

# FOREIGN SERVICE

JOURNAL

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THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS



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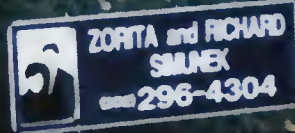
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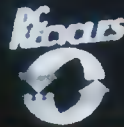


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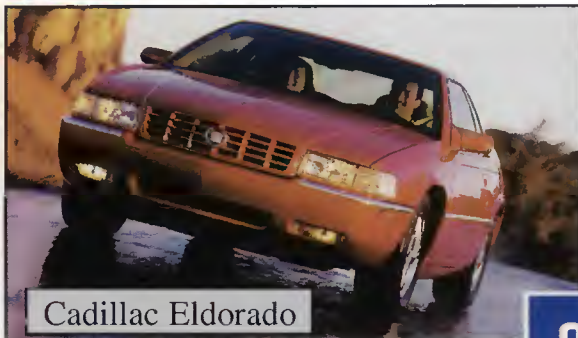
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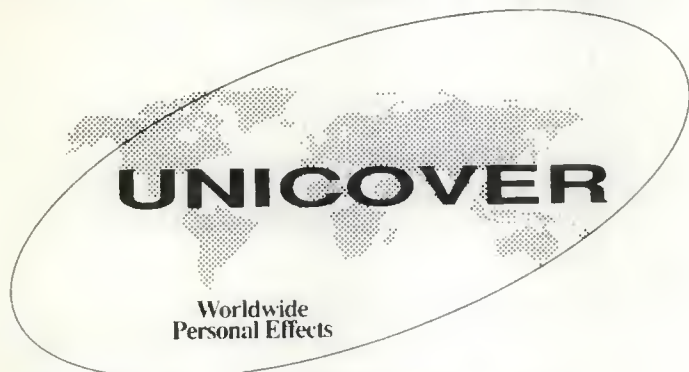
ANNE SIGMUND

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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *Wanted: All-Star Ambassadors Only*

BY F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

Washington's recent spasm of concern about the impact of political contributions on the government process has again overlooked a major long-term abuse — the political appointment of American ambassadors. While many nations appoint a few non-career diplomats to head their embassies, only the United States and the Philippines routinely dispatch political appointees to head a substantial share of missions abroad, especially larger ones.

The practice of selling senior military appointments was stopped in the middle of the last century. Today, the appointment of a major political contributor or close political friend of the president as commander of a Navy vessel or Army base would be deemed outrageous. But such individuals receive diplomatic appointments regularly and with great pomp and ceremony through a flawed political process. American embassies are at the front lines protecting this nation's interests around the world. They are critical to this nation's well-being and security. Yet, no one complains when the chiefs of these missions are sent out based on their political connections and/or generosity. This nation has become numb to this outrageous tradition. The costs are not found in the occasional titilla-

*Team America  
needs its best to  
head embassies in  
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tions of ambassadorial misbehavior, but in missed opportunities, delayed responses, incomplete intelligence and flawed communications with other countries on issues that profoundly affect the U.S. economy, its security and the well-being of American citizens.

In a nation without national honors such as knighthoods, becoming an ambassador is a much sought-after honorific cap to a successful professional career. For many it is the big political prize worth spending many years of effort and much treasure. The current system in which about a third of America's ambassadorships are awarded to political supporters is a major part of a federal spoils system that benefits only the incumbent president's party. It sends average hitters to bat each day in many of the most important posts while leaving all-stars on the bench. This aspect of money in

politics needs to be made part of the current discussions on financial contribution reform. It is presently being overlooked.

Team America needs its best to head its embassies in a very tough, complicated and competitive world. Every ambassadorial position must be awarded to a proven heavy hitter in international affairs who has been vetted by an impartial, non-partisan review body. If all-star performances are to be sustained at all levels of U.S. missions abroad, most of the candidates must come from the career service. In no case should a particular sum of campaign contribution be a significant qualification.

The United States has had many outstanding "political" ambassadors who brought to their missions rich experience in non-diplomatic, but closely related areas of international affairs in business, academia, law, politics, journalism and the military. They are invaluable, and they would easily win endorsement from an impartial review body. We must continue to tap these national resources.

However, the majority of political appointees today come aboard as rookies. Their appointments subsidize, at the nation's expense, a political party system, and do not allow the assembling of the best diplomatic team. The lost opportunities for this country are too high. An all-star is needed to lead each and every U.S. embassy. Rookies should be benched. ■

*F. A. "Tex" Harris is president of the American Foreign Service Association.*

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# LETTERS

*To the Editor:*

The "Letters" section of the February *Journal* provided two pieces of ammunition to enemies of the Foreign Service, especially to legislators seeking reasons to cut the budgets of the foreign affairs agencies even further.

First, there was the letter from the self-described "Hispanic-American spouse of an FSO" suggesting that it would be a good idea for Jesse Jackson to lead a raucous protest in front of the State Department "with placards and bullhorns denouncing [racial] discrimination." What a great idea! And why didn't I think of that solution? Perhaps it's because my Mexican-American spouse and I were so proud of our 27 years of service to her adopted country.

And then there was the political officer in Belize who praised California's Proposition 215, which would legalize marijuana and other proscribed drugs for "medicinal" purposes. Another great idea! Except that drug czar Barry McCaffrey denounced Proposition 215 as a "hoax initiative" aimed at

---

*The Foreign Service Journal welcomes your signed letters to the editor. Please mail letters to the Journal, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, D.C., fax to (202) 338-8244 or send via e-mail to journal@afsa.org. Letters, which are subject to editing, should include full name, title and post, address and daytime telephone number.*

legalizing dangerous drugs and Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala noted that "all available research has concluded that marijuana is dangerous to our health." Attorney General Janet Reno concurred and vowed to prosecute doctors who prescribe such drugs on a case-by-case basis. Meanwhile, our distinguished diplomatic representative in Belize should think twice before he smokes too many peace pipes on the drug issue. Marijuana is still an illegal drug and he's sworn to uphold the law.

Can you imagine the reaction of congressional budget-cutters and other Foreign Service critics to this kind of nonsense? With "friends" like this, who needs enemies?

*Guy W. Farmer  
Retired FSO  
Carson City, Nev.*

---

*To the Editor:*

AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris' comments in the February issue of the *Journal* ("President's Views") regarding "unifying" the efforts of the foreign-affairs agencies were alarming. If this is code for "consolidation," Tex is off the mark, at least as far as the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) is concerned. Any "bickering" between USAID and the State Department is greatly exaggerated, and easily

remedied by means much short of consolidating the agencies.

More importantly, to the extent there is such bickering, or divergence in goals, this does not account for any failings in foreign aid. To the contrary, failures of foreign aid are more properly attributable to aid being given for "foreign policy" reasons, rather than "development" reasons, and these failures would only multiply were USAID more fully integrated into State. Should Tex or AFSA more explicitly endorse "consolidation," it would be clear that my views on this most central issue are no longer being represented, and you can cancel my membership.

*Tim C. Riedler  
Regional Legal Advisor  
USAID/Indonesia  
U.S. Embassy Jakarta*

---

*To the Editor:*

I enjoyed reading the letter to the editor submitted by my old friend and colleague Brady Barr (January *Journal*). Brady is wrong in only one small aspect of his amusing anecdote. [Former ambassador] Chip Bohlen is quoted as saying, "Alright. Everybody out." I have it on good authority that Chip Bohlen never said "alright" in his life. Never. Not even once.

*Harrison Sherwood  
Retired FSO  
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## LETTERS

*To the Editor:*

When I was a career development officer (CDO) in the Personnel Bureau, my most frequent observation to my clients was that FSOs are often their own worst enemy. I was sorry to see this opinion confirmed by Carmen Cunningham's article "Give FSNs More Respect, Rewards, Opportunities" ("Speaking Out," November *Journal*).

No officer who has supervised Foreign Service nationals (FSNs) would dispute Ms. Cunningham's argument that FSN employees are vital to the Foreign Service, and that too often they are not adequately rewarded for outstanding performance under extremely difficult conditions. However, it was not necessary to contrast hardworking, unappreciated FSN employees with alcoholic, lazy and abusive FSOs to make this point.

I worked for the General Services Office (GSO) in Riyadh when we changed over half of our housing stock to take advantage of lower rents and moved to a new embassy building. I do not recall either officers or FSNs in GSO enjoying long, three-martini lunches in Riyadh.

During my tour, Seoul was among the top five posts worldwide for issuance of both immigrant and non-immigrant visas. Though I interviewed thousands of applicants during my four years there, and supervised officers interviewing thousands more, I never saw a single case of an officer requiring an FSN employee to justify a visa refusal, as Ms. Cunningham describes having seen "all too often."

I could go on, but what's the point? My two years as a CDO taught me that FSOs hardly ever have anything good to say about

## LETTERS

themselves, even when they have done excellent work in conditions of extreme danger and hardship. We have elevated self-depreciation to an art form, and Ms. Cunningham's article is just the latest example. Maybe we should not be surprised that the Foreign Service does not get the respect it deserves, since we appear chronically unable to give it to ourselves.

*Ted Halstead  
Consul  
U.S. Consulate Brussels*

*To the Editor:*

The November issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* focused on discrimination in the work force and it seems to have touched a nerve among many of your readers. The subject highlights a range of concerns that include age, gender, sexual preference and ethnic background. "Diversity," a term used to define the wide variety of people who make up the U.S. Foreign Service, was the one that caught my eye. I would like to share a recent incident here at post.

Several months ago a new American employee arrived at the embassy. His young wife was in her early stages of pregnancy and visited a local physician following her arrival. One day she was telling a group of friends at the post, some of whom were female FSNs, about a visit to the doctor's office and about her main concerns as a first-time mom.

"I asked the doctor," she said, "How many white babies will be born around the time I have my baby?" The doctor replied, "White babies?" After a moment of silence he said, "Oh, you mean 'American' babies?" She responded, "Yes, you know, white babies."

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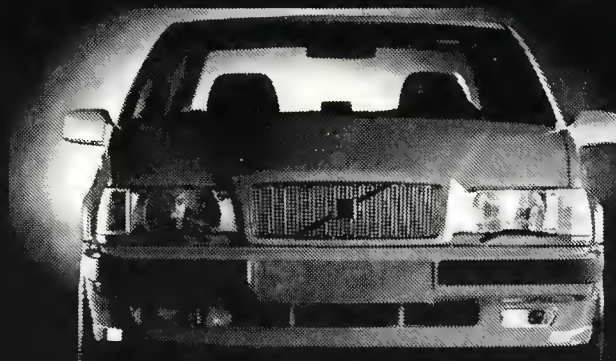
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## LETTERS

Some of the women who participated in this conversation were annoyed, others simply enraged — and I don't necessarily mean U.S. citizens — or "Amerieans" — but FSNs who felt deeply offended by the remark, which translated as ignorant and callous. The many connotations this remark may have are best left to sociologists or other groups devoting to defining what or who an American is. Special-interest groups may also find this episode a blatant example of white Anglo-Saxon Protestant influence in FSOs' attitudes toward their culture, as well as that of host countries.

It is very important to note that anyone employed at missions overseas in any position and their families are there to represent the United States. This means, many times, to be honest about their feelings and thoughts that contrast with those of host-country citizens. But this prevailing practice should be avoided when it comes to issues that may be viewed politically incorrect at home and, more so, abroad.

*Name Withheld at  
Author's Request  
U.S. Embassy  
Guatemala City*

### To the Editor:

In behalf of Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies (GLIFAA), I would like to comment on the article entitled "The Issue of Sexual Preference" (November *Journal*). The author, Richard Gilbert, who interviewed several GLIFAA members for the piece, provided an informative history of the discrimination which gay employees have suffered in the State Department in contrast to the positive experiences of many openly gay employees since the

department adopted its nondiscrimination policy in 1994. Feelings of insecurity among some gays and, especially, lesbians, as the article observes, have not been eliminated — in some cases, prompted by lingering homophobia among colleagues — but State, USAID and the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) have moved a long way in the right direction.

