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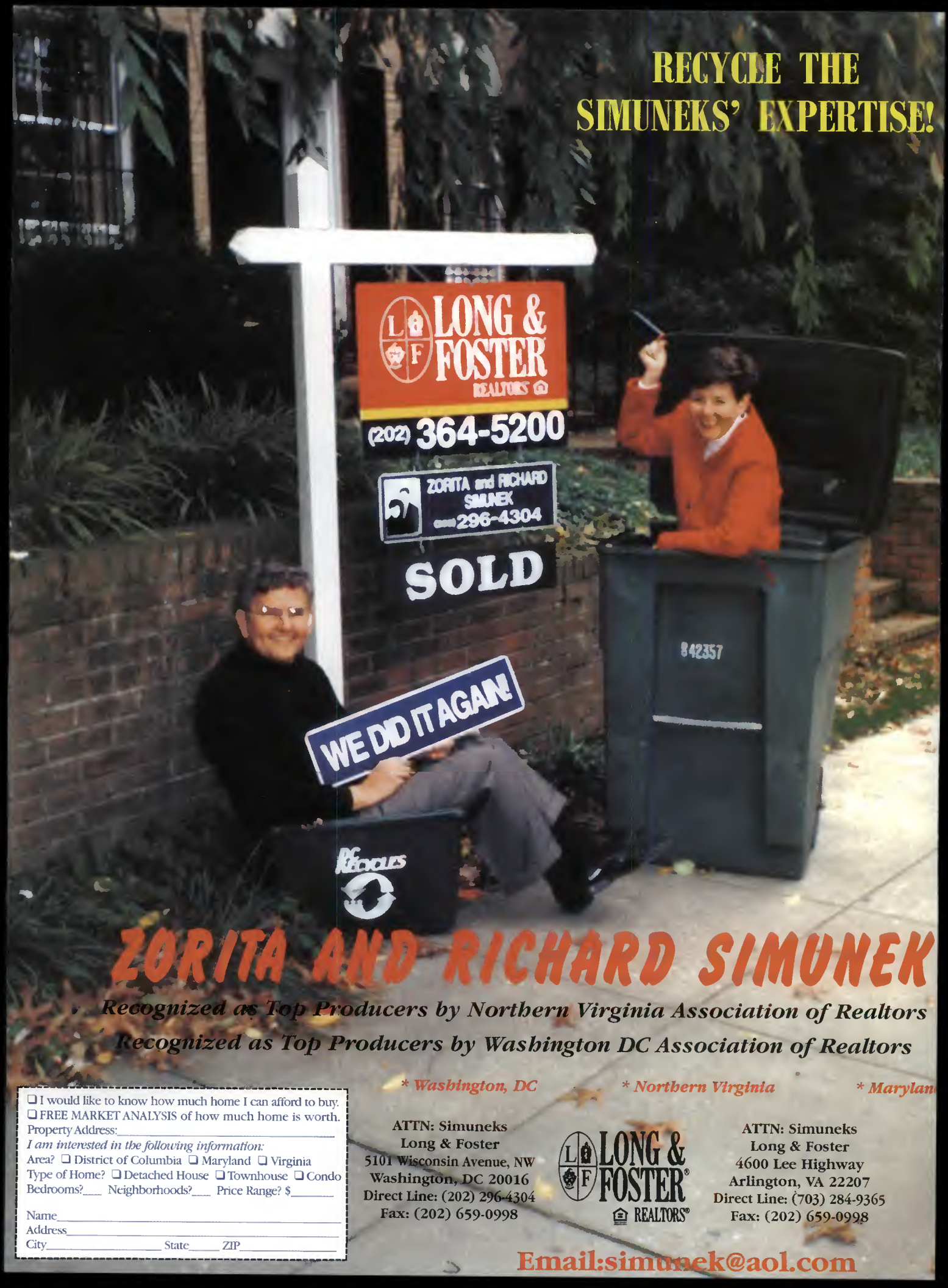
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CONTENTS

May 1996 ■ Vol. 73, No. 5

COVER

FOCUS ON DIPLOMATIC FAMILIES

FEATURES

FOCUS

Page 20

COLUMNS

DEPARTMENTS

Cover illustration by Jim Nuttle

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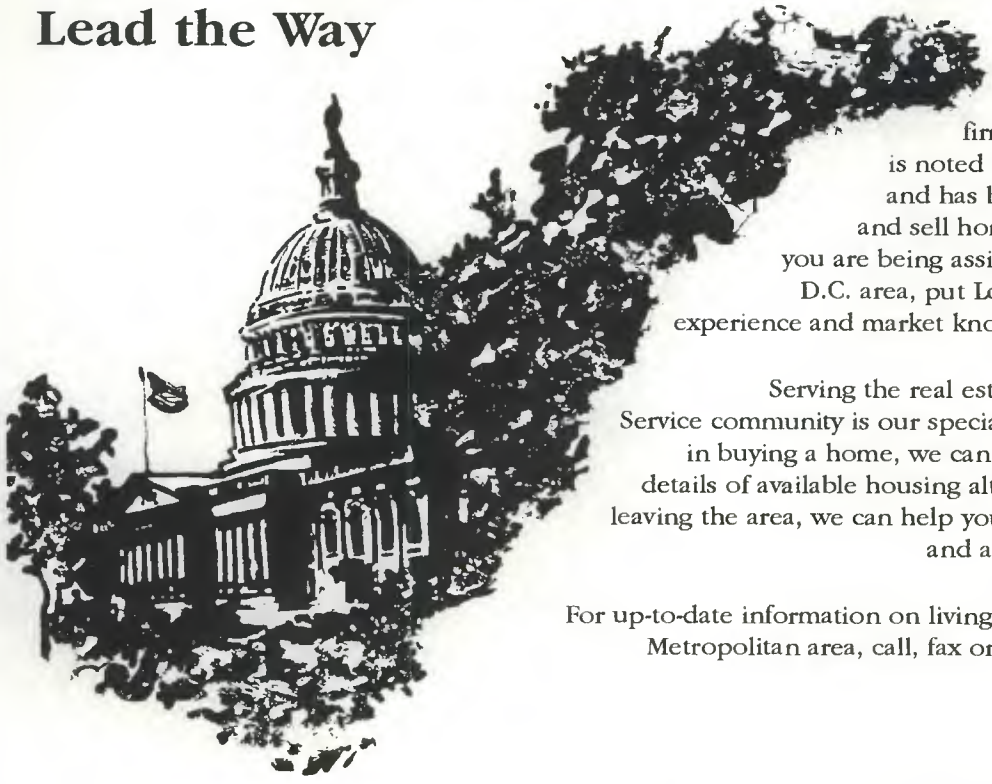

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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

A Battle Won — But The War?

BY F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

The foreign affairs agencies have won the 1996 battle against the Helms-Gilman proposals to chop funding and staff drastically and to consolidate the remains into the State Department. But the long-term war for adequate resources to sustain America's first line of defense — diplomacy — is still being lost. We need a game plan to win the resources war.

A key issue is the way Congress and the executive branch have structured consideration of the international relations 150 account. It is disasterous to lump international programs into the same political arena with domestic discretionary spending. We cannot compete with health care, crime fighting and public projects. These issues help to fund and elect Congress. Our noble cause of advancing America's international security, growth and leadership, without a major immediate threat such as the USSR to dramatize it, is not politically competitive in today's tight domestic money contest. In a budget balancing environment, not only will the domestic discretionary resource pie shrink; so will the 150 account's share of the pie. We will continue to get less of less. [See David Gordon's thoughtful analysis in "AFSA News."]

Here are three counter-strategies to consider. First, establish a new "statecraft" budget function category combining the 150 international relations and the 050 defense-intelligence accounts. This would put all the resources for this nation's diplomatic, intelligence and military expenditures into one account for careful appropriation. Statecraft of all nations is exercised via diplomacy, covert operations and military force. We need to insure that the requisite balance between these elements is maintained. Since 1984 real dollar funding for the 150 account has declined 51 percent, while the intelligence-military budget stands at 80 percent of its Cold War high. It makes no sense that with the disappearance of our only major military threat plus the emergence of myriad new civilian entities we have cut our diplomacy proportionately more. The president is seeking funding for worldwide military and intelligence "dominance." We must have a funding process that ensures superiority for our diplomatic programs. Why not the best in all areas of American statecraft?

> *We need a long-term game plan to win the resources war.*

A second option would be to assign all the 150 account elements to a new single appropriations committee responsible only for those elements. Perhaps the present Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee could become the "International Relations Appropriations Subcommittee." It would have transferred to it the funding responsibilities for State, U.S. Information Agency, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and other foreign affairs issues currently handled by the Commerce, Justice, State appropriators.

A third option would be to install again the budgetary firewalls which previously stopped raids on the 150 account. (Congress could still cut or add as it wishes inside the account, but not transfer funds to other functions.) Firewalling was done informally in 1987 and in 1990 a formal 150 firewall was agreed between Secretary James Baker and Senator Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.). These arrangements, political rather than institutional, were feasible and immediate in their effect. They worked.

Where our resource issues are debated will determine the adequacy of funds voted. This is an issue central to the advancement of America's leadership role in the world. Resolving the issue implies organizational turf wars, which the political leaders will be loath to address. But given the present budget trends, even the most effective and engaged foreign affairs leadership cannot successfully compete for adequate resources when forced to lobby in the domestic arena. For us, the foreign affairs professionals, no issue has greater importance. We must take the lead and demand a new suitable venue for appropriating resources to meet the international challenges ahead. ■

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

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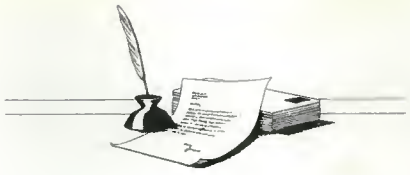

LETTERS

To the Editor:

As I read Charles Schmitz's article, "Speaking Out" [January *Journal*] about privatizing the Foreign Service, my jaw dropped more and more. He could have been talking about AT&T or any other of the down-sizings, mergers and buy-outs in which American big business is now engaged — and in fact, suggests these should be the models for our conduct of foreign affairs.

When he speaks of "costly diplomats," I wonder how well acquainted he is with salary figures of Foreign Service officers compared, for instance, with incomes of managers in large businesses. And is he unaware of the job-related expenses they cover out of these salaries in order to make their work more effective? I wonder in what capacity he worked ... to have formed the opinion that much of the substantive work of embassies and consulates is valueless.

Closing of small offices in countries not now politically potent would save $35 million, he says ... peanuts! The country that is ignored today may become critically important tomorrow, so unsettled is the world community. U.S. presence in these small, remote posts cannot consist of answering machines and recording devices. In-depth, sound and relevant information cannot be supplied by news services and occasional reports by privately recruited locals. ... Security concerns are not addressed, and national allegiance apparently irrelevant.

Our presumably influential and important country is represented adequately only by a human presence. ... Human judgment is still not provided by a computer; nor can it perceive mistakes, deceptions and motivations. ... Men and women of [high] caliber earn the respect and good will of the people and governments of the host country. The confidence that the "costly diplomat" earns brings the U.S. government knowledge and insight for the effective conduct of foreign relations — and advances the business interests of U.S. companies.

Despite the alarm about the condition of our national finances, there is little reluctance to provide tax cuts and superfluous weaponry. There is equivalent obligation to provide consular services for our travelling citizens, resident businesspeople, relief workers, missionaries, teachers and students. And those of us at home are paying for, and are entitled to responsible conduct of our country's foreign affairs. ... If we say we can't afford to maintain a presence world-wide, our standing in the world will suffer.

To create this influence is the work of able and dedicated professionals, whose allegiance is to all the American people and their government. Motivated by a belief in the value of their work and with no expectation of making big money as "costly diplomats," they better serve the interests of American trade than would Mr. Schmitz's prescription.

D.E. Prince
Retired FS Spouse
Auburn, Me.

To the Editor :

May I compliment the *Journal* for its three informative and provocative articles on the CIA in the February issue and comment briefly on David Swartz's catalogue of that agency's transgressions ("Redirecting the CIA").

Having served as deputy chief of mission (DCM) to eight ambassadors around the world, including two large and complicated embassies, I was perhaps unusually fortunate in not having encountered the experiences enumerated by Swartz. Without exception, my relationship, both personal and professional, with the varied assortment of [CIA] station chiefs was excellent — both cooperative and trusting.

With one exception my ambassadors were professional diplomats, and they made it clear to the station chief that both the ambassador and the DCM should be privy to all reporting and operational activities. My ambassadors in no uncertain terms did "exercise full oversight over agency activities," usually through the DCM as

spelled out in the original country-team concept.

I think the key to avoiding embarrassing activities, misleading or contradictory reporting or attempts at policy formulation by the CIA, either abroad or at Langley, lies in assuring that we have strong ambassadors who are able and willing to carry out already existing directives regarding their authority. An ambassador can always go directly to the president with a significant CIA problem and would undoubtedly prevail in any such conflict.

David G. Nes
Retired FSO
Owings Mills, Md.

To the Editor:

The essay in *The Nation* of Feb. 12 ["Clippings," March *Journal*] on State's equal opportunity program deserves a considered answer by the department and the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA), especially the charge that [AFSA President] Tex Harris was critical of diversity.

As a white male FSO-retiree with some experience in equal opportunity, I am inclined to believe *The Nation's* criticism of the Foreign Service record of employment and promotion of women and minorities. My views may provide more heat than light but:

■ The Foreign Service I joined in 1950 was largely liberal, very critical of foreign patterns of discrimination, and vocally supportive of minority rights everywhere. Twenty years later, when white males began to realize that promotion of minorities and women would affect their own promotions and assignments, and their chil-

dren's job opportunities, there was a change in the chats I heard around the water cooler.

■ As an occasional member of the Board of Examiners, I joined discussions as to why we don't attract more minority applicants. African-Americans may say our written examination has a cultural bias; I don't know. My personal opinion is that like other businesses, we're looking for the "eagles," who are in short supply, and who find the near-term benefits much greater in business or academia. We all know that not all successful white male candidates are "eagles."

■ In the academic life I was part of as a Diplomat in Residence, and which I have been close to since retirement, I observe the same attitudes as in the Foreign Service: an appreciation in principle of the need to change but reluctance to accept change when it affects white males personally.

C. Patrick Quinlan
Retired FSO
Edina, Minn.

Editors note:

AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris wrote a letter that appeared in the April 8 *Nation*, affirming that "AFSA strongly supports an open and transparent diversity-enhancement program."

To the Editor:

If *Foreign Service Journal* readers want to read more pulp fiction such as that put forth by Martha Brady in her article, "Why Aren't You Writing?" [February *Journal*], they are invited to check out the

LETTERS

Spouses' Underground Newsletter (SUN) written by and for Foreign Service spouses or Eligible Family Members or whatever we are called this week.

Within its pages is the continuing saga of "Rebecca Long Fairchild, Foreign Service Spouse," which is a send-up of romance novels. This adventure, published in serial form in the SUN, often depicts the heroine's tasteless love-hate relationship with her driver, who happens to be named Raoul. Surely this is just a bad-taste coincidence with the gardener in Ms. Brady's fiction. The SUN also contains more thought-provoking articles, but humor constitutes a large part of every issue.

Francesca Huemer Kelly
Editor/Publisher,
The SUN
Vienna, Va.

To the Editor:

Those of us making up the NIS family of offices and individuals working NIS-related issues were delighted to see the *Foreign Service Journal* dedicate its March issue to our region. More than just covering the affairs of the former Soviet Union, many in our "family" are working hard to build ties to ancient cultures long forgotten. Others continue the complex and laborious task of arms control, trying to prevent nuclear arms from falling into the hand of terrorists. Still others give highest priority to helping define for these countries what it means to be independent.

