun to apply the lessons learned from UNPROFOR and from other recent peacekeeping missions. As far as the UNPROFOR operation itself, numerous questions remain as to how the peacekeepers could have been better equipped to enforce the Security Council mandate and whether, and in what way, UNPROFOR could have more

forcibly countered Serb aggression and forestalled the terrible atrocities and suffering. Also at issue is whether the international community could have acted more decisively in the earlier stages to prevent the growth of this conflict. At the same time, for all the problems, peacekeepers in the former Yugoslavia have been able to prevent the eruption of a wider war and have helped assure humanitarian relief for tens of thousands of Bosnians and refugees.

Q ONE OF YOUR MOST CONTENTIOUS CHALLENGES IS RESPONDING TO THE CONCERN AMONG U.S. SOLDIERS AND U.S. LEGISLATORS WHO WANT ONLY U.S. COMMANDERS OVERSEEING U.N. PEACEKEEPING TROOPS. IS THIS A RESOLVABLE ISSUE, AND IF SO, HOW?

A The president never gives up his command authority over U.S. forces. The greater the U.S. military role, the less likely that the U.S. will agree to have a U.N. commander exercise operational control over U.S. forces. If it's to our advantage to place U.S. forces under the operational control of a U.N. commander, the fundamental elements of U.S. command still apply. The U.S. commanders maintain their capability to report separately to higher U.S. military authorities. The U.S. reserves the right to terminate participation at any time and to take whatever actions necessary to protect U.S. forces if they are endangered.

It's been long-standing U.S. policy, when it serves U.S. interests, to place U.S. forces under temporary operational control of foreign partners. After all, Gen. [Joseph] Lafayette commanded U.S. troops during the Revolutionary War. Under this policy the United States is able to participate in operations that directly serve U.S. interests, while limiting U.S. exposure. Moreover, when the U.S. is willing to provide forces to collective security actions, it reaps reciprocal benefits when other countries contribute forces to U.S.-led operations, as in the Gulf War. The president must retain this flexibility, which has served us well throughout history. Under the Constitution, the president retains the sole authority to deploy U.S. troops. No administration could accept conditions that infringe on this authority. ■

BOOKS

THE GANGSTA WORLD OF JAMAICAN CRIME

Born Fi' Dead: A Journey Through the Jamaican Posse Underworld
Laurie Gunst, Henry Holt and Co., Inc., 1995, $23, hardcover, 245 pages.

BY ROBERT BLAU

Born Fi' Dead focuses on gunslinging criminals, but the author's perspective's not entirely sympathetic to Jamaican law enforcement or government authority. Her thesis is that the most violent Jamaican gangs are creations of the country's political parties and their larger-than-life leaders: The People's National Party (PNP) of Michael Manley and Jamaican Labor Party (JLP) of Edward Seaga. Not only did these gangs get their weaponry under the auspices of these parties, but they also brought their bloody rivalries with them as U.S. immigrants.

Gunst is much harsher on Seaga than on Manley. Gunst's world view is critical of the U.S. government, the International Monetary Fund, foreign investors and tourism, and friendly to government subsidies, state-run enterprises and many of the other distortions that have brought nothing but economic disaster to Jamaica and so much of the rest of the Third World in the first Manley era. She suggests that U.S. support for Seaga — and by implication, his henchmen — created more poverty and a climate conducive to violence.

The book's principal value is as a detailed portrait of the gangs and their leaders, as well as their *modus operandi*. Gunst went native and got remarkably close to her subject, in many cases witnessing drug and weapons crimes during interviews. She presents a well-written, historical account, frequently in the gangsters' own words, of how they got involved in the cocaine trade and helped put Jamaica on the U.S. government's drug-control map as a cocaine transshipment point.

However, she presents the gang members as relatively sympathetic characters who only fell in with the wrong company, a view that's hard for an objective reader to share after getting through the gruesome accounts of the murders and other crimes these characters commit.