Your readers need, however, to be aware of one glaring shortcoming in the article. In the title and text, the article uses the term "sexual preference" where the appropriate term would be "sexual orientation." The latter is the term of choice among gays and lesbians and is generally honored in the press. It is the term that enjoys official usage in the U.S. government, including the State Department.

If the editors were in any doubt, they would have only to go as far as the department's policy on non-discrimination, which refers to sexual orientation, not preference. Scientific data fails to bear out that homosexuality is a matter of preference. To use "sexual preference" contributes to misconceptions and prejudice that gays and lesbians are fighting daily to reverse. I am troubled that the *Journal* would use this inappropriate and loaded term. It is at odds with the care and accuracy we are accustomed to expect from this publication, and that readers deserve.

*Robert W. Hansen  
President  
GLIFAA  
Washington, D.C.*

*The Journal understands GLIFAA's concerns, but like many magazines, it observes a consistent editorial "style." Our stylebook recommends the use of "sexual preference" rather than "sexual orientation."*

— The editors

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## LETTERS

To the Editor:

I was amused to read John Garon's letter in your March issue referring to the January issue of the Journal on "The Role of Humor in Diplomacy."

It is true that U.S. Embassy Libreville sent the infamous "Gabon slept on" cable and that Richard Funkhouser was then the ambassador.

But, at the time the cable was sent, both the ambassador and deputy chief of mission were out of the country. I was the junior office at post — filling in also for our sick communicator.

I wrote the cable and sent it. For my succinct and accurate reporting, I received a reprimand for frivolity.

*E. Gibson Lanpher*  
Deputy Assistant  
Secretary for South Asia  
Washington, D.C. n

### AN INVITATION FOR FICTION

The *Foreign Service Journal* is seeking works of fiction of up to 3,000 words for its annual fiction issue. Preference will be given for Foreign Service settings, situations and characters. A small honorarium is offered.

Submissions by mail, e-mail or fax may be made by June 1 to Karen Krebsbach, Editor, *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20037, via e-mail to [journal@afsa.org](mailto:journal@afsa.org) or via fax at (202) 338-8244. No exceptions to the deadline. The top stories chosen by the Editorial Board will be published in the August issue of the *Journal*.

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# CLIPPINGS



*"The White House wishes to adhere to the Department of State general policy of rotating ambassadors after approximately three years of service. ... Therefore, your tour of duty will expire on or about June 30."*

- NOTE FROM WHITE HOUSE PERSONNEL CHIEF BOB J. NASH TO POLITICAL AMBASSADORS, THE WASHINGTON POST, FEB. 19.

## EXPELLING THE SPY WHO BUGGED THEM

What started out March 9 as a story about post-Cold War economic espionage by the United States against Germany, had become by March 12 an issue of how the CIA operates within borders of allied states, *The Washington Post* reported. For the first time in the post-Cold War period, the German government has ordered a CIA agent working under American diplomatic cover to leave the country, accusing him of economic espionage.

The *Post* story, written by Berlin correspondent William Drozdiak, relied on an account in the German news magazine *Der Spiegel*, which reported that a CIA agent had tried to obtain classified information related to German high-tech projects and had been expelled from Germany sometime earlier after the two countries' intelligence agencies quietly reached an agreement.

In a follow-up story in the *Post* on March 12, U.S. intelligence sources put their own spin on the incident in an interview with reporter Walter Pincus. The CIA agent had not been conducting economic espionage against the Germans, they told Pincus. Rather, the Germans only wanted to highlight their demand that they be kept informed of CIA operations within their borders. "This was a shot across the bow," a source told Pincus.

The real target of the expelled agent's activity was probably Iran, according to Pincus' sources. "The CIA over the years has actively used Germany, and particularly now-closed facilities in Frankfurt and Hamburg, to carry out activities against Iran and Libya," he wrote. A senior State Department official confirmed the latest version of events, telling Pincus,

"Germany had come of age and is saying as far as intelligence is concerned, 'This is our country and whatever was done in the past must change.'"

## ALBRIGHT ACCUSED OF 'BETRAYING' JEWS

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright cynically tried to manipulate recent revelations that her parents converted to Catholicism from Judaism and that some of her relatives died in Nazi concentration camps, E.V. Kontorovich, a contributing editor of *The Forward*, wrote in the Feb. 18 *New York Post*. "Albright certainly almost certainly knew she was born a Jew and publicly denied the fact."

In her handling of the revelations, first published in *The Washington Post Magazine*, Albright has "betrayed her ancestors [and] ... demonstrated a profound misunderstanding of the situation of Jews in America," says Kontorovich. While most columnists writing about Albright's heritage have "fallen into platitudes about victimhood, she has cynically manipulated the memory of the Holocaust to distract from her distortions," he wrote.

Kontorovich accuses Albright of willfully denying her ancestry, an act of betrayal, he says, to the "millions who have died for refusing to deny their Jewishness. ... Albright is not a Holocaust survivor. Her parents hid their Jewishness in order to stay alive; she did so because she preferred it not to be true. ... Rather than acknowledge it, [Albright] impiously stole the shroud of suffering from her grandparents and donned it as political camouflage."



# CLIPPINGS

## US VISA POLICY HURTING TOURISM

The increasingly bureaucratic, time-consuming process of obtaining a visa to visit the United States — be it for business or vacation — is reducing the number of foreign tourists in the United States, Diane Brady reported in the Feb. 11 *Wall Street Journal*. U.S. consular officials defend the visa procedures as necessary to screen out visitors who might not return to their own countries, but they are also passing over tourists with big bucks to spend, Brady wrote. In addition, America's "outdated" approach to issuing visas is "colliding with trends in Asia, where rapid economic growth, cheaper air fares and liberalized travel policies have spawned a generation of eager tourists who simply want an overseas holiday," she reported.

The United States has one of the highest visa-rejection rates in the world, she reports, with almost one-quarter of the 8 million applicants who applied for tourist visas worldwide last year being turned down. "To some extent, the difficult procedures are justified. Every year, thousands of people slip across the U.S. border on non-immigrant visas with no intention of going home," writes Brady, who notes the Immigration and Naturalization Service officials say it's "almost impossible" to track down visa-jumpers once they've arrived in the United States.

An anonymous consular officer interviewed by Brady also pointed out that deciding not to issue a visa may be the safest course for FSOs, who receive only five weeks of training and typically must make an issuance decision within only minutes of meeting the applicant. An unidentified State Department spokesperson told Brady that FSOs can get into hot

water if applicants to whom they issue visas don't return to their native lands.

Nariman Yamin, a 42-year-old Indonesian widow who owns two houses, an art gallery, a gift shop and a furniture factory in her native land, was turned down recently for a tourist visa to visit friends in the United States because she didn't look "prosperous" enough, according to Brady. Yamin will not be vacationing in Miami Beach, as planned, but still hopes to spend her hard-earned money outside Indonesia. "There are plenty of countries in the world that are anxious to have me as a tourist," she told Brady, echoing the sentiments of a growing number of international tourists.

## WHY SOURCES TIP OFF 'GUY IN LEAD SUIT'

A journalistic favorite of the Washington diplomatic corps, Al Kamen of *The Washington Post*, was profiled in the March 3 *U.S. News and World Report* as "exert[ing] an influence that's largely invisible outside Washington." Kamen, author of the much-read "In the Loop," revealed to reporter Timothy Noah that he doesn't snag his juiciest diplomatic scoops by lunching at posh downtown restaurants. Except for items forwarded to him by *Post* colleagues, Kamen receives most of his tips via e-mail or phone, providing his sources with some degree of anonymity. Indeed, Kamen told Noah, he wouldn't recognize his best sources if he met them on the street.

"Day in and day out, Kamen's impact on official Washington arguably exceeds that of any other journalist," writes Noah. What are his secrets? For one thing, he's

# 50 YEARS AGO

"We soldiers and sailors, schooled in terseness and the need for simple clarity of expression, believed that all things could be described and painted in basic white or black," wrote U.S. Army Col. Kenner F. Hertford in a piece, "Impressions of Foreign Service Officers at the National War College," which was published in the April 1947 issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*.

"We have never tried to manipulate gray word pictures. Our State Department classmates have achieved a signal success in introducing us to the veritable art of enunciating a policy, taking a position or answering a delicate question with the most convincing assemblage of gray prose that commits nobody to anything, but sounds good."

## CLIPPINGS



*"Diplomacy is  
the police  
in grand  
costume."*

— NAPOLEON  
BONAPARTE, EARLY  
19TH-CENTURY  
FRENCH EMPEROR

well-respected by his sources. For example, when a spokesman for Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) obtained documents detailing plans to stop Helms from closing the U.S. Agency for International Development last year, "The first person I thought of was Al Kamen," he told Noah. "He's the guy who handles the radioactive material. He's the guy in the lead suit."

Similarly, not being mentioned in a Kamen column may be just as significant as having one's name there. One unnamed nominee to a high post at the U.S. Information Agency watched Kamen's column every day during his Senate confirmation hearings to see whether his name would surface "on the theory that no news was good news," he told Noah. That theory proved correct: Kamen never mentioned his name and the nominee got the job.

## EMBASSIES TO BILL 'TENANT' AGENCIES

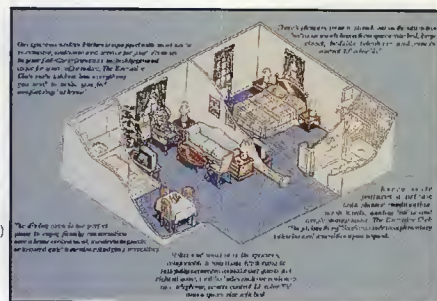
There'll be no more free rides for "tenant" agencies who work under the auspices of U.S. embassies overseas. The State Department will begin charging other agencies for use of embassy services overseas, which prompted *The Washington Times* to report on Feb. 26 that CIA agents might soon be hearing, "Make your check out to the State Department, please."

Officials say the cash-strapped State Department "was picking up about two-thirds of their operational costs" of agencies like the CIA, the Commerce Department and the Agriculture Department, according to the former under secretary of State for management, Richard Moose. "Tenant" agencies will be billed for staff, phone, fax, housing, office rent, utility and vehicle costs that they had previously received gratis. ■

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# SPEAKING OUT

## *One USAID Whistle Blower's Sour Note*

By LINDA D. WHITLOCK

When I joined the Foreign Service in 1987 at the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), I thought I was embarking on a career that would let me travel the world while working to help people. Ten years later, I have lost all faith in what I believed was an organization of integrity devoted to helping the world help itself. I also face the end of what I thought would be a long, fulfilling career, not because I failed as an FSO, but because I was vigilant in uncovering potential fraud at USAID's Africa Bureau — and was then naive enough to trust that legislation designed to protect whistle blowers would protect me.

Now when I see those posters lining the halls of all federal buildings, the ones that remind employees of their duty to report potential waste of taxpayer money to the Inspector General's Office, I know the reality. When I reported my findings of suspicious fraud, instead of being thanked for helping to clean up the agency, I became a target of bureaucratic anger aimed at silencing me. My story serves as a warning to other FSOs who believe they will be protected if they speak up against fraud and for better management.

My odyssey began in January 1995 when I reported to work as the

---

*Linda D. Whitlock, an FSO, is an executive officer in USAID's Office of Overseas Management Support.*

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deputy director in the Africa Bureau's Management Office, effectively the office's No. 2 person, responsible for managing a seven-person staff. I was well-prepared for this position, having spent a year at USAID's Executive Secretariat and five years as the deputy executive officer at USAID Guatemala, providing management support for two USAID missions totaling 400 employees.

In my first two weeks at the Africa Bureau, I noticed an unusual number of staff absences and questionable

time and attendance practices, and shared my observations with bureau management. Managers said they had been aware of the abuse for some time and agreed that something had to be done, but, initially, were uncomfortable scheduling an interview with the Inspector General's office (IG) for fear of exposing the potential magnitude of the problem. In my mind's eye, all I could see were the posters in the corridors of federal buildings reminding employees of their responsibility to report fraud. I told them I believed we an obligation to the agency to disclose the fraud: We had no choice.