In short, as Christy Wise correctly describes in her lead article "Expanding US Influence," our

LETTERS

NIS policy is far from being a singular approach to all of the NIS. Rather, our approaches to these countries are growing more diverse, complex and distinct from one another every day. Unfortunately ... the *Journal's* editorial staff did not pick up on [some incorrect facts]. Here are just a few reality checks the article needed:

■ Deputy Secretary Talbott was appointed ambassador-at-large for the NIS before he became deputy secretary — not after.

■ Ukraine is "the largest country within Europe" only if one excludes Russia.

■ Uzbekistan does not have the "second largest number of people" after Russia — Ukraine does with some 52 million.

■ It is incorrect to say there is "widespread ethnic strife ... between the Russian populations in each country and other ethnic peoples." This is not the case in Ukraine, nor could I find any other NIS desk officer that could agree with this characterization for any NIS country.

■ Nunn-Lugar assistance is also provided to Russia, in addition to Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan.

■ The capital of Kyrgyzstan is Bishkek, not Bistek.

NIS desk officers are often the victims of bad information that circulates about the policies or the countries for which they have foreign affairs responsibility. While, on balance, I would agree that this article did some good, I hope the *Journal* will think about the accuracy of its articles.

Edward J. Salazar
Desk Officer for Ukraine
Department of State
Washington D.C.

To the Editor:

As Richard Gilbert's "Speaking Out," [April *Journal*] shows, the entire Foreign Service community is changing. "Significant others" (including, but not limited to spouses) are more likely to have careers of their own. The State Department has recognized the increasing difficulty of maintaining the mobility that the Service requires, particularly through support efforts such as the Family Liaison Office (FLO), Overseas Briefing Center, and Employee Consultation Service. When my wife, Jan Levin, joined the Foreign Service in June 1995, I was encouraged by the extent to which I was welcomed in the orientation course.

I was pleased to be invited to join the umbrella organization which initiated the FLO and which, among other things, serves as a support group for spouses, but I was surprised to learn that this group is called the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW). I had assumed that AAFSW was composed of only females. AAFSW has welcomed my interest in participating in the Foreign Service community, but I am not sure that many men feel inclined to join it.

I would be interested in hearing from other husbands or male partners about their experience as part of the Foreign Service community, and how AAFSW and other organizations can better support our personal and professional needs. Please call me at (202) 363-2501.

Erwin Rose
FSO Spouse
Washington, D.C. ■

CLIPPINGS

"A B-2 bomber costs about $2 billion. [This amount] pays nearly all the salaries and expenses of running the State Department — including our foreign embassies — for a year."

U.S. AMBASSADOR TO SPAIN RICHARD N. GARDNER, SPEAKING AT AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, MARCH 29.

BUDGET BATTLES IMPLY AMERICAN RETREAT

"The reception the administration's foreign affairs budget is receiving in Congress is more than cool. It is downright negative," says an editorial in the March 24 *Washington Post*. "What is distinctive is the unspoken premise [that] suggests an American retreat from international responsibility."

The *Post* editorial continued, "The United States has identifiable interests that compel sensible global involvement — its allies, its values, its economic links, its citizens' connections. These interests are accepted ... when it comes to reinforce them by our global military reach, they are challenged only when it comes to serve them by our foreign policy. Beyond specific interests, however, lies an overarching American requirement to remain an active and responsible global presence."

On the same theme, Ambassador Robert Ryan, in the March 18 *Daytona Beach News Journal*, emphasized that downsizing and negative actions in the foreign affairs arena are an alarming and costly trend. He wrote, "While demands on diplomacy are growing, recruitment for new officers is declining. ... The current inadequate inflow at the bottom is not enough to meet needs 10 years from now. The Foreign Service is forced increasingly to assign people to posts abroad without adequate language and other training. Outstanding people at all levels are leaving. ... Replacement of an antiquated and outmoded global computer and communications system and other facilities has had to be postponed. U.S. participation, influence and leadership in international organizations has been weakened."

"Diplomacy is a sound front-end investment to prevent our having to live in an unfriendly world or having to use the far more costly and riskier tools of military or covert action later."

FSO TRAINEES CELEBRATE Z DAY

At the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) in Arlington, Va. everything from the Ben Franklin statue to the instructors and students was draped in purple — the official color of the country of Z — on March 29. It was independence day for Z — the fictional country created by the State Department in the mid-1970s to train new Foreign Service officers in the intricacies of consular affairs. Officers-in-training pore over Zian passports, issue visas to Zians, test their wits with Zian authorities and even visit the D.C. morgue to learn what it will take to ship a body back to the United States from Z — $2,150, including embalming, packing and shipping by air.

Mike Musgrove reported in the March 30 *Washington Post* that consular officers "have the grittiest job [in the Foreign Service] ... and tell some of the best stories because they get to see Americans at their goofiest." They handle the paperwork for the approximately 6,000 Americans who die overseas every year and visit the 2,500 Americans who wind up in foreign jails. In the consular training course, students deal with fictional characters such as "Nathan Naive," a back-packing student who suddenly finds himself under arrest after snapping a few forbidden photos and "Sid Vichez," a drug-packing felon. If the role-plays sound wild, wrote Musgrove, the instructors all have real-life stories that top the fictional ones. At the conclusion of the

CLIPPINGS

month-long course, the students celebrate Z Day with skits and speeches, food and fun — the one holiday celebrated at FSI.

USAID PROGRAMS, BUDGET SHRIVELING

The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has survived the effort of some in Congress to kill it, but Administrator J. Brian Atwood is not "an entirely happy camper," wrote Thomas W. Lippman in the March 21 *Washington Post*. USAID is "shriveling like a sundried tomato," with the USAID workforce declining from 11,500 at the start of the Clinton administration to 8,700 today — it will be down to fewer than 8,000 employees by 1998. USAID's programs in 120 countries will be pared to 75 by the end of the decade. The number of "full sustainable development missions" will decline from 70 to 30. Atwood, even more than Secretary of State Warren Christopher, has been a vigorous promoter of U.S. involvement in world affairs, wrote Lippman. In one recent speech, Atwood said that Congress has made "budget reduction" the key objective of U.S. foreign policy — a goal that may be short-sighted and an abdication of U.S. leadership. But, he continued, "The Cold War consensus in support of adequate spending for international programs no longer exists. For that reason, USAID has no choice but to retrench — to do less with less."

In *The Washington Times* of March 15 Atwood outlined his vision for a scaled-back foreign aid agency. Atwood told representatives from nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that these privately funded groups will need to serve as subcontractors to USAID in countries where the agency will no longer be able to maintain a firsthand presence. He said, "USAID is now more a program in international cooperation ... more a facilitator and knowledge-provider than a source of funds. Foreign aid can help build a global community in which population is in better balance with resources and democracy and economic opportunity is more widespread."

STATE OFFICIALS EYE FBI EXPANSION PLANS

In Rome, State Department and Justice officials have worked for more than eight months to write a memo of understanding on relationships between U.S. ambassadors and FBI operatives in their countries. Walter Pincus wrote in the March 18 *Washington Post* that this is just one example of the conflicts that have arisen between law enforcement and foreign policy, as the FBI expands overseas.

The FBI has investigative units in 23 countries and training in many more and plans to increase its foreign activities. The administration wants to capitalize on the bureau's reputation for crime-fighting, which has been heavily promoted in the newly independent states. Pincus reported that the growing FBI overseas contingent is establishing liaison relationships and trying to develop its own clandestine informants with foreign police and intelligence groups that already have relationships with CIA personnel. According to the two agencies' general counsels, it was because of turf clashes between FBI legal attaches and CIA chiefs of station that the Rome meeting was set up. The problem is how much knowledge and control the U.S. ambassador in a country will have over

50 YEARS AGO

"Women are needed in the world of diplomacy," opined *The Washington Post* of April 12, 1946. The April 1946 *Journal* reported, "Today the American Foreign Service has only nine women who could be called career diplomats. If State Department traditions concerning women, and congressional myopia concerning appropriations could be overcome, much solid, long-range building for international understanding and American prestige could be done abroad by a wide use of women.

"To give women a bigger share at diplomacy would be a logical step, since men alone haven't been shining successes at it — if we accept the prevention of war as its major aim. But both men and women are desperately needed in conducting those delicate activities on which the peace of the world may hinge."

"It gets to be more trouble than it's worth."

SPOKESPERSON FOR REP. CARLOS MOORHEAD (R-CALIF.), SPEAKING ABOUT CONGRESSIONAL TRAVEL IN ROLL CALL, *MARCH 18.*

FBI activities. "One person, the ambassador, has to be responsible," a senior State official said, "but the only time it is considered important is after there has been a screw-up."

Meanwhile, as one senior State official put it, "the FBI is on a roll" in its international activities. Congress has approved $3.5 million for FBI growth overseas in 1996 — down from the Senate-approved $9.7 million. Expansion plans to open 5 new posts in the near future must be cleared by both State and the congressional appropriations committees.

STATE SETTLES BLACK BIAS SUIT

The State Department has agreed to pay $3.8 million to compensate black Foreign Service officers who alleged they were denied advancement and career opportunities and to grant retrospective promotions to 17 of them, reported Thomas Lippman in the April 5 *Washington Post*. The agreement was a key part in a negotiated settlement ending a federal lawsuit that has dragged on since 1986.

"We will be carrying out some really substantial reforms in the personnel system so we can train our supervisors to manage a diverse workforce, said Anthony Quainton, director general of the Foreign Service. As of mid-1993 only 6.7 percent of the Foreign Service's 4,015 officers were black and only 1.4 percent of the senior Foreign Service was black.

The settlement would become final in July even though 20 of the 30 named plaintiffs in the suit object to the settlement, which they said fails to meet their demands. ■

SPEAKING OUT

The Case for Racial Diversity in the Foreign Service

BY KENNETH LONGMYER

For generations, the Foreign Service was one of America's most homogenous institutions. From 1789 — when 20 percent of America's population was black — until the advent of the Kennedy administration in 1961, fewer than 10 black Americans had served as career diplomats. Perhaps a half dozen others, including Frederick Douglass and James Weldon Johnson, received non-career political appointments as envoys. With very few exceptions, presidents and State Department officials restricted these diplomats, career and political, to service in Africa and the Caribbean countries — countries that were not considered important on the world screen. During that period, Native American, Hispanic and Asian American diplomats were unknown in the U.S. Foreign Service.

Today, few Americans would disagree with the politically correct view that American needs a racially diverse Foreign Service, a diplomatic corps that "looks like America." However, few advocates of diversity have stated precisely why the diplomatic service — or any government service — should mirror America's heterogenous population. Yet the subjective nature of the foreign policy process itself indicates that diverse values and opinions would benefit the foreign policy process.

The subjective nature of foreign policy indicates that diverse values and opinions would benefit the foreign policy process.

Diversity in America's diplomatic service received its first official endorsement in the 1960s. Concerned with America's image abroad, when the Soviet Union was competing with the United States in the Third World, President John Kennedy and Secretary of State Dean Rusk decided to increase the number of blacks in America's diplomatic corps. They believed an all-white diplomatic corps would undermine America's efforts to promote democracy in non-aligned countries and undermine the claims of equality in America. Others believed that American diplomats who were black would be especially effective in promoting America's interests in Africa. But there are stronger reasons than cosmetic for promoting diversity in America's diplomatic corps.

Outward appearances are important, but more important is the formulation of foreign policy, which takes place within the minds of policymakers inside U.S. embassies, foreign affairs agencies, congressional committees and the White House. Consequently, we should consider how U.S. policymakers' personal backgrounds — including their race, religion, national origin and social class — may affect official policy and behavior.

No observer of American politics would dispute that race, religion and national origin play roles in how Americans view their international interests. During the last three years, policy issues in South Africa, Haiti, Cuba and China underscore the part these factors play in dictating U.S. foreign policy. But ethnic ties also influence the debate over policy towards the former Yugoslavia, extending NATO into Eastern Europe and apportioning foreign assistance. Without a doubt, the U.S. government's response to these international challenges reflects this nation's diverse perceptions, sensitivities, goals, values and family ties.

Kenneth Longmyer, most recently the outreach coordinator for the American Foreign Service Association (AFSA), retired from the Foreign Service in 1992, after having served in Jerusalem, Bonn, Bremen and Stockholm.

Personal experience influences the formation and execution of American foreign policy because policy creation is a subjective process involving individual concepts of Ameriea and its role in the world — perceptions, sensitivities, emotions, insights, ambiguities, contradictions, value judgements, opinions, competing interests, tradeoffs, compromises, moral choiees.

Obligations and opportunities to make ehoices exist at all stages of the forcign policy proeess. Foreign societies and international issues, especially those involving ethnic and sectarian confliets, are complex and often confusing. Thorny problems arc encased in cocoons of contradicting data and/or misinformation. Whether operating in an information desert or a data jungle, diplomatic observers and analysts must choose what to investigate, believe, analyze, report and emphasize.

In Washington, policy analysts and senior officials review information and analyses, weigh options and make policy recommendations to the secretary of State and the president. Most Americans agree that U.S. foreign policies should advance thc country's security, political and economic interests. And many believe that U.S. policies should also advanee America's cultural and moral agenda. However, Americans often disagree when interests must be prioritized, when choices need to be made between long-term, medium- and short-term interests, and when tradeoffs should be made among U.S. values and interests.

Foreign poliey-makers often also must choose between advancing human rights and promoting U.S. economic and security interests. They must consider thc interests of producers and consumers, farmers, and manufacturers, as well as those who produce for export and those who produce for domestic consumption. They must consider the views of investors and of organized labor. Thus, Ameriea's interests are in the eye of the beholder.

Diplomats also bring racial pereeptions and sensitivities to their assigned tasks and a racially heterogenous diplomatic service has a more comprehensive and nuanced view of issues and problems than a monochromatic Foreign Service. Consequently, American diplomats of Afriean, Asian, Hispanic and Native descent ean provide valuable perspectives on European and transnational issues — as well as on non-white societies. Americans should demand diversity in the State Department and the diplomatic serviee — just as we demand diversity in the jury box.

It may be interesting to speculate on the course of events had presidents and secretaries of State sought the foreign policy views of black Americans at several critical points in U.S. history. Polling data and voting records of black members of Congress indicate that black Americans were very reluctant to send American troops abroad in World War I and that blacks were far less fearful of international communism than European-Americans. Thus, had Woodrow Wilson consulted with W.E.B. DuBois and other black American leaders in 1917, he would have been advised to stay out of World War I, and in 1964, black Americans would have urged President Johnson against sending troops to Vietnam.

As American viee consul in Jerusalem, I suspect that my black heritage helps explain thc urgency

of my efforts to sensitize Washington to the negative impact that Israeli settlements would have on efforts to resolve the conflicts between Israelis and Palestinians.

To obtain these varied views, the administration, Congress and the secretary of State should exploit the talents and diverse values of the American people by hiring and appointing more black Americans, Asians, Hispanics and Native Americans as Foreign Service officers, advisors and congressional staffers.

To be sure, the United States has made some progress in this regard, especially in African affairs. But at the decision-making level, U.S. foreign affairs agencies have not taken advantage of Americans' diverse perspectives, sensitivities and powers of observation and analysis. Very few black, Asian, Hispanic or Native American FSOs — either career or political appointees — today are found in the policymaking levels of the State Department. For example, of State's 46 senior officers, 31 are white males, 11 are white females, two are black males and two are black females. Only one or two black officials are making substantive foreign policy and there are no identifiable Asians, Hispanics or Native Americans at the policy level.