A reader might wonder how it was that Jamaican gunslingers, murderers and drug dealers made their way so easily to the United States. Gunst cites cases of Jamaicans entering with fake U.S. passports or as temporary agricultural workers, but the numbers do not seem to add up to the overall immigration statistics she also cites. Although it is probably not Gunst's intention, her book almost begs for a concerted effort to toughen U.S. immigration laws, or to more strictly enforce the current ones.

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

SOCIALISM WITH A CHINESE ACCENT

Deng Xiaoping and the Chinese Revolution: A Political Biography
David S.G. Goodman, Routledge Press, 1995, hardcover $60, paperback $17.95, 209 pages.

BY DAVID REUTHER

Deng Xiaoping, who was *Time's* Man of the Year in 1979, represents a generation that will shortly pass from the China scene. Of the abundant books on Deng lately, Goodman's is an excellent retrospective. It plumbs an extensive bibliography of Deng's reports and writings. He adds personal interviews, rendering a highly readable book that provides an insightful focus on the major episodes in 20th century Chinese history.

The Western media has myopically presented Deng as either a liberal reformer who brought China economic progress or the authoritarian responsible for Tiananmen. Goodman's Deng is a Chinese revolutionary who experienced all the major episodes of the Chinese Communist movement. Deng spent part of his youth in France, received an education in Moscow, participated in the urban revolutionary movement in China, discovered the rural revolution, welded Chinese nationalism and social discontent to produce the goods and enthusiasm to resist the Japanese and later the Kuomintang, became a ranking official

in New China, presented the report to the Central Committee that purged Gao Gang, and, ultimately, survived three purges himself.

As a political biography, Goodman's book is not about how China was ruled, but what role Deng played. Its focus is the connection between Deng's past and China's present reforms. Goodman places considerable emphasis on Deng's experiences in North China after the Japanese invasion of 1937 and later during the civil war. He contends that this period is a primary source of Deng's experimentalism and pragmatic approach. During this period Deng was the political commissar for the Central Field Army as it evolved from guerrilla to conventional units and won the Huai-Hai battles, the largest of the civil wars. Furthermore, he contends Chinese politics are inherently personal and argues that Deng's resurrections after three purges can be explained as part of "Chineseness" of the system, not particular survival skills on Deng's part. What repeatedly rescued Deng's fortunes, he argues, were the personal relations Deng established during the civil war period.

Goodman's Deng is a Chinese nationalist, who had a vision for a modern China via the insights of Marxism-Leninism. Deng was not a liberal reformer in the Western sense of encouraging a pluralistic society. In fact, Goodman's Deng-as-reformer is essentially a conservative who looked back to the Golden Era of the 1940s and 1950s when the party's organization and élan seemed to be the key which would lead China to a modernized future. Thus, Deng's pragmatic approach sought "socialism with Chinese characteristics." How far away is Deng from the generation of late 19th-century century Chinese reformers who spoke of "western science and Chinese morals?" While Deng and his generation were literally there at the creation, their passing marks the beginning of a new era for China in its decades-old longing for modernization. ■

David Reuther is an FSO assigned to Washington. He has more than 20 years' experience in East Asia and the Mideast, having served in Beijing, Taipei and Bangkok.

In Memory

Nien-tz'u Chou Bennett (Nancy), 80, wife of the late FSO Josiah W. Bennett, died on July 5 in Santa Monica, Calif.

From 1946-75, Mrs. Bennett accompanied her husband on postings to Nanking, China; Taipei; Tel Aviv; Lagos and Saigon. She was born in Beijing and earned a bachelor's degree at Yenching University and a master's degree at Wellesley College.

Mrs. Bennett taught Chinese at the Foreign Service Institute and in Saigon she was very active in the International Rescue Committee and the Holt Adoption Agency.

Survivors include two daughters, Jean and Anne, and six grandchildren.

Robert Deville Collins, 62, a retired FSO, died on April 12 in Tallahassee, Fla.

After receiving a bachelor's degree from the University of California and a master's degree from Johns Hopkins University, Mr. Collins joined the Foreign Service in 1956. He served in Hong Kong, Kingston, Rome, and as consul general in Milan and Palermo, Italy. He served in Rome as political counselor before retiring in 1988.

Survivors include his wife, Carol, of Tallahassee; two sons, Robert and Christopher; and three grandchildren.