When I arrived for an appointment with the USAID IG investigator, I believed I would be heard. However, instead of being thanked for my discovery, I was discredited. Despite the potentially incriminating evidence that I had secured, the interview ended with the investigator telling me I had no proof and that he had decided not to pursue the case. He said I had identified questionable documentation, but had nothing to substantiate my suspicions. Instead of leaving the IG meeting secure in the knowledge that I had done the right thing, I left with the label "troublemaker."

Over the next nine months, I watched my career fall apart. Put on administrative leave with pay, I sat in my office reading documents about reinventing government while being isolated from the bureau's real work. Without IG support, I lost credibility

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## SPEAKING OUT



among colleagues and became a victim of ongoing harassment and retaliation. Evidence of retaliation affected my performance evaluations.

The Foreign Service Act of 1946 and 1980 (as amended) legislates annual evaluations for FSOs. A successful Foreign Service career hinges on consistently positive performance evaluations, which each year are ranked competitively among one's peers. FSOs with low-ranking evaluations are subsequently reviewed by the Performance Standards Board for recommended action. In some cases, FSOs can be terminated. By isolating me, the Africa Bureau chose not to provide me with a work plan for the 1995-96 annual review. The consequence — no evaluation, no competitive ranking, no consideration for promotion or career track to more senior management positions. And if that wasn't enough, my position as deputy director was advertised as available and filled before I could secure another assignment.

Finally, with nowhere else to turn, and badly in need of protection, I filed a grievance on Sept. 21, 1995, with the Foreign Service Grievance Board, based on a technicality in my annual performance review. I prepared a chronology of the events, hoping someone would notice exactly what can happen to whistle blowers. It worked. Thirteen days after filing my grievance, the Inspector General's office assigned another investigator to research my allegations. On April 23, 1996, the agency announced that the IG had launched an audit of the agency-wide time and attendance system, which, in part, focused on some of the issues I had raised. But by then, my career was in shambles. I felt as though I had been a victim of gang rape and had to defend why I hadn't enjoyed it.

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## SPEAKING OUT

Little did I know that the formal grievance process is not designed to provide formal mediation for employees, but to isolate employees deemed troublemakers and to systematically destroy their careers. Because I was questioning the bureaucracy, I became the target of the investigation, and the original concerns I raised were ignored. At best, I was regarded by USAID management as a faceless entity who must be discouraged from causing further trouble. I found the grievance process to be no more than a management exercise in controlling employees, not an impartial assessment of the facts. Employees who hire attorneys to help with their cases, as I was forced to do, often find themselves faced with a choice: capitulation or impoverishment.

The agency paid my attorney \$11,000, a fee negotiated by her with the agency before defining my settlement. From this, I was reimbursed \$2,438.27 in legal fees. My attorney received payment for counsel, the agency won its freedom and I gained nothing. In fact, I had lost more than anyone. The IG robbed me of my credibility. The Africa Bureau robbed me of my career.

I questioned whether the agency would hold the first IG investigator accountable for not doing his job and for damaging my career and credibility. For the answers I would have to document direct evidence of damaging effects to support yet another grievance. I could not afford the financial cost of hiring another lawyer nor the emotional cost or going through another case.

If USAID — or for that matter any government agency — wants to stand behind the whistle blower legislation it claims to support, then reforming itself from the ground up

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## SPEAKING OUT



is required. It can do this in several ways.

■ Establish an ombudsman who would act as an employee advisor in cases of waste, fraud and abuse. Most federal employees aren't aware of the provisions of the Whistle Blower Protection Act and how it is supposed to protect employees from retaliation. The ombudsman would operate independently of any bureau or employee union, perhaps as a part of the USAID administrator's office, where the job would have the stature required.

■ Institute truth-in-labeling by changing the Office of Labor Relations to the Office of Agency Management. Employees are under the mistaken impression that the Office of Labor Relations provides

employee support, when it is really designed to protect USAID management. Providing federal employees with clear definitions of how these offices function — and for whose benefit — will better prepare employees for filing grievances.

■ Initiate an alternative mediation program that could be used before a formal grievance is filed. The grievance process is now the only conflict-resolution forum available for government employees, and it is designed to protect the interests of management. An alternative mediation program would provide an alternative means of resolving an issue before communication breaks down and before a formal grievance is filed, which can be time-consuming and expensive without, as I learned, resolving anything.

■ Restructure the employee evaluation system so office managers and supervisors are held accountable when they fail to establish work objectives. In my opinion, a significant number of employees are forced to go through the grievance process simply because their supervisors are unclear about their job responsibilities, causing miscommunication. That's a waste of time, money and human resources.

Two years after my disclosure to the IG investigator, I was confronted with a comment that I had a poor "corridor reputation" and lacked name recognition. I recently discovered my performance evaluation folder was never submitted to the 1995-96 Selection Board for review and ranking, denying me an

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## SPEAKING OUT



opportunity to have someone outside USAID management inquire as to why I do not have a 1995-96 performance evaluation on file. To my knowledge, my former supervisor was never reprimanded for failing to provide me with a performance evaluation, a direct symptom of the ongoing harassment.

Conscientious federal workers should know they may face a personal nightmare by disclosing irregularities and fraud on the job. Unless specific guidance on the Whistle Blower Protection Program is available, federal employees should be wary of posters inviting them to report abuse to the hotline. Reporting waste, fraud and abuse may seem like the right thing to do, but it can be hazardous to one's professional health. ■

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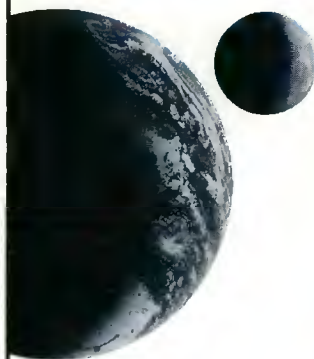
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# AMERICA & WESTERN EUROPE



ROBERT SOULÉ

## “A EUROPEANS BALKING AT ROLE OF US AS SOLE SUPERPOWER IN POST-COLD WAR WORLD

*By Monteagle Stearns*

America stands alone,” President Clinton proclaimed in his recent inaugural address, “as the world’s indispensable nation.” Perhaps so. But this is not the only sense in which the United States has been standing alone lately. In December it was the sole member of the U.N. Security Council to vote against a second term for then-Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Fourteen fellow members of the Security Council, including Britain and France, voted against the United States. Had the General Assembly expressed its opinion, America’s isolation would have been even more conspicuous.

Indispensability, it seems, assures neither general agreement nor a faithful following from America’s allies. Since the

## F O C U S

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*Indispensability, it seems, assures neither general agreement nor a faithful following from America's allies. Since the Cold War ended, this has become increasingly clear in U.S.-European relations.*

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end of the Cold War, this has become increasingly clear in the relations of the United States with Western Europe. American membership in NATO and a substantial U.S. troop presence on European soil are generally conceded by Europeans to be indispensable to the alliance's credibility; American leadership proved indispensable in defusing the Bosnian crisis, as it had earlier in driving Iraqi forces out of Kuwait during the Gulf War. Yet the signs are multiplying that a sizeable number of Europeans disagree with important planks of American foreign policy and balk at the notion that American leadership of the transatlantic community can be exercised as a kind of Cold War entitlement.

Divisive issues range from the significant to the trifling. No U.S. action since the end of World War II has outraged American allies more than the Helms-Burton Act, imposing what amounts to a secondary boycott on foreign firms that use American property confiscated by the Cuban government. Last fall, the U.N. General Assembly, led by the Europeans, voted 138 to 3 to condemn the United States, with only Israel and Uzbekistan standing up for America. Even controversy over the proposed Soviet gas pipeline to Western Europe in the early 1980s created less hard feeling. While the Clinton administration has thus far suspended the most punitive (and probably illegal) provision of Helms-Burton, which would allow U.S. citizens to file suit in American courts against foreign firms "trafficking" in confiscated property, that provision is still on the books and its legality has not been questioned by the administration. Indeed, early last month President Clinton denied the World Trade Organization's right to

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*Monteagle Stearns, an FSO who retired in 1987 after 35 years, was ambassador to Greece from 1981 to 1985 and the Ivory Coast from 1976-1979. He is the author of the 1996 book, Talking to Strangers: Improving American Diplomacy at Home and Abroad.*

intervene on the issue, claiming the sanctions are a matter of U.S. "national security."

Security issues abound. France has taken the lead in arguing that NATO's southern command in Naples, AFSOUTH, should be headed by a European instead of an American admiral. When the United States replied that the Sixth Fleet could never be placed under foreign command, the French suggested that it be transferred to the operational control of another NATO headquarters.

Close inter-European political and economic ties have long been encouraged by the United States. America's attitude toward closer inter-European military collaboration has been more ambivalent. Washington's position on creation of a specifically European defense entity has been that nothing must be permitted to weaken the unity of NATO; the unspoken concern has been that specifically European defense arrangements, even if nominally made within NATO, might begin to dilute American leadership of the alliance. At Nuremberg in January, German president Helmut Kohl and French premier Jacques Chirac took a step in the direction of closer military collaboration by announcing their adoption of a "common strategic concept." It apparently envisages, among other things, France sharing its nuclear deterrent with Germany to create a joint nuclear force. The implications of the Nuremberg agreement for the command structure of NATO cannot be assessed until the details are known, but the concept is unlikely to call for a reduced European role in alliance decisions affecting European security.

While the French position on AFSOUTH is not shared in the same degree by all European members of NATO, most unmistakably believe they are entitled to a stronger voice in the military decisions of the alliance. With the U.S. troop presence in Europe down to 100,000 military personnel from a level of more than 300,000 when the Cold War ended, and in the absence

## F O C U S

of an outside military threat massive enough to require U.S. nuclear deterrence, the European desire for more equitable power-sharing is not unreasonable.

Within NATO it is not only the French who openly express dissatisfaction with American policies. Turkey, once second to none in extolling the virtues of NATO solidarity under U.S. leadership, has a new post-Kemalist Islamic government whose prime minister has defied U.S. wishes by paying a friendly visit to Libya, agreeing to construct an oil pipeline with Iran and giving clear hints that he would like to improve relations with Saddam Hussein. When the Turkish defense minister threatened to attack the neighboring Republic of Cyprus if the Cypriot government deployed anti-aircraft missiles purchased from Russia, the United States felt compelled to rebuke Turkey for contemplating actions that "would not be supported by any sensible member of the international community." Strong words when addressed to one of America's closest Cold War allies.

Open policy differences like these introduce obvious strains into U.S.-European relations, but even areas of apparent agreement can conceal differing European and American perspectives. One such area is NATO expansion eastward. Here, as Thomas L. Friedman pointed out recently in *The New York Times*, while the Western Europeans have gone along with the American initiative, they have done so in part because military integration of a state like Poland into NATO may pose fewer immediate problems than economic integration into the European Union, something eastern Europeans seek just as ardently. Assuming that Russian hostility can be contained by the United States, and that America will bear the lion's share of the cost of bringing the armed forces of new members up to NATO standards, Western Europeans prefer to expand NATO before expanding the EU. In the minds of some European leaders who profess support for NATO expansion is also the awareness that there are powerful opponents to expansion in the U.S. Senate, which will have to approve any formal commitment to increase the number of countries covered by American security guarantees. The road to NATO expansion, in other words, has non-European checkpoints that do not exist on the road to EU expansion.

Admittedly, the end of the Cold War made unavoidable a reappraisal of western strategic priorities in the course of which familiar transatlantic differences of

approach to collective security were bound to be revived. New roles and missions for NATO and the question of expansion raised problems of "graded membership" and automaticity of response that had first been thrashed out almost 50 years before when the North Atlantic Treaty was being negotiated. It is the querulous atmosphere in which the current reappraisal is being conducted that causes concern. French Foreign Minister de Charette dismissed former Secretary of State Warren Christopher's trip to Africa in the fall as a preelectoral junket; Washington officials retaliated by accusing the foreign minister of insulting Christopher by leaving a farewell dinner in the secretary's honor during the toasts; French officials retorted that the need for the minister's early departure had been communicated to the Americans in advance and they had not objected.