Equally important, few non-European Americans are involved in shaping policy towards the countries and multilateral organizations most closely associated with America's major economic and security interests: Russia, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, China, Korea, Mexico, Canada, Bosnia, NATO, the European Union, the Group of Seven, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the United Nations or the World Trade Organization. While today there are 15 black ambassadors, all but one are serving on the African continent.

Although State employs hundreds of black employees and has done so for decades, most hold lower-paying support jobs that offer limited opportunities for advancement. But opening and integrating the Foreign Service at all levels would increase opportunities for at least a few black State Department employees to grow professionally, to improve their educational, professional and economic status and to achieve parity with white colleagues. Poor use of minority professionals already at high-level State jobs has undermined efforts to recruit competitive minority students into the Foreign Service.

Last June, as it does every year, the Department of State submitted to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission an Affirmative Employment Program Accomplishments Report. This report showed that in 1994, the Foreign Service had 80.7 percent of its members of European American descent; 5.1 percent were African American; 4.2 percent were Hispanic; 2.7 percent were Asian American; and 0.3 percent were Native American. But raw numbers do not reveal the status of Americans of non-European descent in the State Department, especially to the casual observer. More telling is the "invisibility" of non-whites in the department, especially in the policy offices on the Seventh Floor.

In his 1,200 page memoir, *Turmoil and Triumph*, former Secretary of State George Shultz

mentioned only one black subordinate by name: former U.S. ambassador to South Africa, Edward Perkins, who received two sentences. Black State Department employees were overlooked again this year in former Secretary James Baker's memoir, *The Politics of Diplomacy*. The only black State Department employee Baker mentioned was Ambassador Perkins, who again received two sentences.

Congress, which in the Foreign Service Act of 1980, as amended, required the Foreign Service to reflect the diversity of the American people, also has a long way to go. Currently, only one or two Americans not of European descent serve as staffers on the House International Relations Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Professionals of the foreign affairs community often complain that the Foreign Service and the State Department — unlike the agencies of Defense and Agriculture — do not have powerful constituencies in American society and in Congress. This handicap, which becomes especially painful when Congress takes up the foreign affairs budget, exists partially because many Americans, including some members of Congress, view the Foreign Service as elitist and irrelevant to the interests of the common person. This unflattering impression of the Foreign Service would change and the State Department would find it easier to earn badly needed congressional support if the Foreign Service reflected the diverse communities throughout the country and made fuller use of all members of the American family. ■

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Historic Dynasties

JIM NUTTLE

Many Famous Envoys Groomed for Careers By 'Connected' Kin

By Ellen Rafshoon

Charles Francis Adams entered the world of American diplomacy when he was 2 years old. The first assignment of this son of John Quincy Adams, then serving as minister plenipotentiary to Russia, was opening a fancy dress ball for a member of Tsar Alexander's court at St. Petersburg in 1809. "To gratify the taste for Savages" among the Russian nobility, the young Adams wore an Indian chief costume, his mother, Louisa, wrote in her diary, and his entrance was greeted with a "general burst of applause." It would not be his last.

A century later, in 1907, John Foster Dulles, whose grandfather John W. Foster and uncle Robert Lansing both served as secretary of State, in 1892-93 and 1915-20, respectively, embarked on his maiden diplomatic mission when

It's not surprising that men like Charles Adams followed their forefathers into foreign service. Their elders reared them to believe they were obligated to serve their country.

he was still a college student at Princeton. Grandfather Foster was then an adviser to the Chinese government in Washington and had hired Dulles to act as the Chinese delegation's secretary at the Second Hague Conference in 1907. Little was accomplished at the conference, but Dulles was enchanted by the proceedings. Throughout his life, the future secretary of State fondly recalled solving a thorny protocol problem having to do with which delegates should be received first. Dulles liked to brag that his ingenuity got the conference off to a quick start, averting world war for at least seven years.

Given these extraordinary childhoods, it's not surprising that men like Charles Francis Adams and John Foster Dulles followed their forefathers' footsteps into foreign service. After all, their elders reared them to believe that they were members of the nation's ruling elite and were obligated to serve their country. Their families ensured their education included all the knowledge and skills believed to be essential for a diplomat. These included mastery of several languages and extensive study of ancient and modern history and literature.

Having the right character was also important. The ideal American statesman, according to John Adams, Charles Francis' grandfather, should be "active, attentive and industrious, and, above all, he should possess an upright heart and an independent spirit, and should be one who decidedly makes the interest of his country, not the policy of any other nation nor his own private ambition or interest, or those of his family, friends and connections, the rule of his conduct."

John W. Foster, President Benjamin Harrison's secretary of State, cited the importance of "gentlemanly accomplishments," and warned that a "boor in manners or one disagreeable instead of affable in his demeanor" could not hope to serve his nation successfully. When the son or grandson of a secretary of State or ambassador was ready to embark on a diplomatic career, family reputation, connections and unique exposure to public service abroad permitted them easy entry to a post in the diplomatic service.

Although political dynasties receive much public attention, it appears that diplomatic dynasties have not been uncommon in American history. A casual search turned up a dozen names of families with at least two generations of fathers and sons — and the occasional daughter — serving in the U.S. diplomatic corps. During the era before the 1924 creation of the career Foreign Service, when the spoils system generally guided diplomatic appointments, nepotism certainly wasn't the obstacle that it is today in pursuing a career in the State Department.

The McVeaghs produced three generations of diplomats. Wayne McVeagh was a late-19th-century U.S. ambassador to Italy and minister to Turkey. His son, Charles, was ambassador to Japan from 1925-29 and was honored by the Japanese government for his relief work for Japanese orphans. Grandson Lincoln McVeagh, a famous publisher in the 1920s, began his two-decades-long Foreign Service career when appointed minister to Greece by President Franklin Roosevelt. During World War II, he was elevated to ambassador to Greece and Yugoslavia and reports he filed on the Balkans helped form the basis for the 1947 Truman Doctrine, which expressed America's Cold War containment policy.

A rare example of a daughter following in her father's footsteps is Ruth Bryan Owen Rohde, the daughter of Woodrow Wilson's first secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan. Although Bryan resigned over Wilson's belligerent stance towards Germany after the *Lusitania* incident, his daughter nursed wounded soldiers overseas during World War I. After Rohde served one term in

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Congress and lost re-election, Roosevelt appointed her minister to Denmark in 1933. She was the first woman to hold such a high diplomatic post.

The three most prominent diplomatic dynasties were the Adams, the Sewards and the Foster-Lansing-Dulles families. In all three cases, the elder statesmen in the families gave their offspring opportunities that sparked their interest in international relations and made their careers possible.

In the case of the Adams, the children were consciously groomed to assume the mantle of leadership, including service abroad. The child-rearing methods paid off as the family is not only America's original political dynasty; it is also America's first diplomatic dynasty, having produced two U.S. presidents, two secretaries of State and a distinguished diplomat and congressman.

Moreover, many diplomatic historians consider John Quincy Adams the nation's greatest secretary of State for negotiating treaties ending hostilities between Great Britain and America in the years following the War of 1812 and cementing U.S. claims to a huge swath of northwestern territory. Adams was also the author of the Monroe Doctrine, which remains a cornerstone of American foreign policy.

John Quincy Adams, the first-born son of the ultimate 18th-century power couple, John and Abigail Adams, was the "empty crucible into which they poured and ground their ideas and morality," according to Jack Shephard, author of a John Quincy Adams biography. Abigail told John Quincy when he was a child that he must "[sacrifice] ease, pleasure, wealth and life itself for [his country's] defense and security." So, at the age of 10, John Quincy sailed with his father to France for the first of many European missions on behalf of the cause of American independence. Father and son spent most of the next eight years overseas.

While his father was off meeting with French foreign ministers to negotiate a commercial treaty on that first trip to Paris, little John Quincy studied at school and with tutors from the crack of dawn until 8:30 p.m. Breaks often involved accompanying his father to receptions and dinners at the homes of Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, also serving in Paris.

When John Adams was later posted to the Netherlands to request a loan and trading assistance to the struggling republic, 14-year-old John Quincy attended the University of Leyden. By that age, he had already mastered French, Latin and Dutch.

John Adams felt that his son was now ready to handle his first official diplomatic assignment. He took the adolescent out of school and sent him to St. Petersburg, to serve as secretary to U.S. minister without portfolio, Francis Dana. Dana's mission was to secure financial aid from Catherine the Great. John Quincy's mission, his father instructed him, was to learn about Russian customs, religion and education. Dana's work was for naught and John Quincy's diary entries at the time were short and monotonous; he found life in St. Petersburg cold and dull. But his experience in the Russian capital must have been good preparation for his successful assignment three decades later as the first U.S. minister plenipotentiary to Russia.

The time in Russia certainly didn't kill John Quincy's taste for life abroad. Unlike his dour father, the young John Quincy appreciated the perquisites of diplomatic life. Later, he would emulate his father and scorn the opulence associated with diplomatic festivities but as a young man, John Quincy Adams enjoyed the theater, fine wines, parties, traveling and European women. In fact, he was having such a good time abroad that he was reluctant to return to the States to attend Harvard.

John Quincy would not remain in the United States for long. After just a few years practicing law, his father, now George Washington's vice president, appointed him minister resident to the Netherlands, his first official diplomatic post. He was a mere 20 years old.

John Quincy Adams' peripatetic career took its toll on his family. The diplomat's wife, Louisa Johnson, whom John Quincy met in England while negotiating Jay's Treaty on behalf of President Washington, suffered eight miscarriages. Moreover, her eldest sons were left behind in the Adams compound at Quincy, Mass., while she spent a decade on the continent with her husband in various diplomatic residences. One son committed suicide; another died a few years later, probably of alcoholism. The only child of John Quincy and Louisa that was raised overseas was their third son, Charles Francis. And so, it was Charles Francis who was groomed as the next in the line of Adams statesmen.

Charles Francis spent his earliest years in St. Petersburg, where his father served as minister plenipotentiary. During that period, his father was his only teacher. And the most important thing he learned was how to speak English, as French was the language of the Russian court. By the end of the family's stay, he had also learned German from his nanny and, after two years at a Russian school, he acquired that language as well. It was an eventful time to be in Russia; the Adams family was there when Napoleon's troops invaded Moscow and burned the city. After Russia, Charles lived with his parents in England, where his father negotiated the Treaty of Ghent that ended the War of 1812. The rest of Charles' childhood was spent in the States as his father was appointed secretary of State when he turned 10.

Charles eventually became an attorney, writer and anti-slavery advocate as a U.S. legislator. By the time he was appointed minister in 1861, his father, John Quincy Adams, America's sixth president and eighth secretary of State, was already dead.

But John Quincy's legacy played an important role in Charles' first official foreign posting, which he received through his association with William Henry Seward, a New York governor, prominent abolitionist politician and leader in the Whig and original Republican Party. Most importantly for Charles Adams, Seward, who ran unsuccessfully for the Republican presidential nomination in 1860, considered Charles' father, John Quincy Adams, to be his personal hero.

When President Abraham Lincoln asked Seward to be his secretary of State, Seward sought advice from Charles Adams. Adams urged Seward to take the job and Seward, in return, asked Lincoln if he would name Charles Francis Adams his ambassador to England, then the most important U.S. diplomatic post. Lincoln preferred another man — as he later made clear to Adams — but acceded to Seward's request. When Adams visited Lincoln to

thank him for his appointment, Lincoln responded: "Very kind of you to say so, Mr. Adams, but you are not my choice. You are Seward's man."

Nevertheless, Lincoln was fortunate that he chose Adams because his diplomacy was critical in helping maintain British neutrality during the American Civil War. Seward, considered by diplomatic historians to be America's second greatest secretary of State, after John Quincy Adams, was nevertheless rather brusque and heavy-handed in his dealings with foreign dignitaries. Charles Francis, on the other hand, was more patient and calm. According to Adams' biographer, Martin Duberman, Adams would tone down Seward's angry messages to the British during numerous occasions when it appeared that England was leaning toward recognition of the Confederacy. Duberman wrote that the "picture of moderation" Adams presented to the British helped keep peace with England during the early years of the war.

When Adams resigned in 1868, British newspapers lauded his service, and he was widely praised by British members of Parliament for his good judgment and discretion. None of Charles' children entered diplomacy, but his son, Brooks, became a prominent foreign policy theorist and an advocate for American imperialism.

William Henry Seward also spawned a diplomatic dynasty. When he served as secretary of State under Lincoln and Johnson, by his side was Frederick William Seward, his youngest son. Frederick, an attorney and editor of the *Albany Evening Journal*, was appointed his father's assistant secretary of State. It was the second-highest ranking position at State's headquarters in Washington at a time when it employed no more than 100 people. Frederick's wife, Anna, often served as her father-in-law's hostess at diplomatic receptions because Secretary of State Seward's wife Frances suffered from mental health problems and spent much of her time at their home in Auburn, N.Y. The junior Seward was a great admirer of his father and seemed to share his views on foreign policy, especially the idea that the United States should have an aggressive foreign policy and seek expansion abroad.

Frederick Seward's memoirs, *Reminiscences of a War-Time Statesman and Diplomat*, describe his father's term as secretary of State and his role as his father's right-hand man. Their first four years at State were filled with tension as the secretary was constantly putting out fires that could have jeopardized the Union war effort. Seward's main mission was to ensure that foreign governments would not aid the Confederacy and maintain confidence in Lincoln's ability to restore the union. The secretary of State performed masterfully, averting several crises that might have led to war with England.

During the war years, Frederick performed administrative duties for his father. He was responsible for conveying messages and briefs between his father and President Lincoln. He handled job requests and various overseas claims and served as a sort-of spokesman for the department. In his memoirs, he writes about handling news reporters' queries about foreign policy. It was not a particularly difficult task, according to Frederick, because his father ran the department ably. For example, Secretary Seward initiated publication of regular weekly briefings tracking military developments to ward off misinformation in overseas capitals about the war. The circular was sent to all U.S. ministers abroad.

At the end of the war, Secretary Seward was severely disabled in a carriage accident and Frederick became acting secretary of state for a short period. The timing was such that Frederick had the honor of writing the department's last circular announcing the Confederacy's surrender. Frederick also stood in for his father at Lincoln's last Cabinet meeting before his assassination. Frederick was living with his father in 1865 when, on the night that John Wilkes Booth killed Lincoln, Lewis Payne, a deranged Confederate soldier, entered the Seward residence pretending to be a messenger for the physician of the convalescing secretary of State.

Payne shot Frederick in the head as he tried to prevent the man from entering his father's bedroom and then brutally stabbed the elder Seward in the face and throat. The secretary of State's wife became so depressed caring for her husband and son in spring 1865, that she fell ill herself and died that summer. Fortunately, both father and son recovered fully and resumed their duties at State. And during Seward's last years as secretary, he accomplished the purchase of Alaska from the Russians for $7.2 million. The transaction, which added 586,000 square miles to U.S. territory, was ridiculed at the time and called everything from "Seward's Folly" and "Walrussia" to "Johnson's Polar Bear Garden," Frederick recalled in his memoirs. But

subsequently, the Alaska purchase would be considered a diplomatic coup.

When William Henry Seward died in 1872, Frederick left the State Department, too, and spent eight years compiling his father's papers and memoirs. But President Rutherford Hayes' secretary of State, William Evarts, asked Frederick Seward to return to government service and take back his old job as assistant secretary. These weren't Frederick's most rewarding years. Having inherited his father's belief in America's "Manifest Destiny" abroad, he was at odds with a Congress opposed to such expansion. He worked on plans for the United States to acquire naval bases in the Pacific and the Caribbean, but these were all rejected.