Nicholas Feld, 79, a retired FSO, died Sept. 28 at his home in North Chatham, Mass.

Mr. Feld graduated from Harvard College in 1936 and joined the Foreign Service in 1939. He served in Switzerland, India, South Africa and Tanzania and was appointed deputy chief of mission in Budapest in 1960. He then served in several positions in Washington, D.C., including director of East African Affairs, until his retirement in 1969. After moving to Massachusetts, he taught international relations, government and history at Cape Cod Community College.

He is survived by his wife, Cora, and a daughter, Evelyn, of Brookline, Mass.

Adela Guerra, 57, wife of retired FSO Manuel Guerra, died on July 26 in San Antonio, Tex., from injuries suffered in an automobile accident.

Mrs. Guerra was born in New York City and spent her childhood in Mexico City. She received an undergraduate degree in elementary education, teaching in Greenbelt, Md., and did graduate work at Catholic University on the education of gifted children.

After her husband joined the Foreign Service in 1967, she spent the next 26 years with him in posts in Madrid; Monrovia; Naples, Italy; Cali, Colombia and Dublin. She returned to Laredo, Tex., in 1993, a few months before her husband's retirement, where she became active in local organizations and devoted time and effort to the family ranch.

She is survived by her husband; three daughters, Lisa Stevens, Katherine McCraw and Christina Martin Gutierrez; her parents, Raymundo and Berta Lleverino, of Zapata, Tex.; and four grandchildren.

Leonard J. Horwitz, 70, a retired FSO, died of cancer on Oct. 12 at Georgetown University Hospital in Washington, D.C.

A graduate of the University of Massachusetts, Mr. Horwitz earned a master's degree in international relations from the University of Pennsylvania. He joined the Foreign Operations Administration, a predecessor agency of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) in 1954. He left the government to work

In Memoriam

Jean Plass Donald, 70, widow of the late FSO Richard H. Donald, died May 17, 1992, in Punta Gorda, Fla.

Mr. Donald, a fourth generation FSO, joined the Foreign Service in 1946. The couple was stationed in San Salvador, Munich, Tokyo, Bogota, Taichung, Hong Kong and Jakarta.

Survivors include her children, Susan Donald of Tampa, Fla; Ann Donald of Fitchburg, Mass.; and Nancy Donald of Cambridge, Mass.

In Memory

for five years with private business organizations in Latin America, returning to AID in 1962 as program officer in Santiago. He also served as AID director in Montevideo before retiring in 1979. He then became director of international development at Price Waterhouse's Washington office.

Survivors include a brother, Albert Horwitz, of Boston.

Scott Calvin Lyon, 83, a retired FSO and international economist, died on Sept. 8 of complications of Parkinson's disease in Chevy Chase, Md.

Mr. Lyon graduated from Ohio University and did graduate study at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He joined the Foreign Service in 1940, serving in Lisbon, Antwerp and Brussels during World War II. In 1948 he was assigned to Vladivostok, the last Cold War consul general in that Soviet city. Subsequent assignments included Germany, Brazil and several positions in Washington, D.C.

After retiring from the State Department in 1967, he was an international economist with the departments of Commerce and Treasury. He retired from the government in 1979.

He is survived by his wife, Nancy, of Chevy Chase; two sons, David, who is preparing for his first Foreign Service assignment in Beijing, and Peter, of Boulder, Colo.; and four grandchildren.

Walter K. Schwinn, 94, a retired FSO, died of a stroke Sept. 12 in Bloomfield, Ct.

Mr. Schwinn graduated from the University of Wisconsin and received

a master's degree from Harvard University. For 20 years he was an editorial writer for the Hartford *Courant* and then after World War II joined the Foreign Service. In 1946 he served as public affairs officer in Warsaw; subsequent posts included Singapore, Kuala Lumpur and Penang, Malaysia. In 1957 he was appointed consul general in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. He retired in 1961 in Hartford, Conn. He is survived by a niece, Barbara Stull, of St. Charles, Ill.

Eugenia Callander Sharp, 73, wife of retired FSO Frederick Dent Sharp III, died of cancer on Aug. 3 in Portland, Me.