These petty irritations might be attributed to nothing more significant than the usual touchiness of Franco-American relations. However, taken in conjunction with evidence of chafing in the relations of the United States with other friendly states, European and non-European, such an explanation is insufficient. Whether it is a question of the Germans' rather brusque rejection of American efforts to dissuade them from investigating the Scientology movement or Saudi Arabia's refusal to permit U.S. agencies to participate more directly in the interrogation of suspects in the bombing of an American military housing complex in Dhahran, there is an obvious disinclination on the part of our allies and friends to defer to American demarches they consider intrusive or to muffle their disagreement with them.

**W**hy has the climate of transatlantic relations changed and how can it be improved? The explanation and the means of improvement must be sought in both Europe and the United States. Liberated from the constraints of the Cold War, especially from the need to hang together in order not to hang separately, Europe and the United States are less inclined to subordinate their separate continental interests to the common good or to suppress traditional old world/new world rivalries and prejudices. Each in its own way is preoccupied with internal problems and to that extent acts in isolation from the other.

The problems preoccupying Europe are of course those arising from the economic and social demands of

## DIPLOMATIC DIFFERENCES IN BOSNIA

By *MARSHALL FREEMAN HARRIS*

The widest chasm between U.S. and European policies on Bosnia appeared in the spring of 1993, when secretary of State Warren Christopher made an ill-fated attempt to persuade America's allies to use NATO airpower to halt Serbian aggression and to lift the Bosnian arms embargo.

Even after 18 months of brutal atrocities in the former Yugoslavia, Britain and France still preferred not to intervene. However, by April of that year, President Clinton, apparently ready to lead, sent Christopher to Europe. But the secretary left empty-handed, after Britain and France merely hardened their opposition to U.S. policy. Assessing this "exchange of views" with the allies, former Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle noted dryly, "It was an exchange all right: Warren Christopher went to Europe with an American policy, and he came back with a European one."

For the next 2 1/2 years, Europe called the shots.

In April of 1993, Christopher adopted Europe's preferred policy of creating "safe areas" rather than lifting the arms embargo. Three months later, the United States joined Europe in pressuring the Bosnian government to accept a partition of the country. Whenever Clinton or Congress, which supported Bosnia's right to weapons to defend itself, threatened stronger action, Britain and France unsubtly reminded Washington that, with no troops on the ground, it was not entitled to a real policy voice. Occasional interventionist rhetoric aside, Clinton accepted these arguments — particularly the calls for allied unity for its own sake — in large part because they articulated his own reluctance to take the risks associated with genuine action.

Following the British and French lead in Bosnia might have been sensible, except that European policies were merely alibis for avoiding meaningful action and, even as such, were utter failures. The slaughter of civil-

ians was continuing unabated, and U.N. troops were failing to protect and feed what remained of Bosnia's besieged population. In the summer of 1995, the U.N.-declared "safe areas" of Srebrenica and Zepa became the most unsafe areas on earth.

Facing likely U.S. legislation to end the arms embargo and a referendum on his failed policies during the upcoming presidential campaign, Clinton finally re-engaged in late 1995. Rather than lead, however, he turned Europe's preferred policies into reality. What had been an implicit U.S. policy of appeasement became an explicit one: Clinton formally acquiesced to British and French calls to give Bosnian Serb separatists their own statelet on Bosnian soil and, simultaneously, launched air strikes that, while strategically insignificant, brought the parties to the bargaining table.

The resulting Dayton Accords were a triumph of American and European policy — and of Serbian and Croatian intimidation. Serbian forces retained control over half of Bosnia, and Bosnian Croat separatists were left with another quarter of the country. The Clinton administration may have stopped the fighting, but ethnic supremacists were allowed to continue the war by other means. Whether the settlement will yield a sustainable peace is a question that an uneasy 16-month-old truce and a \$6 billion U.S. troop deployment have yet to answer. It is, in any case, a gamble that Washington finally took and one that Europe had sought from the very beginning.

In 1991, as Serbia's aggression began bearing its first genocidal fruits, Luxembourg Foreign Minister Jacques Poos proclaimed the "hour of Europe." For six years, his call for a unified, activist European stand to address the Balkan crisis resonated strangely in Sarajevo and beyond. Seeking to avoid intervention in an election year, President George Bush and his secretary of State, James Baker, turned it into an excuse for leaving Bosnia's victims to the devices of the Serbs. Shirking the mantle of American leadership, Clinton and Christopher turned it into bitter prophecy. ■

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*Marshall Freeman Harris, a former FSO who resigned in 1993 over U.S. policy on Bosnia, is executive director of the Balkan Institute in Washington, D.C.*

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the European Union and its relentless timetable. Meeting the EU's convergence criteria requires that by the end of 1997 the budget deficits of member states be less than 3 percent of their GDP and their national debt less than 60 percent of GDP. Within the same time frame, their rates of inflation must not be more than 1.5 percent above that of the three best-performing economies in the EU. At the present time even Germany, the driving force toward convergence, does not meet these criteria.

The deflationary economic and fiscal policies adopted by member states to meet the convergence criteria have slowed down economic growth across Western Europe and produced rates of unemployment unprecedented since the end of World War II. The result has been to increase social unrest, including anti-immigrant agitation with racist overtones, especially in France and Germany, and to weaken governments in member states where economic and social pressures are most acute. With popular disaffection growing over the apparent cost of integration, European political leaders are defensive and uncertain about the future.

Their uncertainty is aggravated by the EU's failure thus far to agree on common foreign and defense policies. When Yugoslavia began to come apart in 1991, it became clear almost at once that Western European states were reacting to the disaster individually, not collectively. In an atmosphere of indecision the only Western European state with strong views on the Yugoslav crisis was Germany, which favored (for domestic political as much as foreign policy reasons) prompt recognition of the independence of Croatia and Slovenia. Germany carried the day and the other members voted for recognition by the end of the year. It was essentially a German, not an EU, decision. Later, when violence in Bosnia seemed to be spiraling out of control, the lack of a European consensus was equally apparent. It was the United States that brokered the Dayton accords that stopped the fighting in Bosnia. The whole question of defining common European policies is further complicated by the need to reach decisions this year on widening vs. deepening the EU. The ongoing European Inter-Governmental Conference, at which these highly controversial issues are being addressed, is supposed to complete its work this summer.

To put it mildly, these are not conditions conducive to closer transatlantic cooperation. European states have more than enough unresolved problems at home to keep

them fully occupied. The skepticism of Americans that Europeans will ever be able unaided to do their own policing and housekeeping is understandable. So, however, is the feeling in Europe that Americans have decided the end of the Cold War was in fact the end, rather than the resumption, of history, and that the United States can once again go its own way, mindful of the admonition of George Washington against "interweaving [American] destiny with that of any part of Europe."

Despite the successful conclusion of the Dayton accords under American leadership, European concern about a revival of isolationist sentiment in the United States is not groundless. The former chief diplomatic reporter of *The Washington Post*, Chalmers M. Roberts, has observed that American isolationism tends to thrive immediately after the United States emerges from a major war. World War I was followed by the Mitchell Palmer anti-Red raids and the U.S. refusal to join the League of Nations. After World War II came Sen. Joseph McCarthy and his fellow witch-hunters. Although the Cold War was less sanguinary than these conflicts, the effect on the national psyche may have been similar. Certainly there is ample evidence to show that Americans are just as preoccupied as Europeans with domestic problems and just as distrustful of the once-popular concepts of One World and the Global Village.

When Europeans look at American foreign policy, they see not only the heavy-handed unilateralism of U.S. opposition to Boutros-Ghali and the punitive provisions of the Helms-Burton Act. They also sense a wider American turning away from foreign affairs. The American account at the United Nations is over \$1 billion dollars in arrears — another sense in which the United States "stands alone." Although Congress justifies withholding U.S. dues on grounds that U.N. operations are wasteful, the reforms advocated by some members of Congress show little understanding of how the organization functions and would have the effect of totally emasculating it. This is almost certainly what the most extreme congressional critics have in mind. Refusal to pay American dues to the United Nations conveys the same isolationist message to the rest of the world that refusal to join the League of Nations conveyed after World War I.

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*Divisive issues range from the significant to the trifling, but no U.S. action since the end of World War II has outraged American allies more than the "secondary boycott" of the Helms-Burton Act.*

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Withdrawal from foreign affairs in the guise of frugality affects not only the U.N. budget. In the past 10 years, Congress has cut federal spending on international relations by almost 50 percent in real terms, despite it representing only 1.2 percent of the federal budget. The State Department has closed 30 embassies and consulates in the past four years, including the consulate general in Bordeaux, the first consular post opened by the United States after independence. Since 1994 there has been a reduction by almost 50 percent in the number of junior officers entering the Foreign Service, and sharp curtailment of their training. The written examination for entry into the Foreign Service was not even given in 1995. Where funding shortages have not affected the conduct of American diplomacy greater politicization has. The ubiquitous role of lobbyists and party fund-raisers as intermediaries with foreign leaders has weakened the credibility of official channels of communication. Degradation of diplomatic standards approached its nadir recently when the senior U.S. representative in Taiwan was dismissed for political fund-raising with Taiwanese businessmen.

These follies have done nothing to persuade Europeans that the United States in its present mood is serious about foreign policy or able to distinguish between short-term political interests and long-term national interests. In the U.S. Congress triumphalism and isolationism seem to be two sides of the same coin. When freshman congressmen last year were asked by a pollster what international event had done most to shape their attitude toward foreign policy, the majority said Somalia. In a separate nation-wide poll only three of every 10 respondents expressed an interest in foreign affairs.

This indifference is reflected in the American news media where developments abroad receive less and less coverage even in the serious press. Foreign correspondents and foreign bureaus have become luxuries most journals think they can do without. Not surprisingly, igno-

rance about foreign affairs seems to be growing. In a State Department briefing for new members of Congress a few years ago, one of them asked what was the capital of Africa. When French President Francois Mitterrand and American president George Bush received honorary degrees from Boston University in 1990, *The Boston Globe* identified Mitterrand in the caption to a front-page photo as a university dean.

**I**t is apparent that Europe and the United States need to be introduced to each other again. A certain amount of reeducation is in order on both sides of the Atlantic. America and its European allies have had their differences in the past. Suez, Skybolt and the neutron bomb controversies in the Eisenhower, Kennedy and Carter administrations were in their day serious misunderstandings, but their impact was buffered by the imperatives of the Cold War. One price of freeing Americans and Europeans from the overriding threat of nuclear holocaust is the need to take lesser threats more seriously. That and the need to communicate with each other more effectively about how to handle them.

Acknowledging that Europe and the United States have drifted apart since the end of the Cold War, what can be done to improve communications across the greater psychological — and strategic — distance? Is there any alternative to American leadership in crises like the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait or the Bosnian bloodbath? If so, what is it? If not, how can American leadership be made more palatable and European acceptance of it less grudging?


From an American standpoint, the climate of transatlantic relations would certainly be improved if Europeans abandoned what seems on this side of the Atlantic to be a catch-22 in their reactions to many U.S. foreign policy initiatives. If an American initiative is too prompt, the Europeans are apt to complain about lack of consultation, if too slow, about lack of leadership. American policy in

the Yugoslav crisis suffered this kind of reception. When Secretary Christopher journeyed to Europe in 1993 to consult European governments about adopting a common policy there were complaints that he made no proposals and was "just asking questions." Later, when the Clinton administration pushed for stronger military measures against the Bosnian Serbs, there were complaints that the administration was recklessly ignoring European views.

Equally galling to Americans is the European tendency to criticize U.S. policy in the same breath as isolationist and expansionist, overly deferential to market forces and overly interventionist. A recent issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique* offers an excellent example of this kind of Eurocarping. In a page-one article entitled, "The American Empire," the author decries what he sees as the desire of the United States to *régender le monde*, or boss around the rest of the world, bizarrely citing in support of his thesis American actions restoring a democratic regime in Haiti, rebuffing North Korean and Chinese attempts to intimidate their neighbors, and delivering the

Dayton accords. His only example of American expansionism is entrepreneurial rather than imperial: the inroads made by the U.S. film and television industry in the European market. Nevertheless, the author concludes by asking, "Are [the Americans] unaware that all empires perish?"