The most recent diplomatic dynasty extends from the 1890s during the Harrison administration and continued to the 1950s and the Eisenhower administration. When John W. Foster became secretary of State in 1892, America's rapidly growing population and industrial output made the country a rising world power; there were many more influential Americans calling for the aggressive foreign policy that Seward had sought. Foster himself, an attorney, Indiana newspaper editor and Republican Party stalwart, favored American expansion abroad — through trade and military bases — but was not sold on the idea of territorial acquisition. However, one of his accomplishments during his two years as secretary of State was negotiating a treaty annexing Hawaii. Foster won his first diplomatic appointment after helping President Ullyses S. Grant secure Indiana's electoral votes in the 1872 election. He served as U.S. minister to Mexico, minister to Russia and minister to Spain.

While working as a diplomat, Foster established an international law practice in Washington. He was a pioneer in revolving-door government service, going back and forth from the State Department to a thriving legal career representing American companies with overseas

interests and advising foreign governments. He also devoted much of his energies to international organizations and was a founder of the Carnegie Endowment and the American Red Cross. This is the legacy he passed down to his grandson, John Foster Dulles, one of America's most successful international lawyer-diplomats.

John Foster Dulles' parents, Edith Foster and the Rev. Allen Dulles, expected their son to become a Presbyterian minister like his father. But from an early age Foster, as he was called, was enamored with his grandfather's career. President Dwight Eisenhower, who appointed Dulles secretary of State, once remarked that Dulles had studied to be secretary of State since he was 5 years old. And it seems all the Dulles children were taken with their grandfather. Younger brother Allen headed the CIA under Eisenhower. Younger sister Eleanor became an international finance expert and began working for the State Department in the 1940s.

Their grandfather, in turn, was incredibly devoted to his grandchildren and their careers. The Dulles children spent many childhood summers at the family retreat on Lake Ontario, during which they were regaled with stories about their grandfather's overseas experiences. They also frequently visited their grandparents' home on I Street in Washington. There they were introduced to prominent American officials, missionaries and foreign emissaries. Foster paid his grandchildren's college tuitions, sponsored their trips abroad and spent his retirement years monitoring their careers and using his influence to secure them professional opportunities. John Foster Dulles was closest to his grandfather and patterned his career after John Foster's. When he was ready to attend law school, he chose The George Washington University so he could live with his grandfather. When Dulles graduated, Foster secured a job for him at the prestigious Wall Street firm of Sullivan and Cromwell. According to Dulles' biographer, Michael J. Devine, Dulles was bored by legal work but his grandfather encouraged him to stick with it, assuring him that he would eventually find the challenges he sought in government service.

Foster also assisted his son-in-law, Robert Lansing, husband of his daughter, Eleanor. Lansing, a small-town lawyer from upstate New York, got his start in international law and diplomacy under John Foster's tutelage. Foster saw that Lansing was appointed to Woodrow Wilson's State Department, which led to his elevation to secretary of State as the country considered involvement in World War I.

Secretary of State Lansing, Dulles' uncle, gave him his first official government assignment. He was sent as a spy to find out if various Latin American governments would support the United States in declaring war against Germany. When that assignment was over, he served as a lawyer for the War Trade Board, which led to his appointment as an adviser to the Versailles Peace Conference. Brother Allen, a young FSO, also was assigned to Versailles. When his conference work was complete, Dulles returned to New York, where he continued practicing international law.

Again, following in his grandfather's footsteps, Dulles enhanced his public profile through work in international peace organizations. And like his grandfather, who had served on the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, Dulles was attracted to religious organizations. In the 1940s, Dulles was head of the Federal Council of Churches' Commission to Study the Basis of a Just and Durable Peace. Dulles was reluctant to see the United States enter World War II and his group supported efforts for international cooperation. His position made him a public figure and led to his appointment to numerous government foreign policy positions, and like his grandfather, he was sought after as a negotiator. Dulles made his mark negotiating the Japanese peace treaties. In 1953, Eisenhower named him secretary of State.

The State Department was truly a family affair under Dulles. Dulles himself occupied the same office his grandfather once did in the State Department. And he was famous for interrupting State Department meetings with the phrase, "My grandfather would have something to say on that subject," according to Dulles biographer Ronald Pruessen. Meanwhile, Eleanor, an expert in international economics, worked for the agency in German affairs. Allen Dulles, head of the CIA, carried out counter-insurgency operations for his elder brother. The Dulleses had three children, but none of them embarked on a Foreign Service career. According to Pruessen, Dulles and his wife devoted so much of their energies to his career, that there was little effort to groom the children the way his parents and grandparents had groomed him. ■

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association

PUT DEFENSE CUTS BACK ON THE TABLE

BY DAVID F. GORDON
Overseas Development Council

It is striking how little attention has been paid to the implications of deficit reduction for foreign policy and the role of the United States in the post-Cold War world. America's global leadership is being placed at risk in this budgeting process. Despite our carrying a disproportionate burden of global military security, severe cuts in international spending threaten to force the U.S. to cede leadership and influence on a wide range of international policies and institutions.

The deficit reduction process is setting up a "musical chairs" game in the non-defense discretionary budget, with programs competing for an ever-decreasing resource pool. International programs are likely to suffer disproportionally since they will be in direct competition with popular domestic programs (i.e. veterans' health care, education, environmental protection), and face cuts of one-third or even more. Through a process of political neglect, we are facing an insidious isolationism.

The most practical way to spread the effects of deficit reduction in ways that will not savage major priorities at home and abroad is to ask defense, one-sixth of the national budget, to absorb some of the drastic cuts now targeted for the discretionary budget, which funds both international programs and the wide panoply of popular domestic programs and activities.

The existing deficit reduction framework is leading to an inappropriate imbalance between military and non-military instruments in our foreign policy. It is hard to envision that the needs of U.S. foreign policy in the post-Cold War era will be more dependent upon purely military tools than during the Cold War, but this is just where the budget process is heading.

How can defense spending be reduced without harming U.S. security? A "Desert Storm plus Desert Shield plus Bosnia" strategy – one large-scale force for a major regional war, one more modest force for deterrence, and a third for peacekeeping operations – would permit cuts of 15 to 20 percent in combat forces and, over time, cuts of 10 to 15 percent in the defense budget. The U.S. must find more efficient ways of handling remote security contin-

Continued on page 6

• Dateline •

• During the past month, AFSA/USIA has been engaged in negotiations with the Bureau of Broadcasting management concerning the impact of the proposed reduction-in-force (RIF) on Foreign Service specialists in that agency. AFSA has sought to ensure that, in accordance with USIA RIF regulations, all non-career appointments are terminated before any Foreign Service employees are separated. Other topics under negotiation include career transition assistance and priority placement for separated Foreign Service employees.

• AFSA has been working with the AFSA past representatives in Cairo and other posts to ensure that Foreign Service employees under investigation by State and USAID inspectors general are afforded due process rights.

Employees should know that they have the right to be told whether they are the subject of an investigation and whether the investigation is criminal or administrative. Further guidance is available from past representatives or AFSA Washington.

Continued on page 3

STATE DEPARTMENT

V.P. VOICE

• BY ALPHONSE F. LA PORTA •

Professionalism vs. Activism

The essence of Foreign Service professianalism is to "do policy." This is the doily diet of the ecanomic ond politicol officer. Consular and administrative officers, too, are mare at hame in their professianal disciplines of serving others ond monoging complex orgonizations and programs. Management in the broader sense – promoting chonge and improving how daily business is done – is not a preoccupotion, nor is advocacy, except of one's intellectual professionol views.

During Shutdown II and subsequently during the formulation of AFSA's policy poper, "Reinventing Official Travel," AFSA received 140 submissians from AFSA chapters, members and retirees. In last October's poll of the State constituency on the draft RIF regulations, we heord from more than 90 posts and individuals. These expressions of view were remarkable in number, thoughtfulness and intensity of feeling. However, other issues of cancern to AFSA hove not drown as much camment.

While "inner" professionol concerns seem to be attracting more attention from colleagues oround the world, the Foreign Service culture is hordly activist, much less militant. If it is true that public service ond the Foreign Service, in particular, ore in jeopardy, then the professional and octivist worlds must be joined, os AFSA is trying to do. The Governing Board has made progress on refashioning AFSA's professional programs, ploced emphasis on labor-management concerns, and created new organizations to concentrate on public outreach and legislative affairs. AFSA's contacts on the Hill are more focussed, and our communicotions infrastructure is being overhouled – see AFSA's Warld Wide Web Hame Page at www.afsa.org.

Yet we lack broad commitment to give life to our professional interests and ideals. This is difficult, as there is no reciprocal ond mutually reinforcing dynamic between the department leadership and the Foreign Service, in which power and obligotian flaw upward.

In contrast, the military leadership is driven by two principles: accomplish the mission and take core of the troops. We in State are good, oftentimes very good, at the former but are sadly deficient ot the latter, which can be summed up os reciprocating the loyolty of one's subordinotes.

The times demand thot we break out af our inward-looking and excessive preaccupation with individual professianol interests and ambition to:

- protect the Service from damage within (for example, by defending the examination process) or without (by defending State's economic functian from misguided congressional assault);
- project the role of diplomacy os an essential part af natianal security through public outreoch, pointing out the direct odvontoge of deportment aperations to locol interests (talk ta Congress where it counts – in their districts), ond reploying overseos personol experiences to home audiences;
- insist on the highest standards of integrity and performance os a living demonstration of the commitment of the Foreign Service to our nation's interests;
- promote policies ond monagement octions that contribute to excellence and are employee- and family-friendly; ond
- reform everydoy business practices, streamline bureaus and pasts for efficiency gains, and redirect resaurces into areas of policy priority. At a time when the Foreign Service is under tremendous budgetary stress, we can da na less than strive ta make optimal use of the resources we hove.

AFSA Concludes Skill Code, Secretarial Negotiations

The labor-management office for the State constituency concluded twa important sets af negotiations in late March: new skill code change procedures gaverning specialist-to-specialist and specialist-to-generolist conversions; ond o replacement to the secretariol career poth program, which AFSA persuaded monagement needed drastic revision.

The new agreement on skill code changes considerobly liberalizes the change process, which is being formalized in new Foreign Affairs Handbaok regulations and protects the livelihoods of employees by making it easier for them to move into new skills areas and cones. Conversions will continue to be based on demonstrated aptitude in the skills oreo being sought, minimum time served overseos in these functions, ond, for generolist cones, o longuage requirement and assessment by the Skill Code Chonge Panel ond the Commissioning ond Tenuring Board.

Meanwhile, AFSA has freed up competition for secretarial pramotions and is participating with management in defining the "secretary of the future." AFSA will work jointly with monogement on a new position structure, integrating information technology, supervisory and training elements, together with more appropriote secretarial assignments in relation to overseos post staffing models and restructuring within the department. Training opportunities for secretaries have been protected and, at AFSA's urging, management has recognized the need for more effective linkage between troining and assignments.

WWW

Go to AFSA's World Wide Web site on the internet to gain AFSA membership information, to read an article from the *Foreign Service Journol*, to learn about AFSA's corparate and education activities, ta research current diplamatic issues and to find links to home pages of foreign affoirs ogencies. www.afsa.org is AFSA's home page address.

DATELINE

Continued from page 1

• AFSA's Internatianal Assaciates program participants have recently heord speeches by Jomes Loney, U.S. ombossodor to South Koreo; Robert Pelletreau, assistant secretary af State far Near Eostern Affoirs; ond Robin Rophel, assistont secretory of Stote for South Asion Affoirs. Williom Crowe, ombossodor to the United Kingdom is scheduled ta speak to members af these supparting corporotians an May 31.

• Thanks ta the work af many members, the Foreign Service Day Senate resalutian naw has the bocking of 51 senotors – one more thon needed – ond will be brought to the Senote floor far approval ofter the Eoster recess.

• AFSA hos osked Stote Deportment monogement obout its palicy an paying Diplomotic Security ogents for overtime hours worked protecting fareign officiols at the Olympic games. Under current practice agents ore not poid for numerous overtime hours.

• Negatiatians are continuing on the framework collective borgoining ogreement thot will govern the relatianship between AFSA and the Commercial Service (CS). Negatiotions thot begon lost yeor were delayed by CS management.

• The Chorles DelMor Foundotion contributed $2,000 to AFSA's Minority Internship ond Mentoring Progrom. These funds will ollow on AFSA/Thursdoy Lunchean Graup summer intern to be placed in Deputy Secretory of State Strabe Talbott's office ond finoncial ossistonce to be offered ta a minarity student warking in Mbobone, Swozilond for the summer.

• Foreign Service Doy on Moy 3 included on impressive memoriol ceremony for those killed serving their country overseos. AFSA olso held o reception for Foreign Service retirees ot the Foreign Service Club at the end of the doy ond the troditionol Soturdoy brunch.

USIA V.P. VOICE

• By Bruce K. Byers •

USIA Negotiates a RIF

Pursuing a Fareign Service coreer has never been easy. Fram the day we accept oppointment ond take the aoth of office, we accustom ourselves to working in many different kinds of enviranments ond cultures and facing hordships, deprivations ond even persanal losses.

It is, therefare, unconscianable that the greatest threot focing the Foreign Service todoy comes from cangressianal attacks ond from the managements of the five foreign offoirs ogencies thraugh reductians-in-force (RIFs).

In Morch ond April, AFSA engaged in the first-ever Fareign Service callective borgaining negotiatian an the impoct of the propased RIF of FS emplayees. USIA's Internotional Broadcosting Bureou (IBB) management's prapasol to separate Foreign Service employees from their jobs thraugh a RIF braught inta sharp relief the true ramificatian of the 1994 Helms amendment ta the 1980 Fareign Service Act. IBB management orgued thot the Foreign Service RIF wos driven in port by reduced budget resources ond in port by chonges in stoffing needs ond mission, but for offected Foreign Service officers the bottam line is that manogement wonts to sove maney by eliminating their jobs ond separoting them.

With outstonding anolyses and preporotion by AFSA Lobor Relotians Speciolist Corol Lutz, AFSA Staff Attarney Calleen Fallan, ond FSOs Tam Allen and Bill Covington, AFSA/USIA chollenged IBB monogement's ratianale far using o RIF to ochieve sovings, ond challenged its warkfarce planning and staffing that relies on foreign notionol employees and controctors ot o time when IBB is bringing anline brond new state-af-the-art broadcasting facilities and setting up ond testing a fully automated remote braadcost monitoring system. The expendables in IBB's plonning and stoffing ore dedicated American Fareign Service employees.

During the RIF negotiotions AFSA/USIA presented nine pasition papers ond proposed ogreements ta USIA/IBB manogement. These covered: monogement's odherence to proper implementotian af USIA Fareign Service RIF regulotions; retention of tenured ond untenured FSOs; IBB-prapased position RIFs ond emplayee canversians; retention of nan-Fareign Service emplayees; FS career tronsitian pragrams; priarity placement for FS employees seporoted in a RIF; "voluntory" RIF; alternatives ta a RIF to meet reduced stoffing needs; and retention ond retroining af Fareign Service specialists working os technical manitars – a skill cade designoted for eliminatian.

IBB manogement's counterproposals addressed AFSA's pasitions ond proposed ogreements ond offered severol compromises. In eorly April, AFSA offered its respanses to manogement's caunterproposols. While we dan't knaw haw negatiatians will turn aut, ane thing is clear: AFSA is unwilling ta compromise on the opplicatian af the agency's Foreign Service RIF regulotions and has explained to monogement that this first-ever Foreign Service RIF negotiation will be precedent-setting far future RIFs in oll foreign offoirs ogencies.