Mrs. Sharp graduated from Pollins College and earned a master's degree from the University of Pennsylvania. She accompanied her husband to Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 1962.

Survivors include her husband; a stepson, Alexander; a stepdaughter, Beverly Borger; and seven grandchildren.

Earl Sohm, 76, a retired FSO, died May 17 at the Manor Care nursing home in Potomac, Md.

Born in California, Mr. Sohm graduated from Fresno State College and received his master's degree from Stanford University. Mr. Sohm joined the Foreign Service in 1956 and served in Rome, the Hague and London as deputy to Ambassador Walter Annenberg. He joined the United Nations' joint inspection unit in Geneva. He retired in 1985.

Mr. Sohm is survived by his wife Myra Lindsay, of Bethesda; two children, Philip, of Toronto, and Janet, of Los Angeles; and one grandson. ■

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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Celebrating Christmas in Kenya

BY BONNIE KATHRYN SCHMIEL

The holiday season takes on special meaning when celebrated overseas. The celebration is often a mingling of well-known sights and sounds of Christmas with the rituals and practices of another country and another religion.

During the Christmas season in Mombasa, Kenya, my husband and I looked forward to the annual Christmas tree-lighting ceremony put on by the local government. As we approached Government Square, where the ceremony was to take place, it seemed obvious that we were much too early. Workers were still nailing red, green and black bunting around the sides of the stage. Others were draping strings of tiny white lights from trees to street lamps to building corners. Two men were arranging folding chairs in rows. We stood alone watching as the preparations continued.

The central focus of all the activity stood some 40 feet in front of the platform. A tall, slender evergreen of uncertain origin already looked tired in the dusty, dry heat of the afternoon sun, its branches bent under the weight of wires and sockets and bulbs.

The program included speeches by all the major political figures, musical selections by local bands and choirs, a visit from Santa and the official tree lighting. It was a little after 5 p.m. when we were seated on the platform. Two members of parliament from city districts took their seats on either side of us. Dressed in business suits, white shirts and ties despite the heat, the gentlemen greeted us enthusiastically. The dignitaries continued to trickle in. By 5:30 p.m. most of the seats on the platform were filled.

A tall, slender evergreen of uncertain origin already looked tired in the dusty, dry heat.

At last, at 5:50 p.m., the mayor, the regional party chairman, the deputy minister, an Anglican priest and a Moslem imam emerged from City Hall. As the leaders walked to the platform, the guests rose and the cement-factory band began to play "Silent Night," as the sun dropped below the horizon. Dark soon enclosed the canvas-covered platform, while hundreds of sparks of white light, surrounded by halos of tiny insects, illuminated the square. After a police color guard marched in, the band struck up the national anthem and the ceremony began.

Speaker followed speaker proclaiming the spirit of Christmas, party principles and praise of the president. The Anglican priest and imam added prayers and blessings. As we sat listening and awaiting the tree-lighting ceremony, we sipped warm Coca-Cola from the dripping bottles being distributed on the platform.

Finally the long-awaited moment came. To the joyful cries of the children, a reed-thin, red-suited Santa emerged from the shadows, distributing candies. He joined the party as the mayor and party chairman jointly connected the cords to complete the circuit. The lights on the tree burst into color and the crowd gave a simultaneous gasp and cheer. No electrical outages tonight: Government Square glowed with the warmth of the Christmas season.

We stood to leave. We had been on the platform for nearly three hours. However, there was still one final part of the program in which we unexpectedly found ourselves participating. As the police band played "We Three Kings," we filed down the steps, skirting the edge of the square to the tree.

Behind the lit tree, we spotted our final destination: a brightly painted collection box. The song ended and was replaced by repeated shouts of "Harambee! Nyayo!" As we and the others paraded by, the balmy, equatorial air filled with cries of "Merry Christmas!" The jingling of Santa's bells blended with the plunk of coins in the metal box. The holiday season in East Africa had officially begun. ■

Bonnie Kathryn Schmiel, whose husband Eugene was principal officer at the consulate in Mombasa, Kenya, from 1986-88, now lives in Springfield, Va.

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