Americans, of course, have their own blinding misconceptions and Europeans their own list of grievances. From the European standpoint, a clearer indication from the Clinton administration that it knows the difference between foreign and domestic policy would be particularly welcome. In the administration's first term this was far from apparent. The president's well-publicized reliance on public opinion polls before making decisions only added to the impression abroad that he was less interested in pointing the way for American foreign policy than in testing the wind for it. This did nothing to bolster European confidence in the resoluteness of American leadership — which depends





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on a shared conviction that the leader knows where he is going — or in the staying power of American policies — which depends on a shared conviction that the leader is committed to them.

In the absence of a clear and compelling foreign policy message from the administration, the discordant voices of the congressional leadership were not infrequently more audible. The administration's disposition to appease even its most virulent congressional critics reinforced the impression that it spent more time negotiating American foreign policy at home than abroad. Even the exceptions, regions like the Middle East and issues like NATO expansion, were those where domestic political factors were most prominent. Europeans could be forgiven for concluding that their views counted for little in Washington.

In its second term, the Clinton administration has the power to change this. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright is European by birth and her voice has greater carrying power than that of her predecessor.

She has already shown she wants to define more clearly for Americans where their interests lie and what direction U.S. foreign policy should take in the post-Cold War world. If this is effectively communicated to Americans, it will be understood by Europeans. That should be the first step in restoring the credibility of American leadership.

Is American leadership really indispensable? It certainly is until Europeans get their act together and agree on common EU foreign and security policies. They would make a significant contribution to transatlantic unity by recognizing this and moderating their criticisms accordingly. As for the Clinton administration, in seeking to make American leadership more effective it could do worse than recall what Winston Churchill said of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower's leadership of allied forces in World War II, "In him we have had a man who set the unity of the Allied Armies above all nationalistic thoughts." And, we might add, without consulting the opinion polls. ■

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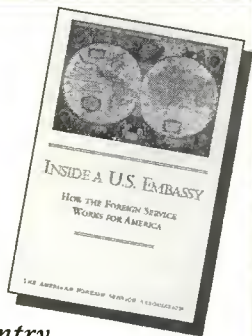
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## AMERICA & MIDEAST PEACE



ROBERT SOULÉ

**T** AFTER EXCLUDING EUROPE FROM TALKS FOR DECADES, US MAY NOW NEED ITS VOICE

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*By Robert K. Olson*

There is every reason to believe that in the post-Hebron era, Europe will be playing a more prominent and important role, particularly economically, in the Mideast peace process than it has in past years.

But from its beginning, the United States and Israel have adamantly excluded Europe from any substantial role in an explosive political problem on its own doorstep. But why has Europe been so submissive, albeit with some resentment and occasional grumbling? What have been the costs and benefits to both? Has Europe anything to offer in future negotiations?

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*For 25 years, every secretary of State has pushed Europe aside in the Mideast peace process. Yet no other long-term issue has produced sharper, more bitter clashes between the two allies.*

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First some background.

When President Clinton signed the Transatlantic Agenda at Madrid on Dec. 3, 1995, he committed the United States to a U.S.-European Partnership covering some 150 items of U.S.-EU cooperation including "common efforts for the Middle East."

However, during the year to follow the United States and Israel have overtly resisted any attempt by the EU, led by France, to take an active role in mediation alongside America. Recall U.S. annoyance when French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette went to Lebanon, at Prime Minister Hariri's request, to mediate the latest Hezbollah-Israeli passage of arms, and President Jacques Chirac's infamous mission to the Middle East last October when he clashed with Israeli security guards in Jerusalem. This, even though de Charette arrived in Lebanon five days before Secretary of State Warren Christopher and that Chirac traveled at the urging of PLO leader Yassir Arafat, who had left the Washington talks empty-handed.

This would be shocking, were it not merely the latest episode in a quarter-century of American rejection of a European role in the peace process, going back to the 1970 decision by the European Community to pursue a common foreign policy in the Middle East. Since then, every U.S. president and secretary of State has pushed Europe aside into what former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has called its "wallflower role."

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*Robert K. Olson, an FSO who retired in 1976 after 20 years, served in Libya, Lebanon, France, Canada, South Vietnam, Italy and Washington, D.C. Since his retirement, he has been writing and lecturing in Europe and the United States.*

President Jimmy Carter and his secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, rejected the EC decision agreement out of hand, on the grounds that "Camp David is the only game in town," in the words of U.S. negotiator Sol Linowitz. Even after the Gulf War, when both France and England had joined the coalition, Europe had to fight to get more than a fold-down seat at the Madrid Conference. During the 41-year period from the Suez crisis to the present, the issue of Middle East peace has produced the sharpest and most bitter clashes between Europe and the United States.

It is a wonder that the Europeans have been so passive, if resentful. The Middle East is not 5,000 miles away but on Europe's doorstep. Europe is more dependent on Arab oil than the United States. Geography and history, politics and trade have woven a web of intimate relations between Europe and the Middle East. European trade with the Middle East, including Israel, has been more than three times that of the United States. Israel's annual trade deficit with Europe has exceeded America's annual \$3 billion subsidy to Israel. Seen from this perspective, the U.S. monopoly of the peace process is an international anomaly, one of those distorted relationships produced by the Middle East hall of mirrors and the Cold War. So why does Europe continue to take it?

**T**here are several rather complicated reasons for the situation, going back to Suez when the United States drummed France and Britain out of the Middle East and unilaterally took over regional security. The Eisenhower Doctrine replaced the 1950 Tripartite Pact, which never worked anyway. British relations had never recovered from the mandate. France and Israel, however, continued to be best friends until

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Charles de Gaulle abandoned Israel to her enemies on the eve of the June War — which the Israelis won with French aircraft, nevertheless. De Gaulle favored a more overtly pro-Arab policy that tried to repair the damage of the Algerian war.

Since then and until Oslo, the Israelis have refused to consider a European role in peace talks, casting their lot with the United States as their “only friend.” European disunity was epitomized by the continent’s squalid *sauve-qui-peut* rout in the face of the 1973 AOPEC oil embargo, which frightened the Europeans witless. Kissinger called the Europeans “craven and cowardly” and thereafter refused to include them in truce negotiations and the Geneva Conference, turning to the Soviets instead. It was not Europe’s finest hour.

Finally, U.S. opposition has kept Europe in its place as a spectator. Volumes could be written about this relationship, which is not so straightforward as it seems. In spite of European complaints, it has had advantages for both. For the United States, the monopoly freed it from an obligation to negotiate its positions with a handful of fractious allies, especially the French, who were going through a phase under the Gaullists of turning everything into a declaration of independence from the United States. Neither did the United States want to sour its relations with Israel by joining up with what Israelis saw as a pro-Arab, pro-Palestinian and entirely self-serving European coalition. Former Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban characterized the 1980 Venice Declaration as one not for peace in the Middle East but of oil for Europe.

Europe, on the other hand, has had the advantage of standing on the side of the angels with the Arab world, but with a convenient excuse for being unable actually to do anything. Arab governments and writers have been disillusioned with Europe, especially after high hopes of the Euro-Arab Dialogue faded. Indeed, it is possible to make the case that the purpose of the 1970 Davignon Report recommending a common European foreign policy in the Middle East was not so much to promote peace as to provide Europe with an exercise in foreign policy coordination. The Mideast peace process was a safe place to experiment, because

Europe could count on the United States to do the heavy lifting.

In 1980, President Francois Mitterrand and the United States finally reached a “gentlemen’s agreement.” Mitterrand renounced Venice as misguided and useless and accepted Camp David and U.S. leadership, while reserving Europe’s right to play its own game. On the other hand, the United States accepted these reservations and Europe’s more pro-Arab slant as long as Europe didn’t interfere with the continuing U.S.-sponsored peace process. It was a good and amicable agreement that resulted in 10 years of smoother U.S.-European relations, if not progress toward Mideast peace.

The invasion of Kuwait and the Gulf War broke that spell. Mitterrand catapulted Europe back into what can only be described as a European diplomatic revolution. On Sept. 24, 1990, he spoke for Europe at the U.N. General Assembly, laying out a master plan for a general settlement of all Middle East conflicts. While President George Bush cautioned against linking Kuwait to the peace process, the United States also, for a change, welcomed the Europeans into the coalition with enthusiasm. After the Gulf War, both France and England fully expected they had earned an *après-guerre* role as well.

But it was not to be. Europe had to fight even to be included at Madrid and, in the end, was fobbed off with a role in the multilaterals, which, to their credit, they tried to make the most of. Subsequently, with the bilaterals bogged down, the United States took over the Oslo agreements, leaving the Europeans again to cool their heels on the sidelines.

What is not well known, at least by Americans, is that Europe, having been marginalized by Madrid and even post-Oslo, has become the Palestinians’ largest financial contributor. Five days before the Sept. 13, 1993, signing ceremony on the White House lawn, the EC proposed a \$500 million aid plan for the territories over five years and pledged \$90 million to establish administrative structures in Gaza and Jericho. French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe reminded the



# A Year in Action

## Message From the President

By F.A. "Tex" Harris

AFSA's key job is to adapt constantly to meet the changing needs of its Foreign Service members. AFSA has been serving the professional and special needs of the Foreign Service since 1924. In 1972, following a Presidential order mandating unions for the federal work force, AFSA undertook to represent FS employees as the union uniquely qualified to speak for their special needs and interests.

In 1993/94, AFSA crowned that mission by earning the right to represent all members of the career Foreign Service by winning elections in USIA and in the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture. Starting in 1993, AFSA began to expand its Congressional affairs and public and press outreach activities to restore resources essential for effective diplomacy and the Foreign Service. This effort, plus new initiatives from USAID and the State Department, has made the decline of funding for America's diplomacy a national issue and the possibility of increased funding a reality.

AFSA's work in meeting our members' needs continues. This last year AFSA produced a first-ever mission statement for the U.S. Foreign Service; hammered out an action program to enhance professionalism, improve equity and restore budget adequacy; bargained on the terms and conditions of our employment with agency executives who were managing downsizing, RIFs and government closures; represented hundreds of members in disputes; provided scholarships for our children's education; provided special insurance and buying programs for our overseas needs; recognized and applauded our achievements through awards, professional programs and the *Foreign*

*Service Journal*; organized successful lobbying efforts by our retirees and allied with other organizations to preserve hard-earned retirement benefits; expanded our corporate outreach program to bring our message to the private sector; and, most importantly, told the Congress and the American people of the fine work and sacrifice of the Service.

AFSA's latest success has been its use of the Internet to bring the Foreign Service around the entire globe into a single virtual community. AFSA is thus becoming the first federal electronic union/professional association in the nation. This electronic dialog with our concerned members at their desks will allow AFSA to overcome the tension, present in all small organizations, between direct (town meeting) and representational (governmental) styles of leadership. AFSA will be stronger both as a labor union and as a professional organization. Our ability to dialog directly with our members rapidly on current issues will substantially increase our impact in dealings with the Foreign Affairs agencies and the Congress. Most importantly, it will ensure that all our members feel that they have a direct voice in the decisions that impact on their careers and their profession. These truly are interesting times.

The past year was one of turmoil as the foreign affairs agencies faced unprecedented downsizing and attacks on several fronts. In response, AFSA pursued a steady course of communication, transition and renewal. Ours is a hope for efficacy, viability and sustainability of America's proud and historically successful diplomacy. We have had setbacks as well as triumphs. In this annual report, we review the accomplishments of 1996 looking to the many challenges ahead.

## AFSA Constituencies

### STATE

The furlough and its aftermath demanded a defensive posture at AFSA/ State and we spent considerable time and human resources assisting members with personnel issues. RIF regulations discussions, begun in 1995, ended in May without AFSA objections being fully addressed.

On a positive note, our proposed core precepts for performance evaluations were accepted and incorporated in the annual agreement regarding the selection boards. AFSA's goals of enhanced career mobility and facilitation of specialist-to-generalist conversions through a major revision in the skill code change procedures were realized. Management accepted AFSA's reworking of the basic open assignments guidance with its focus on greater transparency. In response to management's request, AFSA agreed to provide more latitude in filling hard-to-fill positions while protecting Foreign Service bidders. Management agreed to eliminate the flawed secretarial career path and work to transform it to meet future needs. The State Standing Committee produced policy statements on hard language study and on family friendly policies, areas in which work is ongoing. We are now engaged in significant junior officer coning reform and AFSA continues to examine the TIC system and its implications for the size and shape of the service and for promotions. The Governing Board adopted policy statements on official government travel reform and on a consular strategy to improve professionalism in and support for this statutory function.