AFSA/USIA is not obout to set o bad precedent by agreeing ta look owoy while impartant pravisions of USIA RIF regulotions moy be skirted for expediency's soke.

RETIREE

V.P. VOICE

• BY ED ROWELL •

An American Foreign Service Day

Thanks to the persistent efforts of retiree volunteers and AFSA's congressional relations director, we secured passage of Senate Resolution 217, designating the first Friday in May 1996 as "American Foreign Service Day." Sponsored by Senator Kassebaum ond co-sponsored by a majority of senators, the resolution should be a significant step in the quest for national recognition of the contributions made by the professional Foreign Service. The resolution requests a presidential proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe the day with appropriate programs, ceremonies and activities. Thus for the first time this year, there is an official basis for extending Foreign Service Day beyond the usual Wash-ington get-togethers and briefings for alumni at the State Department.

"The Senate backs the first Friday in May as 'American Foreign Service Day.'"

Sodly, ot this yeor's Foreign Service Day the contributions to be recognized once again include the socrifice of life in the performance of duty abroad. We were shocked and grieved at the tragic deaths of Secretary of Commerce Ronald Brown and Ambassador Robert Frasure and their colleagues on vital missions in support of America's goals for peace and economic reconstruction in the former Yugoslavia. At the same time, we are gratified at the public outpouring of sympathy for their families and of support for the important work they were doing.

We need now to go forward and build on the increasing public awareness of the Foreign Service – of both the sacrifices made and the contributions given. Resolution 217 provides a good basis for doing this. Among the ideas that it endorses are:

- the functions performed by the American Foreign Service "constitute the first and most cost-effective line of defense of our nation by protecting and promoting United States interests abroad;"
- "an ever-vigilant American Foreign Service remains essential to the strategic, political and economic well-being of this nation..." and
- "it is both appropriate and just for the country as a whole to recognize the dedication of the men and women of the American Foreign Service and to honor those who have given their lives in the loyal pursuit of their duties and responsibilities representing the interests of the United States of America ond of its citizens..."

We have asked retirees in our Legislative Action Network to find opportunities locolly, in schools and civic orgonizotions, os well as in other groups to which they might belong, to help carry out the spirit of the resolution. We hope that all retirees will join this effort, not just on Foreign Service Day but also over the weeks and months ahead, as we approach a crucial election period.

The successful passage of Resolution 217 shows the impact which our individual members can have in promoting recognition of the Foreign Service and in gaining public support for effective representation of American interests abroad. With your help, the resolution could prove to be a watershed in building that long-elusive foreign affairs constituency.

SCHOLARSHIP NEWS

Two new one-time financial aid scholarships have been established for the 1996/97 school year. A $500 donation has established the Foreign Service Women's Class Action Suit/Rhoda Weinstein Scholarship to be given to a female student.

A $1,000 scholarship has been donated by John P. Becker, who celebrated a recent birthday by asking friends to donate to the scholarship fund. He retired in 1992 after a 31-year career in the Foreign Service, serving in Germany, Canada, Austria, Israel and India.

As the summer transfer season approaches, AFSA urges employees leaving post to earmark the proceeds from the sale of automobiles and other property to the AFSA Scholarship Fund. As it is a 501(c)(3) organization, all donations are tax deductible.

Regulation 22CFR136 states that profits made from the disposition of personal property abroad must be contributed to a charitable organization. AFSA Committee on Education Chairman Bill DePree feels, "these regulations offer an additional opportunity for the Foreign Service to help members within its own ranks. Personnel transferring from posts realize that they can't take these profits with them and are increasingly providing support where it can do so much good...to the children of the Foreign Service."

The fund provides scholarships to Foreign Service dependents pursuing a college degree. In 1995, AFSA in conjunction with AAFSW and DACOR assisted 97 Foreign Service children by providing more than $134,000 in Merit and Financial Aid awards.

Contributions are payable to the AFSA Scholarship Fund and can be sent to AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037. The Scholarship Fund's Federal ID tax number is 23-704-5244.

COMMERCE

V.P. VOICE

• BY TOM KELSEY •

Collective Bargaining Agreement

Spring is finally here with all its usual signs – daffodils, cherry blossoms, and continuing resolutions. Although it seemed that spring would never arrive, it finally has, but we do not yet have a solution to the budget problem.

Keith Curtis, your Commerce representative, and I are finally sitting down with management to negotiate the collective bargaining agreement. Although it is too early to start talking about a long, hot summer, it has certainly been made clear to us that Commercial Service management will make us work hard for each and every benefit that we deliver to our membership. At the same time, we continue to work on a number of areas in partnership with management, and can report that as a team, we have a lot of potential.

A number of you have contacted us with your thoughts, suggestions and ideas on the future of US&FCS. One recent development may have some bearing on this. In early April, International Trade Administration (ITA) management let it be known that they were planning to reinvent our personnel function, which translated, means that ITA intends ta absorb abaut 75 percent of the Cammercial Service personnel and human resaurce function, known as OFSP/HRD. Notwithstanding the absence af a signed bargaining agreement, your representatives met with ITA management to discuss the impact and implementation of this proposed action, which is, as it turns out, one of management's reserved rights. Your comments and input are important elements in AFSA's efforts to understand just how this will impact not only ITA, but the Commercial Service. We have been successful in delaying this action until the fourth quarter. While it is no secret that ITA has long been envious of our ability to generate appropriations, we cannot but wonder if this offer to streamline our personnel function is really the latest model of wooden horse, cloaked with all the trappings of reinvention. It remains unproven that to merely move functions from one organizational box to another will generate efficiencies and cost savings, unless, as is our major concern, the output suffers.

Personnel and related issues seem to dominate the agenda – integration, lateral entry, assignments, commissioning and tenuring precepts, officer candidate registers, etc. Good news for those candidates in the rank order register – the registers will be extended for another 12 months, and in the event that the hiring freeze is lifted, we'll have access to a gaad paal of candidates. Na ward yet on aur colleagues from the Travel and Tourism Administration (USTTA) whose jobs are being eliminated -we wauld not be surprised to see a number of them jain our ranks.

WE REMEMBER

Keith Curtis and I join the rest of AFSA and our Commercial Service colleagues in mourning our departed comrades who lost their lives in a tragic accident while engaged in Bosnian reconstruction activities. FSO Steve Kaminski will be remembered by his many friends for his enthusiasm, his professionalism and his dedication to pushing into new frontiers and new markets with U.S. business. Our secretary – and we in the Commercial Service truly felt that he was our secretary – leaves us with the demonstrated proof that democracy, free market development and world economic growth are dynamically linked. Let their memories live on in our work.

Budget Cuts

Continued from page 1

gencies in order to ovoid the certain ond severe damage ta aur nan-military instruments of globol influence.

While the deficit reductian initiative is the immediote source of the crisis in foreign offoirs progroms, there ore deeper and langer-ronge factors olso ot work. Both President Clinton's 1992 electian campaign and the Republican cangressionol victory in 1994 hove fed o folse dichotomy: thot internotionol engogement ond efforts to oddress serious damestic prablems are warking at crass-purpases. In oddition, the end of the Cold War has braught ta the fore lang-stonding questions obaut whether foreign oid ond the multiloterol institutions ore effective, or ore even copoble af seriaus refarm, and a skepticism of how oid and multiloterol caaperation serve U.S. interests.

In todoy's world, we con moke substontial cuts in some internatianal accaunts without undermining U.S. fareign palicy. For instonce, the U.S. shore of the UN budget should be cut by a quarter. Suppart far the soft-loon windows of the multilateral banks can be reduced os big barrawing countries such os Chino ond India "groduote" to market-based laans. Aid to Russia and much af Eastern Europe, olreody successful in jump-storting privatizatian and laying the raats af o pluralist polity, con be phosed out over the next several years. We con olso begin to weon Egypt ond Isroel from their dependence on U.S. largesse consistent with maintoining their military ond economic security. Finally, the fareign affairs agencies con continue ta gradually reduce their personnel as the cammunicatians revalutian reduces the need for os large o global presence.

A recent poll by University of Morylond reseorchers shows majority support for putting defense back "on the toble" in deficit reduction efforts. This would eose pressures an the damestic ond internotionol progroms budgets, limiting cuts to 15 to 20 percent af the 1995 budget. Far internotionol spending, this would mean same taugh chaices, but it could be done without obondoning our volues or interests.

By distributing budget cuts between defense ond internotionol progroms, policymokers would be demonstrating an understonding of both history ond the changing warld. The Cald War was won nat just by U.S. nuclear weapans and tonks, but by the creatian af a strang Western economic and paliticol system through diplomatic engagement, fareign oid, trade ond a shared set af values. The challenges af the post-Cold Wor world are even less likely to be addressed successfully by military might olone.

David Gordon works on foreign policy for the Overseos Development Council, and was formerly on the staff of the House Internotionol Relotions Committee.

Child Care Center Opens for State Employees

Child care far State Department emplayees become o reolity on May 6 with the opening of the Stote Department child core focility at Columbia Plozo. More thon 10 yeors in the plonning stage, the 88-child facility will accommadate infonts from 6 weeks up to kindergarten. AFSA hos been octive in securing the focility provider ond representing the interests af Fareign Service employees, such as the ane wha commented,"Decent doy care is probobly the single most importont productivity/quality af life boon Stote could offer."

AFSA General Caunsel Sharan Popp, secretory af the child core boord, hos worked to ensure that Fareign Service families ore represented in the decisions an admissions and ather issues. An open period for enrollment between Morch 18 and April 18 ensured thot oll opplicotions were considered on the some doy. By eorly April, 22 ploces hod been filled. Current openings will be filled an a first-came bosis. Tuition ronges from $195 a week far infants ta $125 a week for older children. Tuitian assistance of 10 percent to 30 percent, depending an the financial situation, is ovoiloble. The Deportment of Stote hos designoted some of its recycling income for this purpase ond ot o kickoff progrom on March 14, $22,000 wos donoted from recycling receipts to the pragram. AFSA and the Americon Associotion of Foreign Service Women eoch donoted $500 toward tuitian assistance.

Openings far a summer pragrom for children oged 6-12 are olso ovoiloble to accammodote those returning ta Woshington on home leove. For more infarmatian cantact Prodigy Child Development Centers, (800) 546-7211 ar AFSA..

In Memoriam

Fourteen U.S. government employees were omong those killed April 3, 1996 when o military jet corrying Comerce Secretary Ranald Brawn, government calleagues and Americon businessmen an a trade missian croshed on a hillside near Dubravnik, Craatia.

Brown's mission ta try ta help recanstruct war-tarn Basnia was a vitol ane, supporting the Americon goals of peoce ond ecanamic prasperity. These men and wamen, exemplifing the best in public service, perished for from hame in the service af their cauntry.

Ronald Brown, Secretary of Commerce

Duane Christian, Commerce

Adam Darling, Commerce

Gail Dobert, Commerce

Carol Hamilton, Commerce

Kathryn Hoffman, Commerce

Lee Jackson, Treasury

Stephen Kaminski, Foreign Commercial Service

Kathryn Kellogg, Commerce

James Lewek, CIA

Charles Meissner, Commerce

William Morton, Commerce

Lawrence Payne, Commerce

Naomi Warbasse, Commerce

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MODERN DYNASTIES

JIM NUTTLE

AFS CHILDREN CITE KINSHIP TIES AS KEY IN MAKING THEM FSOS

By Richard Gilbert

As Avis Bohlen stood in the doorway of her office in the U.S. Embassy Paris in 1991, the new deputy chief of mission (DCM) realized she was a witness to her own family history. Just next door was the ambassador's suite where her father, Charles E. "Chip" Bohlen, worked as John F. Kennedy's ambassador to France for five eventful years, from 1962-68. In her new office hung the portrait of her great-grandfather, James B. Enstis, a former senator from Louisiana, who, in 1893, during the second administration of Grover Cleveland, was the first American representative in France to carry the full, formal title of U.S. ambassador.

FOCUS

Less well-known is the phenomenon of the modern Foreign Service family: the successor generation, as children follow the footsteps of parents into Foreign Service careers.

"As DCM in Paris between 1991 and 1995, I lived in the same house where I had lived with my parents when my father was DCM from 1949 to 1951," Bohlen recalled in a telephone interview. "Although the house had changed, there was a little wisteria bush in the garden that I remembered as a young schoolgirl. Being my father's daughter was very much a fact of my service in Paris. He is remembered there with much respect and affection."

That the Foreign Service is a family affair is well-recognized as employees, their spouses and children move from post to post, country to country, school to school following the logical and illogical dictates of personnel systems and pursuing the fickle alchemy of career. Less well-known and commented upon is another phenomenon of the Foreign Service family: the successor generation in the Foreign Service, as children follow the footsteps of fathers (until recently, always fathers) into Foreign Service careers.

Bohlen, now in language training at the Foreign Service Institute (FSI), remembers growing up abroad in the Foreign Service. "The discussions at home were about foreign affairs. Even when I was young, I remember being aware of world problems." After Radcliffe, she held a succession of government jobs before entering the Foreign Service in 1977 as a mid-level candidate. Bohlen admits that following the same career as a much-respected, well-remembered and admired father has its challenges: "It imposes a special responsibility that you have to live up to."

From Brazzaville, Congo, DCM Frances Jones, daughter of retired ambassador to Libya and Peru, John Wesley Jones, also says that "my father's career was key to my becoming a Foreign Service officer. By joining the Foreign Service, I returned home." Born in Rome and raised in the United States and in the DCM's residence in downtown Madrid, Frances Jones admits that "when you've had the experience of being an American living overseas, it's often hard to give up. It's great to travel, to learn about new countries, to polish languages learned as a child, to be an American in another country, thereby adding to your own identity."

In Sydney, Lew Lukens, consulate administrative officer, and son of former ambassador to the Congo Alan Lukens, is equally direct about what brought him to a Foreign Service career. "My life growing up as a Foreign Service brat definitely played a major role in my decision to join the Foreign Service. Basically, I have a hard time imagining any other type of life. ... As far back as I can remember, I've wanted to join the Foreign Service. Dad had an excellent career and has always been an enthusiastic FSO. My uncle Wells Stabler also was an FSO [and former ambassador to Spain], so it's definitely in the family. I got the offer to enter [as a junior officer] just after I finished my first year at law school, and I did not have a very difficult time deciding."

Alan Lukens, now retired and living in Chevy Chase, Md., recalls being "proud and happy" when his son, Lew, decided to follow a Foreign Service career. "There was no pressure. We had a little family talk at the time." He thought his son found a Foreign Service career to be "a natural thing."

But the Foreign Service is not always a march of generations from past to present, even for some of the most illustrious families in the Foreign Service. For example, former ambassador Everett Briggs is now president of the Americas Society in New York City. His father, the late Ellis O. Briggs, was an FSO for 36 years and is distinguished, among other reasons, by having served as U.S. ambassador to seven nations: the Dominican Republic, Uruguay, Czechoslovakia, Korea, Peru, Brazil and Greece, a record for a career

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Richard Gilbert, a freelance writer, is a former FSO with the U.S. Information Agency who served in Thailand, Romania, Finland, Liberia and the former Soviet Union.

officer that still stands. Remarkably, at the time of his 1962 retirement, Briggs had been confirmed by the Senate as ambassador to Spain but, because of ill health, was unable to serve. Both Everett Briggs and his sister, Lucy, now deceased, became FSOs and Everett went on to serve as U.S. ambassador in Panama, Honduras and Portugal before retiring in 1993. As children, Everett and Lucy lived with their parents at several posts abroad. "I was influenced to enter the Foreign Service by my experiences as a child, and especially as a teenager in newly communized Czechoslovakia," Everett Briggs recalled. "I was also influenced by an uncle who was a Foreign Service officer." Everett has five grown children. But, according to their father, "none has considered a career in the Foreign Service, nor have I sought to influence them in that direction."