### USAID

In response to a 10 percent RIF at USAID last year, AFSA/USAID worked to soften the blow for affected employees. We participated in the design and implementation of a special outplacement program for RIFed employees. With a few exceptions, former employees secured jobs in a timely manner. In a related RIF issue, AFSA joined forces with a private law firm to file an age discrimination suit against USAID on behalf of 36 RIFed employees.

When AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris was the target of threats aimed at AFSA members, AFSA filed an unfair labor practice suit against the USAID Assistant Administrator for Management. The Federal Labor Relations Board found probable cause and a hearing is now slated. AFSA engaged in a joint AFSA/private sector effort to lobby Congress to support a \$495 million level for the FY1997 operations and expense account. More than 500 letters, faxes and phone calls to Capitol Hill were forthcoming.

### USIA

During the RIF, AFSA/USIA's well-argued position with the IBB [Broadcasting] regarding normal attrition in workforce planning paid off: we saved 6 of the 15 Foreign Service employees scheduled for separation and secured 12-month extensions for eight other employees. AFSA/USIA negotiated a stipulation that rescinds two RIF notices if voluntary retirements reach a specified level. AFSA led in pushing for the transfer of a number of USIA junior officers to State, obviating the need for a RIF in the generalist corps. We have worked with IBB management to improve its appraisal and promotion processes. Since the dark days of March 1996, AFSA has pushed management to develop a needs-based workforce plan. Though the RIF exacerbated frustrations with the Foreign Service personnel system, we continue to advocate sound workforce planning, effective use of scarce resources, greater transparency in the assignments policies and public discussion of other key issues facing the Service. AFSA secured 100 percent time for the USIA Vice President to allow more attention to individual employee concerns and to policy issues affecting the entire Foreign Service.

### COMMERCIAL SERVICE

Yes, the Department of Commerce is still in business. As 1996 began, our collective bargaining agreement (CBA) was a distant dream and Congressional leaders were calling for the elimination of various agencies, with Commerce heading the list. Our darkest hour came when the plane carrying Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, our colleagues and our clients went down in Croatia with total loss of life.

We did not give up. Regaining our momentum, we promoted the Commercial Service on the Hill with success and turned our efforts to the details of integrating our foreign field network with our domestic organization. We resumed our negotiations on the CBA, which became a reality by year's end. Providing a framework for our relationship with management, the CBA spells out our respective rights and obligations and provides a problem-solving mechanism. Officers are serving in domestic assignments in the largest numbers ever and, in a process developed in conjunction with AFSA, assessments are under way for new officer intake. While we face uncertainty as Commerce's management considers a reorganization that could affect the CS, we are now armed with our CBA. We met with senior officials to ensure any reorganization includes improved service to the business community while supporting our effective organization. By year's end consultations had begun with management on the precepts governing performance appraisals.

## FAS

At AFSA/FAS our motto should be "Watch where you step and be careful of what you agree on." This applies particularly to the marathon Partnership Council meetings and the long, involved Mansfield grievance on which the AFSA legal staff did heroic work. Among our successes in our work with management and AFSCME last year was our participation in the partnership forum, which facilitates communication between the parties. However, the interpretation of consensus agreements in the Partnership Council has made us very cautious in agreeing to the 1997 Partnership Council Agenda and in continuing down the path of interest-based bargaining. AFSA/FAS response to the FAS position survey was a clear signal -- enough is enough. We have made concessions on the size of the Foreign Service, "two-thirds/one-third," and the Washington Placement Plan. We need to assess where we're headed with these new policies and procedures. Member participation and input are needed in this process.

## RETIREES

AFSA's retired members contributed substantially to AFSA's legislative and public outreach activities and to a better atmosphere for foreign affairs agencies on Capitol Hill. Retiree efforts were instrumental in securing passage of Senate Resolution 217, which officially designated Foreign Service Day. Retirees actively participated in the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad (COLEAD) and in corresponding with Congress and the media to urge support for American diplomacy. Retirees volunteered in large numbers for our Legislative Action Network and the World Issues Forum and also taught courses on foreign policy through Elderhostel. Retiree associations provided an expanding nationwide framework for supporting Foreign Service interests. In cooperation with COLEAD, retiree organizations will soon extend to 34 states. The AFSA bi-monthly retiree newsletter keeps members up-to-date on issues. Finally, AFSA serves as ombudsman for retirees, providing assistance on retirement issues.

## AFSA Programs

### "PUBLIC AFFAIRS

AFSA's Public Affairs Committee made 1996 an unprecedented year of action and outreach. AFSA launched the new Action! campaign which involved members in bringing the important work of the Foreign Service to the attention of Congress, the media and the American public. Campaign activities have taken several forms. "Putting a Face on the Foreign Service," articles for hometown newspapers by and about Foreign Service members and speeches and editorials to the local press; AFSA's Home Page on the world wide web at "www.afsa.org," which includes Diplomats Online, an interactive program for teachers and students funded by the Delavan, Marpat and U.S.-Japan foundations. wWorld Issues Forum, AFSA's speakers bureau. Our Elderhostel program, week-long foreign affairs seminars co-hosted with Mary Washington College, designed and staffed by AFSA retirees and serving approximately 200 seniors. The International Associates program involved 45 corporation leaders in a series of programs on foreign affairs. AFSA's 22nd Business Leaders Symposium, which focused on Trade and Investment Opportunities in Sub-Saharan Africa, attracted more than 300 participants, including South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu. With additional funding from DACOR, The Una Chapman Cox Foundation and the Hirshorn Insurance Company, AFSA published *Inside A U.S. Embassy: How the Foreign Service Works for America*. AFSA and DACOR also co-published *The Foreign Service Reader: Selected Articles from 77 Years of the Foreign Service Journal*, compiled and edited by Daniel O. Newberry.

### LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

Congressional affairs efforts focused on keeping the 150 International Affairs Account from slipping below \$18 billion; preserving core program funding for State, USIA, FAS and CS; and safeguarding USAID operations. We worked to improve the political environment through a public education effort stressing the importance of U.S. diplomatic engagement abroad. AFSA officers and staff met with numerous Congressional members and staff, testified before the House Commerce, Justice and State Appropriations Subcommittees and provided statements of AFSA views on the budget resolution and the appropriations bills.

We initiated a campaign of support for development assistance from USAID employees and supporters resulting in hundreds of contacts with key House and Senate members during the appropriations process. AFSA supported legislation to provide a buyout for USAID employees to mitigate RIF effects. We joined with other retiree groups in opposing changes in eligibility for key retirement benefits.

We succeeded in obtaining the passage of Senate Resolution 217, which recognized American Foreign Service Day. Based on discussions with AFSA, the Democratic Party included extensive, favorable language regarding foreign engagement in its platform. We continued to strengthen the Legislative Action Network as a grassroots organization to support legislative initiatives and to provide materials for the outreach efforts of Coalition for American Leadership Abroad (COLEAD), which was exceptionally active in 1996.

## GRIEVANCES & LEGAL SERVICES

In a serious downsizing environment, the labor management staff redoubled efforts to provide assistance to employees with problems relating to performance evaluation, benefits, medical and other issues. Throughout the year AFSA's grievance attorneys responded admirably to the upsurge in employee requests for grievance counseling due to reductions in force and other involuntary departures from the service. AFSA's attorneys assisted Diplomatic Security agents and other specialists successfully with major overtime issues and worked with other employees involved in security and disciplinary investigations. Issues related to denial of due process and abuses by investigative agencies required staff attention. In a major victory for AFSA, the U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the final authority of the Foreign Service Grievance Board (FSGB) in deciding that the Secretary of State cannot terminate Foreign Service employees where the FSGB found no cause for separation.

## FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

The *Journal's* Editorial Department had an exceptionally productive year, producing the monthly magazine as well as two books, *Inside a U.S. Embassy* and *The Foreign Service Reader*. The *Journal* continued to provide readers with a provocative look at the most pressing and relevant issues facing the Foreign Service today, including an historical look at discrimination in the foreign affairs agencies, the role of humor in the Foreign Service, staying healthy overseas and the controversial professional dissent case at U.S. Embassy Dublin. In addition, the *Journal* explored some of the most topical foreign affairs issues, including America's expanding influence in the NIS, reform at the multilateral banks, global justice, and America's losing war on drugs abroad. This last issue was nominated for a Folio magazine award.

## PROFESSIONALISM

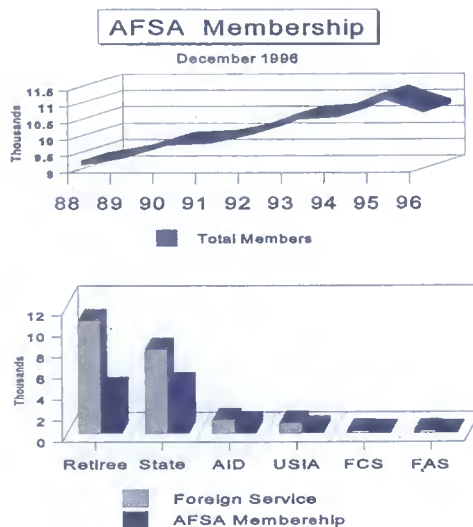
THE Professionalism Committee's most significant accomplishment so far was drafting the Foreign Service Mission Statement. The Mission Statement was met by an enthusiastic reception and has focused and crystallized for many on the Hill, in the Administration, media and public the purpose of the Foreign Service and the need for its strengthened continuation. A June 28 ceremony in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room honored AFSA award winners distinguished by extraordinary intellectual courage, integrity and constructive dissent. Awards went to FSOs involved in policy issues on Cuba and Northern Ireland. Former FSO and Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci received the award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy. Foreign Service Day on May 3 was marked by an extraordinary ceremony at the Memorial Plaque in the State Department.

## SCHOLARSHIPS

Two perpetual scholarships and four annual scholarships were established in 1996. A total of \$22,800 was awarded to 21 AFSA/AAFSW academic merit award winners; art merit awards were granted for the first time. In cooperation with AAFSW and DACOR, AFSA provided 58 financial aid scholarships during the 1996/97 academic year totaling over \$109,000, of which \$13,952 came from contributions to the Combined Federal Campaign and United Way.

## MEMBERSHIP & FINANCE

For the first time in 10 years, AFSA experienced a decline in membership. The RIF, reductions in recent hiring and an overall diminution of foreign affairs support have combined to shrink the size of the foreign affairs community. Perversely, as AFSA defends individuals against these same RIFs and TICs and fights for more resources on the Hill, our costs go up. AFSA membership within each constituency continues to be strong. But if AFSA is to meet its future challenges, we will have to improve our recruitment efforts and, in the short term, ask our members to increase their support through the modest dues increases as implemented over the past several years. In addition to seeking revenue increases, the AFSA Finance Committee, chaired by the Treasurer, former ambassador Thomas Boyatt, has worked throughout the year to manage AFSA's finances prudently and for the long term. According to Boyatt, "Even though AFSA is a nonprofit organization, we still need an excess of income over expenditures to build operational and maintenance reserves. Just like a business, we must be ready for the proverbial rainy day."



# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association



## Governing Board

President: F.A. "Tex" Horris  
State Vice President: Alphanse F. Lo Porto  
AID Vice President: Frank Miller  
USIA Vice President: Jess L. Baily  
CS Vice President: Tam Kelsey  
FAS Vice President: William W. Westman  
Retiree Vice President: Edward M. Rawell  
Secretary: Aurelius Fernandez  
Treasurer: Thomas Boyott  
State Representatives: Greg Fukutomi, Clark Price, Raymond Dillan, Katherine Millard, Mary Tornowko  
AID Representatives: Gregg Baker, Janino Jorzelski  
USIA Representative: Braaks Robinson  
Retired Representatives: Garber Davidson, Willard DePree, William Harrop, Clyde Taylor  
FAS Representative: Robert H. Curtis  
CS Representative: Keith Curtis

## Staff

Executive Director: Susan Reardon  
**Business Department**  
Controller: Koro Horman Ebert  
Accounting Assistant: Marguerite Modland  
**Labor Management**  
General Counsel: Sharan Papp  
Staff Attorney: Colleen Fallon  
Coordinators: Richard C. Scissors, Jack Bryant  
USIA Labor Relations Specialist: Carol Lutz  
Grievance Attorneys: Audrey F. Chynn, Henry Sizer

Representative: Karen Carrington  
Office Manager: Linda Dinkel

## Member Services

Director: Janet Hedrick  
Office Manager: Dianna Dunbrack  
Representative: Yolanda Oduni  
Retiree Liaison: Word Thompson

## Professional Programs

Professional Issues: Richard S. Thompson  
Congressional Affairs Director: Ken Nakamura  
Congressional Liaison: Rick Weiss  
Corporate Relations: Robert F. Krill  
Scholarship Administrator: Lori Dec

## Internet Addresses:

[afsa@afsa.org](mailto:afsa@afsa.org) (Association)  
[pres@afsa.org](mailto:pres@afsa.org) (President)  
[journal@afsa.org](mailto:journal@afsa.org) (FSJ)

AFSA Headquarters: (202) 338-4045  
FAX: (202) 338-6820

Labor Management: (202) 647-8160  
FAX: (202) 647-0265

USIA Headquarters: (202) 401-6405  
FAX: (202) 401-6410

## TELLING AMERICA OUR STORY

By JOHN K. NALAND  
FSO, U.S. Embassy Managua

Last fall when AFSA called on its membership to help get out the word to the American public about the importance of funding the foreign affairs agencies, my first reaction was that such advocacy was not my job. Surely the message could be better delivered by the secretary of State and other foreign affairs agency heads. Then I realized that our leaders had been working hard to tell our story, but with disappointing results. Clearly it was time for a broader strategy. So I decided to take up AFSA's challenge. Not only did I do a small part for the cause, but I also had fun in the process. This is the story of what I did, how it turned out and how you, too, can get into the action.

The most direct way to tell our story to the American people is to literally go out and do it. So, faced with the happy prospect of spending a month back in the United States on a poternity

leave, I contacted the State Department Bureau of Public Affairs to volunteer my services as a speaker. The reaction was immediate and enthusiastic. Since the Public Affairs Office had no outstanding speaking requests from the Houston area, where I would spend my leave, the staff started working the phones. In short order, they had lined up three engagements. Public Affairs was careful to find venues appropriate to my background and experience. As a mid-level affixer whose policymaking has so far been limited to decisions as to which side of my desk to place my stople, I was not scheduled for "Meet the Press." Instead, I spoke to students in two college classes and to guests at an area business luncheon.

The college classes were most enjoyable. After months of studying international relations, the students appeared downright excited to meet a real-life diplomat. Punctuating my comments with "war stories" as only members of the Foreign Service can, I explained what foreign

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## • AFSA Dateline •

• Finding reasonable cause, on January 29 the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board issued a Complaint and Notice of Hearing in the unfair labor practice (ULP) case brought by AFSA against USAID (AFSA News, August, 1996). The hearing is scheduled for March 25 at the Federal Labor Relations Authority in Washington, D.C., at which time USAID Assistant Administrator for Management Lorry Byrne will have the right to appear and present testimony and evidence in his defense. AFSA will be represented by AFSA/USAID Vice President Frank Miller and Staff Attorney Colleen Fallon.

• AFSA has joined forces with a private law firm to file on a discrimination suit against USAID on behalf of 36 RIFed employees. In reference to statements by USAID Administrator Brion Atwood in defense of springing interns from the RIF, AFSA Vice President for USAID Frank Miller said that "[His remarks] lead us to conclude that senior management wants to purge older Foreign Service employees from the agency."

• "If the United States is complacent, its world leadership could crumble," said Madeleine Albright after being sworn in as

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## Employee Obligations

Conversation in labor-management circles tends to be about sound management, employees' rights and employee- and family-friendly policies. Let's consider two kinds of obligations we have as employees: personal insurance and professional civility.

**Insurance.** Constrained budgets, benefits cutbacks and dwindling services have shifted burdens onto employees, sometimes marking special hardship on those serving overseas. We have seen cases in the AFSA labor-management office in which employees have been unprepared to meet family emergencies.

Some employees are uninsured or under-protected by medical and other insurance. You owe it to yourself and your families to be prepared. Ensure that your medical insurance offers adequate coverage. Reevaluate your current plan during the open season late this year, remembering that State is narrowing the definition of service-related conditions and bears no responsibility for medical care when you return to the United States. Be sure that your auto insurance covers more than local minimums and if not, seek additional coverage. Take out extra household effects insurance to cover transportation, theft and fire losses. If you are in a supervisory or financially accountable position, take out professional liability insurance. With increasing threats of litigation against government employees, this is coverage you should not forego. Take out long-term care insurance – the younger you are, the cheaper it is. It's an investment that will pay off when chronic disease or "senior citizen" ailments strike. Invest in the

Thrift Savings Plan for an extra edge against hardship. AFSA's insurance offerings can help, but do not delay in finding the right coverage.

**Civility.** Responsible discourse and upholding the obligations of civil society are necessary if we – all of us – are to advance the objectives of our profession. My column in the February *Journal* reflected on the damaging impact of narrow self-interest as related to important career issues. There is no question that employees must assess their best options, taking into account personal and

family requirements. But internecine warfare and uncivil discourse serve no one's interest. Rather, FS personnel of all classes and functional interests should support AFSA and management officials who are trying to right past wrongs, ensure equity for all groups of employees and look responsibly and creatively to the future. As Director General Tany Quinton recently wrote, "The caste consciousness that goes with cone, specialty, grade, gender, race, sexual orientation, and nature of career service has created an atmosphere of recrimination, suspicion and jealousy that is profoundly dysfunctional." Since my election as State V. P., I have attempted to respond to employees who have expressed concerns or dissatisfaction with candor and as much useful information as possible. But remember that negotiation, compromise, confidentiality and maintaining trust in right-thinking management officials are necessary if AFSA is to pursue the greatest good for the greatest number. As a wise FS colleague has said: "Practicing diplomacy, even with your colleagues, pays dividends."

*"Practicing  
diplomacy, even  
with your  
colleagues, pays  
dividends."*

## OUR STORY

Continued from page 5

affairs agencies do and why this work is vital to U.S. national security. My third talk was at a small luncheon hosted by the local World Affairs Council. While my memory of it is a little hazy – I went there directly from a night spent at the hospital where my wife had given birth to our daughter the previous evening – the audience reacted well to my message. The group included business leaders, a journalist, a clergyman and even a federal judge, all of whom were in a position to carry my arguments to a wider audience.

What, then, did I accomplish in my presentations? I believe that the voters with whom I spoke gained a deeper understanding of the necessity of funding U.S. leadership abroad in order to advance American interests and values in a dangerous world. Was that sufficient to generate even a \$1 increase – or, more realistically, to block even a \$1 cut – in foreign affairs spending? Maybe not. But this is where you came in.

This year more than 1,000 Foreign Service members will visit their hometowns, pass by their alma maters or otherwise spend time "out in America." Whether the occasion is home leave, annual leave or R&R, this time affords Foreign Service personnel an excellent opportunity to make the case for diplomacy. By delivering our message to tens of thousands of people on Main Street, USA, we can garner major foreign affairs support.

So how do you get involved? With at least one month's lead time and with a biographical sketch to be shared with prospective groups, contact your agency's public affairs office. At State, call 202-647-5171; at USA, 202-619-4353; and at USAID, 202-647-8440. Give your availability and location and the public affairs staff will arrange engagements, provide background material and offer additional guidance.

Next comes the hard part, drafting your remarks. Talk about what you know. If that includes high-profile foreign policy issues, fine. But don't be afraid to simply talk about what it's like to serve your country abroad. Tailor your remarks to the audience's knowledge level, include personal experiences that bring the subject to life and practice your delivery. As you close your remarks, feel free to crib from recent

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## DATeline

Continued from page 5

secretary of State on January 23. That evening, CBS news anchor Dan Rather said that "judging from the shape of the State Department itself and the shape it's in, crumble is exactly the right word." In the segment which followed, Acting Under Secretary of State for Management Patrick Kennedy noted that the State Department is "stuck in the slow lane of the information superhighway. [The communications system] is outdated. It's what we call heavy iron." According to correspondent David Martin, "The State Department is choking on 37 million pieces of paper a year. In some cases, pneumatic tubes are still used to route messages that could be sent electronically. Unless you have a computer like Chief Financial Officer Rich Green's, a 20-year-old relic without electronic mail capability that "belongs in a museum." Martin closed by saying that Albright will ask for an increase of \$1 billion in the foreign affairs budget, which is exactly the amount that Helms says can be saved by trimming the bureaucracy.

- American Diplomacy, an electronic journal of research, analysis and commentary, ([www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/)) has introduced a new feature, "Remembering Vietnam," which allows Foreign Service officers the opportunity to recount their wartime experiences. The site incorporates memoirs and photographs. Those interested in contributing recollections or photographic images should write Richard B. (Bart) Moon, 609 Ferrington Post, Ferrington Villogue, NC 27312 or e-mail Ambassador Frank Crigler ([fcrigler@mindspring.com](mailto:fcrigler@mindspring.com)) or Henry E. Mattox ([hmattox@mindspring.com](mailto:hmattox@mindspring.com)).

- AFSA Past Representatives are needed in Abuja, Adana, Algiers, Ankara, Ashgabat, Auckland, Baku, Bandar Seri Begawan, Bangui, Barcelona, Belfast, Berlin, Bogota, Brazzaville, Budapest, Bujumbura, Calcutta, Calgary, Chengdu, Copenhagen, Conakry, Curacao, Doha, Durban, Edinburgh, Florence, Freetown, Halifax, Hamburg, Hamilton, Hermosilla, Jeddah, Kiev, Kigali, Koror, Leipzig, Ljubljana, London, Madras, Marseille, Maseru, Matamoros, Merida, Minsk, Moscow, N'Djamena, Niamey, Nauakchatt, Nuevo Lareda, Perth,

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# USAID V.P. VOICE

• BY FRANK MILLER •

## Employee Evaluation Program

In the spirit of labor-management partnership and to support AID reform efforts, AFSA agreed in mid-1995 to allow AID management to institute a new Employee Evaluation Program (EEP) on a one-year trial basis. This system was to be evaluated after the 1996 boards completed their duties. Changes to the EEP were anticipated and were to be negotiated prior to the end of the 1996/1997 rating cycle.

In response to an M/HR request for feedback from the field and USAID/W, hundreds of pages of comments were received and shared with AFSA, along with 1996 boards' recommendations.

Having reviewed these comments, I believe it is evident that the new EEP has serious problems. For example, the boards below the SFS level found that for most employees, the current Annual Evaluation Form (AEF) did not provide sufficient space to adequately portray accomplishments, strengths and weaknesses. For the majority of employees not recommended for promotion and for whom a Supplemental Evaluation Form was not filled out, most board members said they relied on prior evaluation performance under the old system (EERs) to reach their conclusions on rank in class. Among other complaints were the promotion quota and conflicts of interest in the appraisal committees, and employees' not being allowed to review draft evaluations.

Despite management's stated commitment to review and renegotiate the

new evaluation system, bureaucratic delays have occurred repeatedly. In mid-January, AFSA and AFGE met separately with Labor Relations Staff of the Management Bureau (M/HR/LRS), to discuss recommendations for EEP changes. During the first week of

February, the two unions met jointly with M/HR/LRS and discussed their proposals for EEP modifications, most of which are simple to implement. At that time we were told by management representatives that it might be too late to make major changes this late in the cycle. We all know it is rare in USAID (even before reengineering) for FS evaluations to be prepared before April

and, many times, May. We believe it is not too late. We believe that the use of the same system for another cycle would be patently unfair to AID employees and would disadvantage the two-thirds of employees who do not receive an SEF in addition to an AEF. AFSA gave conditional approval to this system with the understanding that the results would be analyzed after one cycle and that appropriate alterations would produce a better evaluation program. AID and AFSA still have time to take steps in this cycle to make improvement to the AEF.