Similarly, the children of Ambassador H. Allen Holmes, now an assistant secretary of defense, have not aspired to a Foreign Service career, although Allen represents the second generation of his family to serve as an FSO. His father, Julius C. Holmes, was in the 1925 Foreign Service class of 21 officers — one of the first classes after the passage of the 1924 Rogers Act that established a career Foreign Service. Julius retired in 1965 after serving as U.S. ambassador to Iran from 1961-65. Allen was born in Romania during his father's assignment there and, after serving in the Marine Corps in the mid-50s, decided to aim for a Foreign Service career. How important was the career of Holmes the father to the decision of Holmes the son? "Not very important, at least not early on," Allen replied. "I actually prepared for a career as a university English professor." And the third generation of Holmes "never seriously considered the Foreign Service."

The family of Nancy Donald is one more example of interrupted multi-generations in the Foreign Service. Donald, now a music teacher in Cambridge, Mass., grew up speaking Chinese in a Foreign Service family of unusual pedigree. The daughter of deceased FSO Richard Hempstead Donald, she is also the granddaughter of former consul and FSO George Kenneth Donald and the great-granddaughter of Christopher Hempstead, an American vice consul in turn-of-the-century Belize, then known as British Honduras. Despite their backgrounds, however, and their "interest in foreign policy," neither Donald nor her siblings followed careers in foreign affairs, thereby breaking the family's link with the Foreign Service. Her paternal aunt, Katherine Donald, 76, of Fitchburg, Mass., still recounts vivid memories of adventures as a child in the Foreign Service in Central America and England during the years between the two world wars. Still, Katherine is blunt about the disadvantages of a Foreign Service upbringing. "Maybe it was different then," she said. "We grew up like fish out of water, without roots in many cases. I know I wouldn't choose, for my children's welfare, to be in the Foreign Service."

Clearly, few careers shape the life of a family more profoundly than a professional life spent abroad, whether in the federal government's service, as an international civil servant or in an international position with private business. Unlike other occupations, those choosing to live and work abroad in other countries and cultures are rarely able to divide their lives into professional and personal, with a clear line between office and home. The consequences of such career choices are dramatic and lasting on the lives and attitudes of accompanying family members. Perhaps that's why so many of the Foreign Service's "successor generations" cite the importance of strong, enduring friendships and close kinship ties to achieving positive and rewarding personal experiences within the Foreign Service.

Certainly, as Katherine Donald suggests, these are changed times for the Foreign Service. Better gender balance in the workplace, altered roles for spouses, shorter careers, shrinking distances, instant communications and even new definitions of families have combined to recast and redefine the job of FSO at America's 250 diplomatic posts abroad. Still, even in today's Foreign Service homes, few family members are isolated from either the demands of the profession — or its disadvantages and benefits.

Consider the typical Foreign Service child, usually born and raised in an exotic locale abroad; steeped in foreign cultures, sometimes at the hands of mother's helpers of various nationalities and customs; schooled from place to place, system to system, with only an occasional dose of Americana; learning from childhood one or more languages; witnessing world events first-hand; making friends, losing friends; packing, unpacking; coming, going; been there, done that. Whatever else their lives are, they are unconventional.

Grown-up and footloose in America, some young adult graduates of the Foreign Service environment search for

But for others, the Foreign Service beckons like a favorite family portrait, a comfortable and satisfying career option.

a self-conscious stability, determined to put down firm roots and stay put. But for others, the Foreign Service beckons like a favorite family portrait, a comfortable and satisfying career option offering a welcome return to expatriation, familiar values and an exciting life of patriotic service.

FSO Dan Neher, who handles regional economics issues for south-central Europe in the State Department's Bureau of European Affairs and the son of former ambassador to Burkina Faso, Leonardo Neher, retains a small boy's vivid memories of the 1963 coup against Ngo Dinh Diem during his father's tour in Saigon. "There was a constant bombardment, shots being fired and tanks rumbling up and down past our house," he said. "We had to sleep in the upstairs hallway with lots of flickering candles. It was really neat." Neher remembers his early jobs in educational administration and on Capitol Hill after college. "I had this antsy feeling like this wasn't enough. Something was missing. That's when I started looking at the Foreign Service."

Frances Jones says, "There's a term for military and Foreign Service brats that I came across once. We are 'global nomads' — our upbringing happened outside our own country. It makes it impossible to answer the question, 'Where are you from?' It has the effect of not allowing us to fit 100 percent into our homeland environment. It creates a sort of new tribe to which to belong. I have always felt comfortable with friends who also were global nomads, regardless of their nationality."

The Foreign Service life was natural and normal for the children of retired ambassador Donald Norland and spouse, Patricia. The three children, raised abroad in Paris, The Hague and assorted African posts, graduated from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and are now FSOs. The eldest, Richard, is chief of the political section at U.S. Embassy Dublin. Middle son, David, is an economics officer at U.S. Embassy Lisbon and the youngest, daughter Patricia, nicknamed "Kit," is studying Thai at FSI for a first-tour assignment with the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) in Bangkok.

Reflecting on the special experiences of his children, Don Norland recalls the family's years in Paris during the 1960s as "a great time of family bonding. We shared part of a large house with a French family. We're still in contact with them. They had children the same age as ours and the kids all went together to a French school just across the street."

Of course, Kit Norland admits, life in the Foreign Service wasn't all Paris. She remembers tearfully leaving her classmates at Bethesda's Walt Whitman High School — just as her senior year was about to begin — to accompany her parents to southern Africa when her father was named U.S. ambassador to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland in 1976. "There's a high potential for scarring in this business and I have to give my parents credit for making my childhood something enriching and valuable," she said. "My folks filled up the house with interesting people from whatever country we were living in. It was a conscious effort to avoid the 'little America' syndrome and to mix with the people wherever we happened to be living."

Born in Cote d'Ivoire, Kit Norland attended Middlebury College and, after two years in Vermont, spent a year working on the staff of the Iowa House of Representatives in Des Moines "learning about America." After graduating from Georgetown, she joined the Center for International Policy in Washington and traveled to Vietnam and Southeast Asia, establishing educational and health-related exchange programs. From there, Norland joined the Foreign Service.

Anticipating her own career, Norland cites some lessons learned growing up in U.S. embassy communities abroad. "It's a great job for superficial relationships, seeing people in the office or at parties," she said. "You know, here today, gone tomorrow. It's a revolving door of

faces and people. I saw that as a kid. Now I know how important it is to maintain a few really strong bonds."

FSO Dan Neher, now in Washington D.C., describes his father, Leonardo, as "a man who loved travel and different cultures. He just kind of set out to see the world." The younger Neher was born in Turkey and grew up studying at home in Lubumbashi, Zaire, attending boarding school from Chad and finally graduating — speaking fluent French and Spanish — from the American School in the Dominican Republic. "These are tough transitions," he commented. "I remember when I was 9 and we came back to the U.S. and I discovered I didn't know how to play baseball. It's hard to fit in when that happens."

Neher and his spouse, Lucy, have served in Poland and Algeria. They now have two pre-school children and are contemplating their next assignment abroad. "I learned some important lessons as a Foreign Service child," he said. "There's a total lack of empowerment for kids in the Foreign Service. They can get hauled around like a sack of potatoes. It's important to convene the family and talk about options. It's the role that parents play in bringing up their children that is the determining factor in this business, not the moving around."

At USIA's Bureau of Personnel, FSO Kathy Davis, daughter of E. Lloyd Davis, agrees. "In this business, the only constant is your family," she said. "With all the changes and the upheaval, you have to have strong family bonds. Our family was very close." Along with two older brothers, she left Baltimore for Accra at the age of 8 when her father, E. Lloyd Davis, entered the Foreign Service. After two years in Ghana, the family moved to Paris for a four-year assignment. Home again in the United States and about to enter her senior year in high school, Davis was presented with the possibility of moving once again, this time to Caracas. "It was a big family discussion," she recalled. "I was given lots of choices, including all of us staying home together. I decided I wanted to go."

Speaking fluent French and Spanish, Davis herself joined the Foreign Service in 1980 after one year of graduate school at Georgetown's School of Foreign Service. "I always knew that this was what I wanted to do," she said. "Since I was 8, the Foreign Service was all that I had known. But it was the lifestyle that attracted me, not working in an embassy. It was the travel, meeting people, experiencing interesting foreign cultures, the chance to learn new languages."

Within the Foreign Service successor generation, Courtney Austrian is a rarity: daughter of an FSO father and an FSO mother appointed in 1974 as soon as revised regulations allowed married women. Her parents are Sheila Austrian, counselor for public affairs at the U.S. Embassy Canberra, and retired FSO Michael Austrian. As Peace Corps volunteers in Turkey in the mid-1960s, the Austrians actually met at a Fourth of July reception at U.S. Embassy Cairo.

"For years, I tried to avoid the Foreign Service," Courtney admits. "I didn't even tell my parents I had applied until I had passed my orals." Living and working abroad after college and, following graduate school, in positions in various U.S. public and non-profit organizations, gradually led Austrian to reconsider the Foreign Service. "Every few years, I tend to want to move on," she said. "Of course, I grew up in an environment that changed every few years, so for me the Foreign Service is the norm. It's a career where there can be reward instead of penalty for changing and moving on."

Now studying Arabic in anticipation of a first-tour USIA assignment to Jordan in late 1996, Austrian has warm memories of the embassy communities where she grew up. "An embassy is like some kind of village community that we imagine exists. There are lots of surrogate parents around, a whole bunch of people looking after the kids. I found it to be a very positive experience." Still, she is skeptical about whether Foreign Service kids tend to follow a parent's career any more often than do, for example, "doctors' children or dentists' children."

In his Georgetown University office, former ambassador David Newsom, now interim dean of the School of Foreign Service, cautions against generalizing about the career choices of those raised with a Foreign Service background. "Certainly the Foreign Service experience makes children comfortable in foreign cultures, makes them able to wander around with confidence and understanding," he said. "But there's another side too: the uprooting, always being the new kid in school." Two of Newsom's five children work abroad,

though none chose the Foreign Service. According to him, the School of Foreign Service rarely sees evidence of a particular Foreign Service "successor generation," at least among their students. Instead, he said, it tends to be "very individual."

Assistant School of Foreign Service Dean and former Ambassador to Gabon Andrew Steigman goes further: "I don't think the Foreign Service is different from any other profession, as far as what [its professionals'] children tend to do. As a matter of fact, we see a lot of kids who are rebelling against what their parents did. It's terribly personal. It depends on each family's internal situation." Both Newsom and Steigman stress the changing nature of the Foreign Service as making the profession perhaps "less attractive" now, especially for those who have seen it close up and personal. "It used to be a lifetime career, with steady advancement and the prospect of senior appointments," Newsom notes. Agrees Steigman: "We tell people that the Foreign Service is a fascinating and exciting first job, but it's not a lifetime career. As for the Foreign Service being some special profession with kids following parents into the job, no, I don't think so. It's individualized. One cannot make a generalization. Some do; some don't."

Yet, a significant number still do. Like the "missionary kids" of an earlier generation or the enduring traditions of some American military families, there is a visible and persisting continuity of families within the Foreign Service. Apparently, even greater numbers of Foreign Service offspring, influenced by the same peculiar experiences of travel, childhoods spent abroad and the values that touched them in their Foreign Service families, find rewarding careers in other international work, both within the United States and in foreign countries. For all the negatives for growing children associated with the Foreign Service lifestyle — rootlessness, loneliness, lack of stability and identity — there are clear, strong, corresponding positives that loom large in the career decisions of successor generations and their siblings. ■

Democracy in Africa

Flicker of Freedom Glimmers on Continent Despite 3 Decades of Corruption, Misrule

By Smith Hempstone

Though the end of the Cold War has increased opportunities for expanding democracy and protecting human rights in Africa, this in itself does not guarantee the success of what some Africanists have called "the second liberation" of Africa.

Few dare suggest it in an age of political correctness, but it is arguable that the colonial period in Africa was too short, that Africa emerged half-baked from the oven of history. When Britain, France and Belgium scrambled out of Africa in the early 1960s, prompted by their post-war economic weaknesses and pressured by the United States, they did so with almost unseemly haste. Always the struggle for independence had been as much a quest for power as a crusade for freedom. Left behind was more the form than the substance of democracy.

From the colonial powers, Africa inherited constitutions, parliaments and bewigged judges — but not the culture of democracy. The new men who seized power in Nairobi and Lusaka, Libreville and Brazzaville did not understand democracy, paid it only lip service or openly rejected it as unsuitable for African conditions. The notion of a loyal opposition, so vital to democracy, perhaps understandably never took hold in Africa. Tribalism had valued conformity at the expense of individual initiative, solidarity rather than independent thinking. Dissent too often was equated with sedition.

While most new African states began their national lives with something resembling multi-party politics — not the same thing as multi-party democracy — most infant opposition parties were strangled in their cribs, their leaders bought off or co-opted, replaced by autocracies or military juntas. Whether in khaki or mufti, the "Big Men" catapulted to power saw public office less as a public trust than as an opportunity to create wealth for themselves and their tribes.

Both the United States and the former colonial powers accepted this all too readily, even though there was an element of racism in this decision. After all, how many white Americans would be upset if prisoners were starved to death in Sekou Touré's Guinean dungeons or opposition leaders were murdered in Jomo Kenyatta's Kenya? Actions of monsters such as Idi Amin in Uganda and Francisco Macias in Equatorial Guinea went relatively unremarked upon by the West.

In the world's scheme, Africa — with the exception of South Africa — never has mattered much economically to the West: diamond- and

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Smith Hempstone, non-career ambassador to Kenya from 1989-93, was associate editor of The Washington Star *and editor-in-chief of* The Washington Times. *His book,* Rogue Ambassador, *will be published this year.*

gold-rich South Africa boasts more than half the continent's computers, television sets, telephones, railway mileage, highways and electrical power. Myths to the contrary, no colonial power ever became rich out of Africa.

What little Western interest there was in the continent revolved around national security issues largely extraneous to the continent: safeguarding the southern approaches to the Suez Canal and the oil fields of the Persian Gulf; keeping the Indian Ocean an Anglo-American *mare nostrum*; protecting the tanker route around the Cape of Good Hope. Finally, a Touré, Mobutu or Bokassa might be something of a Caligula, but at least he could be relied upon to keep those pesky Soviets at bay, and to make the trains run more or less on time.

What is truly remarkable is that during three decades of corruption, misrule and authoritarian abuse, the dream of democracy never was totally extinguished in Africa. In universities, trade unions and professional enclaves, there remained men and women who understood and believed what Tom Paine and Thomas Jefferson had said and written. Granted, the scales had fallen from the eyes of some only belatedly, after they had been pushed from the single-party trough into the political wilderness for some affront, real or imagined.

In no African state did a democratic constituency constitute a majority. In most cases, they were small urban groups exposed to media, with personal and professional ties to Western individuals and organizations. In countries such as Kenya — and most others — they existed side by side with a rural Bronze Age culture to which Western democracy was an alien and risible notion. For these nomads and peasant farmers, participation in their own governance was not an issue. The best they could expect or want from the *serakali* — the government — was a policy of benign neglect.

In late 1989, the Berlin Wall came tumbling down, the discredited Communist regimes of Eastern Europe collapsed and the Cold War ended with a whimper, not a bang. Encouraged by events in Europe and by the pro-democracy policies of the United States and a few other Western nations, urban African dissidents ignited bonfires of freedom from the bay of Benin to the straits of Bab al Mandab. More than a dozen African nations, under heavy pressure from the West for free and fair multiparty elections, went to the polls in the first multi-party elections in more than a quarter of a century. Even white-ruled South Africa, with U.S. economic sanctions beginning to bite, moved swiftly and irrevocably toward one-person, one-vote and majority rule.

In some cases, such as Zambia, the opposition came to power through the ballot box. In others, such as Kenya and Gabon, incumbents managed to cling to power through electoral means and methods that would not bear close scrutiny. In still others, such as Nigeria, military rulers simply canceled promised multi-party elections. These uneven results, a function largely of disparate local conditions, personalities and timing — Kenneth Kaunda's overwhelming defeat in Zambia warned other incumbents that they would probably lose free and fair elections — should have surprised no one.

The institutions that shore up democracy are what is largely absent in Africa. Neither the U.S. nor the West can create democracy: Only the Africans can do that. But the U.S. can help to promote progress — not just change.

Democracy is difficult to learn and even harder to practice. This is particularly so for a continent that slept through the Magna Carta, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, the Reformation, the American, French and Industrial Revolutions, the Communist Manifesto, the rise of fascism and the development of the H-bomb.

Democracy, in any case, guarantees nothing. It simply offers possibilities. Adolf Hitler, after all, came to power by democratic means — although he did employ anti-democratic methods. Progress toward democracy historically has been cyclical rather than linear. Most Mazzinis are followed by Mussolinis. Nor do those who plant the seeds of democracy always reap the harvest — that frequently is the task and privilege of a future generation.

With the attention of the Western industrial nations turned inward on their economies, which is only increasing the marginalization of Africa, it's quite possible that the political promise of "a second liberation" may prove, in many instances, to be a chimera. Should this be the case, does this mean the United States and the West have no business or interest in protecting human rights and supporting the expansion of democracy in Africa? Emphatically not, and more for America's sake than for that of the Africans. America, the world's first modern democracy, can never be true to itself except when protecting and promoting democracy around the world.

Thomas Jefferson did not write that all Americans are endowed with certain unalienable rights. He wrote that all men were so endowed, though he certainly meant all of the world's humankind. Secondly, promoting democracy is the most vital long-term U.S. security interest. History shows that democracies make better neighbors than dictatorships. They make war on one another less frequently than totalitarian states, and thus pose less of a threat to world peace.

Nay-sayers maintain that democracy will not work in Africa. It may be true that Western democracy evolved from a set of circumstances to fit the needs and aspirations of a small portion of the world's population and at a certain time. But while this messy, glorious form of government may come naturally and easily to Northern European and North American states, that it exists successfully in nations as diverse as Japan, Italy and Costa Rica seems to indicate its universal applicability.

But before America can promote democracy, it must first define it. Free, fair elections resulting in majority rule are part of the process, but by no means all of it. Where there is a tyranny of the majority, there can be no democracy. True democracy involves the guarantee of individual human rights and beyond that the protection of ethnic, religious and political minorities. There must be equality before the law and due process. In a true democracy,

the power of the government is defined and thus restricted. For freedom to flourish, a climate of democracy must exist.

The organized groups and institutions shoring up democracy — independent of the government in their legitimacy and authority — are what is largely absent in Africa. At the end of the day, of course, neither the United States nor the West can create democracy in Africa. Only the Africans can do that, as we have discovered in our discomfiture in Somalia. But the United States can at least help to promote progress — not just change — in Africa.

However, it must by recognized that this is easier said than done. Politics in Africa is a zero-sum game: You either win big or lose all. Most African presidents leave office feet first, from natural or unnatural causes. Thus those in power will, understandably, stoop to any lengths to remain in the saddle. They will do their utmost, as they have done recently in Kenya and Gabon, to resist an expansion of democracy that threatens not only their economic status, but their lives and the fortune of their tribes.

It has been pointed out to opposition leaders that having reasonably free and fair elections might be enhanced if amnesty was granted for crimes committed in office and a degree of economic security for those in power. Many have not understood this, or have been so motivated by the prospect of revenge that they have not been prepared to agree.

A country like the United States is not entirely without the means to force at least a modest expansion of democracy and a greater regard for human rights on recalcitrant governments. The first and greatest of these weapons is the granting or withholding of economic and military assistance. If money talks in politics everywhere in the world, it positively shouts in Africa. Thus when Western donors in 1991 froze $350 million (out of some $1 billion) in quick-disbursing aid to Kenya, they quickly got the attention of President Daniel arap Moi. Within weeks, Moi had grudgingly agreed to economic reforms and changes in the Constitution to allow multiparty elections in December 1992.

Conditionality once was a no-no in determining the allocation of foreign aid, perhaps because very few African countries could have met the minimum economic and political criteria for granting or continuing foreign aid. Fortunately, conditionally no longer is a dirty word, nor should it be. In a time of finite resources and infinite demands for those resources, there simply is not

enough money to go around — and certainly not to be wasted. The United States owes it to its children to help those who pay something more than lip service to the ideas and ideals that have made the West what it is today. African leaders do not like this — howling "neo-colonialism" — but they understand it.

The United States, as the world's surviving superpower, is capable of exerting political leverage far greater than the absolute sum of its foreign assistance. Confronting Moi's autocratic rule, the United States began reducing its aid to Kenya in 1990; by the end of 1992 it ranked no higher than eighth in the amount of economic assistance poured into that nation. Yet when the United States took a strong position against corruption and misrule there, it was not long before other Western nations — including even Japan, which had shown little interest in such issues — fell into line.

On the positive side, the United States must find more and better ways to strengthen nascent democratic institutions in Africa. These can include charitable and environmental organizations, churches, cooperative societies, business and professional associations, labor unions, self-help groups, scouting movements, anything that promotes citizenship, self-reliance and accountability. Let's move away from grandiose, expensive and theft-vulnerable aid projects, such as Kenya's French-financed Turkwell Gorge Dam, which has generated more corruption than hydroelectric power. Smaller really is better.

There's no program more effective than the so-called ambassador's self-help fund. In Kenya, that program hands out grants averaging no more than $2,500 to fund a variety of projects from pedal-powered sewing machines and cloth for school uniforms to buying heifers for dairy projects and day-old chicks for chicken-breeding schemes. The initiative and the labor comes from the community, and the projects have to show potential for becoming self-supporting and profitable. There's follow-up and accountability, but very little red tape. Through this sort of thing, America has made friends at a very low cost.

In such projects, as in those more directly related to strengthening existing local institutions, there is considerable role for both private-sector and semi-autonomous organizations indirectly financed by governments. The Germans have been doing this well for years, and the United States is beginning to do so now through the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the

National Republican Institute (NRI), which run voter-education seminars, monitor elections and provide training for election officials. All of this is very long-term stuff, but eventually it will bear fruit. Patience, which never has been America's strong suit, is required.

It's easy to become discouraged about Africa. So much money, so many opportunities and so many human resources have been wasted. So many hopes have been dashed, so very little has been accomplished. The lot of Africa's people, economically and politically, in many ways and in many nations is worse now than when the wave of independence swept across the continent in the early 1960s. Yet Americans must not become victims of their own excessive expectations.

For instance, Kenya today is far from being a black Switzerland, yet it is an infinitely freer country than when I became ambassador in December 1989. After multiparty elections were held in December 1992, the opposition held 40 percent of the parliamentary seats where before it had held none. Newspapers are less afraid to print the truth. There are no political detainees. There is greater freedom of speech, assembly and travel than ever before. All this happened at least partially because the United States made it clear that it cared about corruption, misrule and the denial of basic rights. Though the New Jerusalem has not yet been built on the banks of the Nairobi River, these were no mean accomplishments, and there can be no turning back. Those with a sense of history know that democracy never is finally won. It has to be fought for and defended every day, by every generation.

In this respect, a little more consistency in American policy toward Africa would be welcome. There is little sense in one ambassador taking a confrontational position with an African tyrant and his successor becoming an apologist for that same dictator. The world needs to know that America means what it says and says what it means, that it is willing to fund and fight for the sovereignty of the continent's people; governments created by consent of the governed; majority rule and minority rights; free and fair elections; due process and equality before the law; government transparency and accountability; limits on the power of the state, a spirit of tolerance and compromise. America must insist upon it.

Americans are, after all, the heirs of Locke and Montesquieu, of Rousseau and Hume, of Jefferson and Tom Paine. It is often forgotten at our peril. ■

Eulogy for A Consulate

Tiny U.S. Post Shuts Down in Bilbao After 2 Centuries of American Presence

By Richard J. Douglas

The American Consulate in Bilbao, Spain, closed its doors for good in early January. On the State Department's budget death row for years, the ax finally fell on this small post beside the Bay of Biscay. As an FSO, and for 19 months both vice consul and acting principal officer at Bilbao in 1988-90, I offer a few thoughts about this great city and what was a truly rewarding Foreign Service assignment. Call it a eulogy.

Far off the beaten path, 14th-century Bilbao is at once frustrating and captivating: In it, one finds the best and worst of Spain blended with the haunting enigma of the ancient Basque homeland. In the very noble and loyal city of Bilbao, Anglo-Hispanic aristocrats live on fortunes delivered by Basque iron ore and Barakaldo shipyards. So-called "immigrants" from Castile adopt the Basque nationalism of the most dedicated Republican *gurdari*. Basque separatism finds its vicions extreme in the pointless murders of the movement's terrorist arm, ETA.

At Christmas, foreign visitors (British, mostly, since ETA turned on France) take in grime-encrusted mansions along the *Gran Via*. At night, Bilbao's medieval old city, *Casco Viejo*, comes alive with pub-crawlers, shoppers and families out for a stroll, for in Bilbao taverns or rural *caserios*, children are welcome.

Six years have passed since I left Bilbao, but I recall that there has been an American consular post of some kind in or near this tough but splendid city on Spain's Cantabrian coast since 1790. An early review of the consular service by William J. Carr states that "after Thomas Jefferson had been appointed secretary of State, the requirements of our commerce and shipping made it desirable to increase the number of our consuls and by August 1790, 16 consular officers had been appointed." On June 7, 1790 consuls were appointed at Canton, China; Bordeaux, France; Dublin, Ireland; Hispaniola (now Santo Domingo); Liverpool, England; Madeira Island; Martinique, West Indies; Nantes and Rouen, France. Bilbao was in the next set appointed on June 17, which also included Hamburg, Germany; Marseilles, France; Cowes, (Isle of Wight); Havre de Grace, France; London and Fayal (now Azores).

As one of America's first 16 consular posts consulate Bilbao holds its own in American consular lore. The first appointed consul, Edward Clark of Massachusetts, had a tragically brief record. He evidently left America for his post accompanied by his wife and five children and arrived in Bordeaux on Aug. 1, writing of the "most flattering prospects of other advantages from the valuable and important exports from the United States to Bilbao." But on

Richard J. Douglas, an FSO who left the Foreign Service in 1994, was posted to Ciudad Juarez, Mexico; Balboa and Madrid. He is now an attorney in private practice in Washington, D.C.

Sept. 8 he wrote that he had been seized with a violent fever and that he had no means of returning home. Then the State Department record ends until a new appointment was made in 1818.

In spite of this tragic beginning, reporting from American consuls at this post — and from nearby St. Jean de Luz, France, during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39 — provides a first-hand account of peninsular history that embraces the Carlist disputes, the industrial explosion in northern Spain, intrigues of the Second World War, the golden age of American shipping, ETA terrorism, the death of Franco, and the return of vigorous democratic rule in Spain.

Most American embassies and consulates are bigger than Bilbao was — we only had two FSOs and four Foreign Service nationals (FSNs) — but nowhere was the work more interesting. The easiest decision I ever made on a visa application in the Foreign Service, I made at Bilbao. To bolster his case, the visa applicant brought a faded letter to his elderly father from a post-World War II American vice consul, thanking the applicant's father for rendering assistance to a U.S. flier shot down over the Pyrenees during the war. My predecessor's letter also offered reimbursement for "any expenses that you may have incurred." An easy visa issuance.

The most rewarding American assistance case I had in the Foreign Service, I had in Bilbao. A young girl had been taken in by an elderly couple in Calahorra, Logrono — one of six Spanish provinces in the consular district — after she and her teenaged brother were abandoned by their U.S. citizen father. This man had attempted to force the children's Belgian mother into prostitution, but was thwarted when the woman died of cancer.

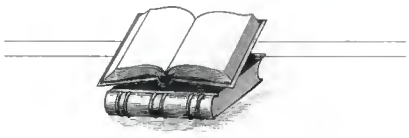
After we visited the children in Calahorra — a town whose "local boy made good" was a Roman consul — the State Department allowed us to document them as U.S. citizens. With assistance from U.S. Embassy Brussels, relatives were located and an uncle came quickly from Brussels for the orphaned children. The 14-year-old girl went to Brussels to live with her relatives and the boy opted to remain in Logrono, working in the asparagus fields and living with gypsies who had offered him help.

American prisoner visits in U.S. Consulate Bilbao's district were few, but never dull. Once I was summoned to the heavily-fortified — thanks to ETA bombers — Indautxu Civil Guard compound near San Sebastian to meet a 65-year-old compatriot arrested at the Franco-Spanish border with 10 kilograms of heroin. During monthly prison visits after his conviction, it became clear to me the man was thriving. Fellow inmates were teaching him Spanish, and he was never without cigarettes. For the first time in his life, he told me, he had "clean clothes and three squares a day."

American consular posts are closing right and left. We must bow to the inevitable. For a good many years, Bilbao dodged the bullet while consulates in more important tourist areas, like Seville and Nice, fell by the wayside. Bilbao is gone, but the U.S. embassy in Madrid and the consulate general in Barcelona will pick up the slack and cope with the extra passport and citizens assistance work throughout the country. Imprisoned Americans in north-central Spain will continue to receive consular visits. And there will be no shortage of embassy volunteers to go to Pamplona each year to count gored Americans on Estafeta Street. In the end, everyone will adjust, and life without U.S. Consulate Bilbao will go on.

But for two centuries, what happened in and around that city was important enough to the United States to have men and women on the spot.

But for two centuries, what happened in and around that city was important enough to the United States to have men and women on the spot. In recent years, its major importance sprung from its reporting about the activity of the ETA. For the record, and to mark the consulate's demise, I wanted Americans to know something about what went on in our country's name in this out-of-the-way yet profoundly interesting corner of Europe. ■



Books

Why Communism Really Failed

Autopsy on an Empire: The American Ambassador's Account of the Collapse of the Soviet Union
Jack F. Matlock Jr., Random House, New York, 1995, hardcover, $35, 838 pages.

By R. T. Davies

The memoir of former U.S. ambassador to Russia Jack F. Matlock is a comprehensive account of his service as chief of mission in Moscow from April 1987 to August 1991. Matlock left Moscow eight days before the abortive attempt of the *apparatchiks* to save the Communist Party and halt the crumbling of the party-state. In 1992, however, he travelled to Russia and a number of the fledgling post-Soviet republics to interview principal actors in the drama whose earlier stages he had witnessed and in which he had played an official part.

If 838 pages seem daunting, remember that just under a hundred are taken up with editorial apparatus: a lengthy chronology (1985-91); an even lengthier dramatis personae; notes; acknowledgments; an explanation of the transcription systems used for non-Latin-alphabet languages and an index. Finally, an epilogue of nearly 70 pages deals with the 1991-95 events as the ex-constituent Soviet republics began the attempt to define their statehood.

Of particular interest is Matlock's treatment of two questions on which he is especially qualified to illuminate. The first is the degree to which U.S. policies influenced events in the expiring USSR. The second concerns the roles of the two principal actors on the Moscow stage, Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, and the responsibility each bears for the events.

As to the first question, Matlock writes, "[T]he Reagan administration articulated a strategy for ending the Cold War," the scenario for which "was written in Washington" by the president, the secretary of State and Matlock, who was the National Security Council staff officer responsible for U.S.-Soviet relations from 1983-87. An earlier phrasing seems historically more precise: "The Cold War ended on the terms set by the United States, implicitly from its onset and explicitly by the Reagan administration from January 1984."

The Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, the North Atlantic Alliance and the contributions of its European members, the impact of Western propaganda within the Soviet bloc over more than 40 years — the whole infrastructure of containment and the course of events from 1945-89 inside the bloc, on its borders and farther afield, find their place under that "implicitly from its onset." It was only in this context that the scenario elaborated and implemented under Reagan could have its effect. Matlock and the specialist audience know this. A wider readership may not be so well-versed in the history of the past 50 years.

As to the second question, Matlock dealt primarily with Gorbachev. Unsparing in his description of Gorbachev's weaknesses and generous in tribute to his virtues, Matlock emphasizes that "Gorbachev's initiatives in 1988, 1989 and early 1990 made it possible for independent political forces to undermine and eventually destroy the Communist Party's monopoly on political power" and that Gorbachev "consistently refused to authorize the use of force to keep himself in power" or to maintain the empire's grasp upon East-Central Europe.

"Is it not fitting that the first Communist leader of the Soviet Union who put country before party was also the last Communist leader of the Soviet Union?," asks Matlock.

Yeltsin's career is in mid-course and final judgments cannot yet be made; Matlock strikes a judicious balance. If the country can find its way as a democratic state with a viable market economy, few will be inclined to dwell on his shortcomings, he wrote. "But if the country disintegrates further, drifts into a

morass of crime and corruption, and is riven by demagogic appeals to revive the empire, he could be put down as a tragic Tsar Boris II, whose reign of questionable legitimacy brought on a Time of Troubles and of national shame."

Matlock's many years of study and experience in the USSR lead him to cautionary reflection upon the prospects for its principal heir, the Russian Federation. "Democracy could develop and flourish only if the Russian nation remained content to live within its current borders and cultivate a relationship of equality with its neighbors," he wrote. "Attempts to reassemble the old Russia, the empire, would inevitably lead to dictatorship in Russia itself and misery for everyone in the neighborhood."

Matlock illustrates this judgment in the Epilogue, which concludes with a strong discussion of Yeltsin's reversion to Bolshevik brutality in the civil war in Chechnya. At the end of this, Matlock completes the thought he began 60 pages earlier:

"Russia ... must, in the long run, reform or fall apart. True reform is going to take time — most likely measured in generations rather than years or even decades — and there will doubtless be setbacks, but Russia, like every other nation, can fulfill its potential only as a part of the wider world. Shutting out the world it does not control may have deep roots in Russian history, but they are not the only roots, and they must not be allowed to flourish if Russia is to develop a healthy society."

Matlock's memoir shows us in painstaking detail the final act of the drama whose leitmotif had been foreseen nearly 45 years earlier by

George Kennan: "[T]he United States has it in its power to increase enormously the strains under which Soviet policy must operate, to force upon the Kremlin a far greater degree of moderation and circumspection that it has had to observe in recent years, and in this way to promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the break-up or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power. For no mystical, Messianic movement — and particularly not that of the Kremlin — can face frustration indefinitely without eventually adjusting itself in one way or another to the logic of that state of affairs."

An FSO who retired in 1980, R.T. Davies spent more than 25 years working on U.S.-Soviet and U.S.-Polish relations in Moscow, Warsaw, Paris, Kabul and Washington, D.C.

GOD'S PLACE IN DIPLOMACY

Religion: the Missing Dimension of Statecraft
Edited by Douglas Johnston and Cynthia Sampson, Oxford University Press, 1995, paperback, $17.95, 337 pages.

BY DANIEL O. NEWBERRY

In contemplating how to treat the subject of religion as an element in statecraft, the editors of this new book readily acknowledged that there are too many dimensions for any one person to treat comprehensively. Their product, therefore, is a collection of essays, most of them written by

foreign-policy academicians and think-tank analysts dealing with conflict resolution. The most readable chapter, "Faith at the Ramparts: the Philippine Catholic Church and the 1986 Revolution," is written by the State Department's own Henry Wooster, who received an M.A. in religion and worked at the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs before moving to Foggy Bottom.

Other contributors write about such country-specific topics as conciliation in Nicaragua, the churches and apartheid in South Africa and Quaker mediation during the Nigerian civil war. Edward Luttwak's theme piece helpfully reviews the dogmatic attitudes that have imbued the foreign-policy community with a "learned repugnance" toward contending intellectually with things religious or spiritual.

The wrap-up section, dealing with implications for the practice of traditional U.S. diplomacy, is disappointing, but let us give the editors and contributors credit; they have tried. Harold Saunders, who is eminently qualified to expound on the subject, talks about a new partnership between professionals and policymakers within government and between governments and people outside of government. Saunders no doubt had something dynamic in mind, but the thought is hardly original or stirring.

Elsewhere, the editors' concluding thoughts on how to bring about change tend to drift onto relatively trivial bureaucratic tinkering, like increasing language training and establishing "religion attache" positions in select embassies. It's hardly calculated to seize the diplomat-reader with the conviction that he needs to grope for a new vision.

Even so, this book is a beginning, and its sponsors at the Center for Strategic and International Studies deserve applause for having organized and funded this earnest collection of essays on a subject of compelling importance.

Daniel O. Newberry, a retired FSO, is a member of the Journal's Editorial Board.

China Copes With Aging Air Fleet

China's Air Force Enters the 21st Century
Kenneth W. Allen, Glenn Krumel and Jonathan D. Pollack, Rand Press, 1995, paperback, $15, 249 pages.

By David Reuther

This volume is an excellent antidote to the presumption that a direct relationship exists between a Third World country's expanding economy and its military power. Air power is a capital-intensive form of military capability. The design, production and operation of modern combat aircraft place maximum demands on a nation's industrial, financial and educational resources. *China's Air Force* is a hard-nosed look at these and other issues required to evaluate China's air power. The authors, headed by a former assistant air attaché in Beijing, conclude that much more than economic growth will be needed before China builds a credible air force.

Although Beijing claims the third-largest air force in the world, its fleet consists of predominantly

obsolete aircraft, the best of which use 30-year-old technologies. During a discussion of various Chinese-produced aircraft, the authors quote one foreign description of the F-6 (the Chinese MIG-19 which is the bulk of its current fighters) as "the most highly perfected, obsolescent aircraft in the world." The authors also note that "all of the aircraft that China is capable of manufacturing in large numbers are presently obsolete." The book's charts summarize that total fighter production peaked around 1978, that the fighter inventory peaked around 1985 and that half of Beijing's current fighters and attack aircraft will be retired by 2005 because of old age.

The authors also conclude that China "appears unable to afford more than one full-scale primary fighter development program at any one time," meaning that Beijing doesn't have the financial resources to replace aging aircraft. A review of the industrial and financial problems faced by economies with more depth than China's also cautions against directly translating rising per capita income into high-tech weaponry. Taiwan continues to have design problems with its indigenous fighter and has recently announced a cutback in production; a European consortium to build a fighter is riven with dissension over financial and industrial issues.

For China, purchasing aircraft from a foreign source opens the door to a different set of problems. Modern, high-tech aircraft require specialized training for ground crews, as well as pilots. Yet, Chinese literature documents a plethora of maintenance problems. Chinese researchers admitted to the authors that "the People's Liberation Army Air Force (PLAAF) had been severely chastened by the prohibitive logistics and maintenance costs associated with the Su-27."

This book provides excellent chapters on the history of the PLAAF and evaluations of individual aircraft. The authors conclude from Chinese documents that the PLAAF primarily is trained and deployed for point defense — a thin repertoire when compared to the capabilities of other Pacific Rim air forces. This volume is the best military and industrial investigation of Chinese air power since Richard Bueschel's *Communist Chinese Air Power* in 1968. ■

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

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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Whiteouts and Warmups in Greenland

BY TOM ARMBRUSTER

The term, "logistical nightmare" applies to most U.S. scientific research projects in Greenland. Ski-equipped aircraft must use iee-eap runways at elevations of up to 12,000 feet, with the flights subject to whiteouts, high winds and extreme cold — or warm temperatures that make snow soft and dangerous to land on.

As an FSO in the Polar Division of the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs, I traveled to Greenland last May as a guest of the 109th Air National Guard unit and the Polar Ice Coring Office (PICO), the logistical support contractor for the National Science Foundation (NSF) and NASA.

We arrived in Kangerlussuaq, one possible site for NSF/NASA research, in the midst of a wind storm, blowing dust ground up by the glaciers so fine that it got into our teeth. We were also met by mosquitoes starting their busy summer season. Kangerlussuaq, now a support center for scientists of all nationalities, was a 1960s U.S. air base that was handed over to Greenland in 1992.

There are more than 35 U.S. research projects in Greenland, involving everything from Peregrine Falcon studies to atmospheric physics to the Greenland icesheet. NASA scientists are tracking the icesheet — with an area of about 1,726,000 square miles, and a maximum thickness of 3,300 meters — to determine whether it's expanding or melting. The scientists provide welcome diversification to the Greenland economy, 90 percent of which is dependent on fishing. With a population of only 52,000 — enough people to fill a U.S. baseball stadium — Greenland and its economy need the scientists.

The Cold War in Greenland is fought against the weather.

Nearby is Kellyville, established in 1983, the oldest continuous U.S. research site in Greenland, which was named for the American researcher, John Kelly, director of the Incoherent Scatter Radar Project, a research program on upper atmosphere dynamics and the effect of ionospheric disturbances on communications. A sign at the entrance reads, "Welcome to Kellyville, an incoherent community, population 8."

From Kellyville, we flew to Summit in central Greenland, on our way to Thule, the other possible base for NSF/NASA research. After landing on the Summit ice runway, three pallets of gear and science equipment were offloaded while we were still rolling to a stop. A sled pulled by a snowmobile took us to the field camp. Research at Summit includes sensitive testing of the "clean" snow and atmosphere and more basic research on the snow-atmosphere exchange of gasses. One laboratory is built in a 15-foot snow trench with hard-packed snow walls supporting electric cords leading to computers recording data. A harsher environment for research is difficult to imagine. Logistics are as much a concern as science.

Later we headed for Thule Air Base in northwest Greenland, just 950 miles south of the North Pole. Thule is home to the 12th Space Warning Squadron, but it is a much smaller base than it was at the height of the Cold War when there were 10,000 people and bombers continuously idling on the runway, ready to take off for Soviet targets at a moment's notice.

The nearest Greenlandic village is Qaanaaq, 15 minutes away by helicopter. The entire village was relocated to make room for the U.S. military base in 1951. Villagers make their living from the sea, and seals, sea birds and fish lie on drying racks, while scores of dog sled teams are staked out on the ice.

I'd love to return to Greenland to see more of the wildlife, glaciers, icebergs and people who thrive at -40 degrees Fahrenheit. But with whiteouts and winds a daily occurrence, I wouldn't plan on a firm itinerary. ■

Tom Armbruster, an FSO assigned to be science officer in Moscow, is detailed to the Center for International Science and Technology Policy at The George Washington University. He has also served in Helsinki and Havana. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

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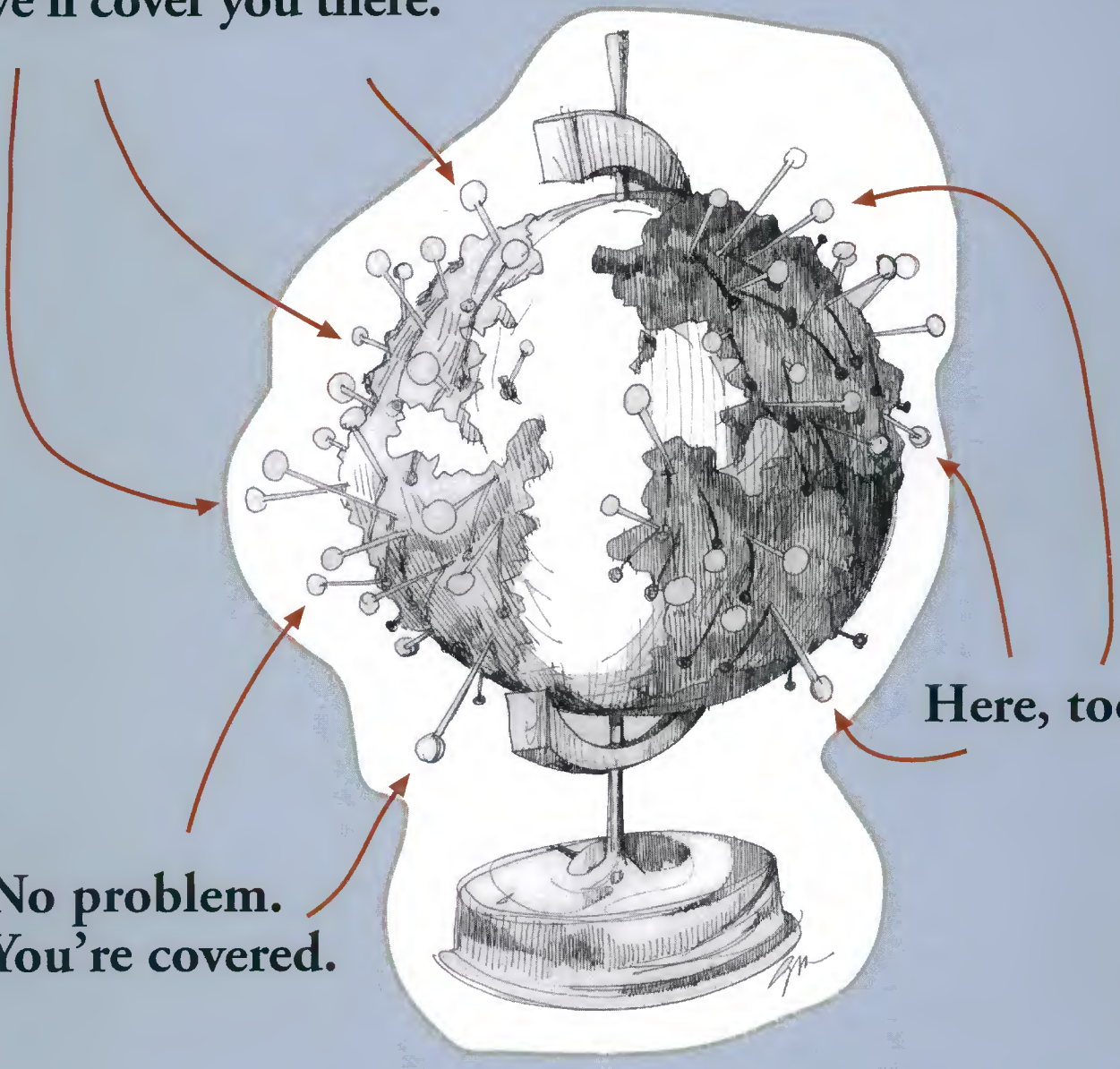

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