Management's good faith bargaining an improving the evaluation system would be an excellent way to rebuild trust and confidence so lacking today. For more details on AFSA's proposals to address problems with the EEP, please contact the AFSA Office in 3644NS or call (202) 647-8160.

*"... I believe it is evident that the new EEP has serious problems."*

State Magazine is now available on the Internet at [www.state.gov/www/about\\_state/statemag/](http://www.state.gov/www/about_state/statemag/). This electronic version includes regular features, color photos and a mailbox for public comments.

RETIREE  
**V.P. VOICE**  
• BY ED ROWELL •

## Forging Ahead

This is a time both for taking stock and for moving on to the next round of challenges confronting American diplomacy and the Foreign Service. The Annual Report in this issue of the *Journal* takes stock of AFSA's worth in 1996. Central has been our outreach effort to inform the Congress and the American public about U.S. diplomacy. A major outreach opportunity for all of us presents itself in May when we celebrate Foreign Service Day.

We have long viewed Foreign Service Day, correctly, as a time for in-house appraisal, renewal and recognition of outstanding achievements of FS professionals. But it needs to be more public-oriented, as well. So this year in Washington we accepted the Department's invitation to make it part of Public Service Recognition Week (PSRW) May 5-11.

Retirees in communities across the country should find ways to celebrate Foreign Service Day in their own local areas. Any early May civic events, school programs, "career days," panel discussions and the like could serve this purpose. If no such events are currently planned, organize one. Letters to your local newspaper, radio station and library would help to spread the word and generate interest. One source of PSRW events you could tie into is the Public Employees Roundtable at (202) 927-5000.

Two new circumstances give us a solid basis for pressing the issue. We now have our hard-won 1996 Senate Resolution calling for public events in recognition of the Foreign Service. And Secretary of State

Madeleine Albright is speaking out forcefully and effectively to all Americans on the significance of our foreign relations and the need for engagement and a strong, proactive diplomacy.

You also can draw on two excellent new books. DACOR and AFSA have just released *The Foreign Service Reader*, an anthology of articles, features and art work from 77 years of the *Foreign Service Journal*. AFSA has published *Inside a U.S.*

*Embassy: How the Foreign Service Works for America*, which gives first-person accounts of the daily challenges, rewards and frustrations of Foreign Service officers in embassies around the world. A leading national news commentator told me *Inside a U.S. Embassy* had fascinated him. No surprise. The book is concise, honest and down-to-earth. It gives a face to the Foreign Service and makes it personal, engaging and understandable to any audience.

Our outreach, of course, aims to get Americans to focus positively on hard issues – the budget and human resources needed to promote American interests abroad. To succeed at this, we need to show the public the people behind the statistics and abstractions. Americans must see our Foreign Service professionals as real human beings laboring doggedly, often at personal risk or with great sacrifice, to make life better for their hometown friends and neighbors. Foreign Service Day is a good time to do this. We have less than a month to make it happen. Let me know how AFSA can help you to mark the day locally.

*"We need to show the public the people behind the statistics and abstractions."*

## OUR STORY

Continued from page 6

speeches by senior administrators on the importance of adequate funding for US foreign engagement. Such material is available from your public affairs officer, AFSA News, the *Foreign Service Journal* and the Internet [State Department at [www.state.gov](http://www.state.gov) and USAID at [www.info.usaid.gov](http://www.info.usaid.gov)].

On the day of your presentation, relax and do your best. In his book *Osgood on Speaking*, veteran broadcaster Charles Osgood writes, "The audience is just like you and me, for goodness' sake. So relax and be yourself, and give the audience a break." I cannot say that my three speaking engagements were stress-free, but when they were over, I was proud to add them to my repertoire of "war stories."

A past and present AFSA Post Representative, John K. Naland has served in Bogota, the Bureau of International Organization Affairs and at the White House Situation Room.

## Scholarship Created

The Suzanne Marie Collins Perpetual Scholarship has been established by retired FSO Jack Collins and his wife, Trudy Collins, in memory of their 19-year-old daughter who was a victim of violence in July, 1985. Donations to the scholarship have also been made by authors John E. Douglas and Mark Olshaker who wrote *Mindhunter* and *Journey into Darkness*, which focus on Suzanne's tragic death. Since 1985, four college students have been assisted financially through scholarships donated by the Collins family and their friends, but this perpetual scholarship provides a lasting tribute to Suzanne Marie. "It is both ironic and mysterious, but ultimately beautiful, that the loss of our daughter, with all its pain and sorrow, should have as one of its legacies a relationship [with students] so replete with joy and warmth and fulfillment," said Mr. Collins.

The May AFSA News will feature campaign statements from all AFSA election candidates.

## DATLINE

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Peshawar, Ponta Delgada, Port Louis, Port Maresby, Part-of-Spain, Praia, Pusan, Quebec, Reykjavik, Ria de Janeiro, St. George's, Sapporo, Sarajevo, Shenyang, Skopje, Stockholm, Suva, Tbilisi, Tirana, Vancouver, Vatican City, Vilnius, Warrentan Training Center, Yaounde, Yekaterinburg, and Yerevan. AFSA members interested in serving as representatives should contact Yolanda Odunsi, Membership Representative, at (202) 338-4045 ext. 525 or by e-mail at member@afsa.org.

- AFSA has experienced a number of personnel changes recently. Law Clerk Karen Carrington has been promoted to Labor Management Representative, replacing Michael Triplett. Foreign Service Journal Assistant Editor Kathleen Currie began a part-time schedule in February, and Polly Gilbert joined the FSJ as Editorial Assistant on a part-time basis. Communications Coordinator Leslie Lehman resigned to join a telecommunications firm.

- AFSA internships are available in advocacy, legislative and public affairs, publications marketing and advertising, and journalistic research. For information, go online to [www.afsa.org](http://www.afsa.org) and click an "internship opportunities."



Thomas R. Pickering, former ambassador to the Russian Federation and President of the Eurasia Foundation, was guest speaker at the AFSA International Associates luncheon in February (above). At a retirement luncheon at the Foreign Service Club in January, Pickering was honored by friends and colleagues for his long and distinguished diplomatic career.

# USIA V.P. VOICE

• BY JESS BAILY •

## Setting the Standards

Spring has arrived here in Washington, which means that OER season is just around the corner. Rated officers will assemble their lists of achievements. Rating officers will pen their glowing – or occasionally critical – remarks. In the Fall, selection boards will read the files and make their recommendations. When the promotion lists are published, many officers will question the results. This is normal.

Promotions depend on the perceptions of selection board members, whose main sources are evaluation reports. Like it or not, some degree of subjectivity is part of the FS appraisal and promotion processes.

While subjective to a degree, this process is guided by the precepts – most importantly, the Standards of Performance. These standards define the skills, abilities and qualities which USIA seeks in officers at every grade. For many of us, the precepts are like the Bible – they contain the words we profess to live by, but words we often haven't read.

Fortunately, you now have a chance both to review the precepts and to help AFSA make them work better for all of us. Since February a working group has been conducting a thorough review of the precepts, an exercise similar to one that State conducted in 1995. With equal representation from AFSA and management, the group will soon circulate its recommendations for comment, with the goal of having the revised precepts in place for the 1997/1998 rating cycle.

Here are a few of the issues and questions the team has targeted in its deliberations. Road Map versus

Guidelines: Some people think precepts should describe in detail specific skills and experiences required at each grade. Others argue that the

varying nature of assignments, changes in management styles and technological advances render specific requirements meaningless and that a "ticket-punching" approach risks disadvantaging officers.

Changed Work

Environment: Less hierarchical management, greater emphasis on tech-

nology, smaller posts and more work with other agencies. Which of these changes should be reflected in the precepts and how could such changes be integrated? The trick here is to capture how each of these environmental shifts changes the skills and qualities needed by successful officers at various grades. Clarity: The current precepts are long and difficult to read. Using tighter language and some format changes, the team is looking to produce a more useable document for officers and selection boards.

Low Ranking and LCEs: Do the current instructions to the selection boards regarding LCEs and low ranking allow these tools to meet the needs of the agency and produce fair results? Should the precepts include quotas for low-ranking, right now at five percent? Can the legitimate needs of the agency for specific skills be given more weight in the LCE process?

AFSA needs your help. I urge you to read the draft revised precepts carefully and let the members of the working group know what you think. FSOs need to be comfortable with the rules governing such a vital part of their professional lives.

*"Like it or not, some degree of subjectivity is part of the FS appraisal ... processes."*

## LETTERS

To the Editor:

I normally don't take AFSA up on its invitation to write, call or comment - certainly not as often as I am tempted to do. But Al La Porto's sign-off on the most recent weekly AFSA State Standing Committee Report, "... have a good President's Day ..." and especially the parenthetical question "... remember George Washington and Abraham Lincoln?" have finally moved me to comment.

I do remember those illustrious gentlemen. When I was in elementary school I was taught a character lesson based on Washington's reply to his father's query about chopping down a cherry tree. "I cannot tell a lie," is what we were taught and for too many years now, every Feb. 22, I wonder what the answer would be today?

"I cannot recall cutting down the tree?" or "I feel the tree's pain?" or maybe "I would like to answer that question but counsel advises me not to comment while investigations are ongoing?" or, finally, "Answering that question

would interfere with the discharge of my responsibility to grow up so I claim privilege until I reach my majority."

I suppose such stories are historically questionable and really only intended to teach a moral lesson. Clearly some of us didn't learn that lesson, though.

I guess I should stop being a sour-puss and take pleasure in the cherry pie that comes my way every February.

Fred La Sor  
Public Affairs Officer  
U.S. Embassy Lima

To the Editor:

[I would like] to confirm the advice of Alphonse F. La Porto in the January issue to "Protect Your Legal Rights!"

For the past four years, my assignments and prospects for promotion have been clouded by an OIG investigation that was tainted by the unfamiliarity of the OIG investigators who had never served abroad and who were punctiliously aggressive in trying to find wrongdoing in my conduct in a remote post of

the former Soviet Union.

Even worse, the Office of the Director General then felt obliged to justify the existence of the investigation by a five-day suspension without pay - judgments made by people who also were largely unaware of the way that Foreign Service posts operate. Sadly, the Director General or other senior Foreign Service people in the process did not intervene. Indeed, in the course of this Kafkaesque exercise, my attorneys (only belatedly did I engage private counsel) have been opprobred by what they call "government terrorism" of using virtually unlimited resources against persons who have limited means to pay legal fees. While I believe that my case will be resolved favorably, thanks to the wise heads on the Foreign Service Grievance Board, I can only echo the timely advice of Mr. La Porto in V.P. Voice, to "Protect Your Legal Rights" from the outset.

FSO  
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## F O C U S

*A common U.S.-European foreign policy in the Middle East was designed not so much to promote peace as to give Europe a coordination exercise. America would do the heavy lifting.*

---

world that it had been France that had begun cultivating the PLO in 1974 and that France would lead Europe in the post-Oslo accord and aid debates. France even offered use of its troops for peace-keeping forces in the Golan Heights and southern Lebanon.

Even before Oslo, in January 1993, the EC adopted a proposal for combining the East Mediterranean region with North Africa in a comprehensive political, economic and social program that would emerge in November 1995 as the Barcelona Partnership Agreements. Meanwhile, Oslo was followed by an all-too-brief EU-Israeli honeymoon during which both Shimon Peres and Yassir Arafat declared that Europe was the model to be followed in constructing the new Middle East.

Unfortunately, Barcelona is almost unknown in the United States, since it was overshadowed by more spectacular events. Those dramas included the simultaneous post-Oslo violence and negotiations; the Israel troop withdrawals from Gaza and West Bank cities; the U.S.-sponsored economic summits at Casablanca and Amman; the Dayton accords and Clinton's decision to send U.S. peace-keeping forces to Bosnia; and Israel Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's assassination.

Nevertheless, Barcelona could have been a landmark event. It launched an ambitious 15-year, 27-nation program for creating an EU-Mediterranean political and security, economic and financial, social and cultural partnership aimed at a free-trade area of 800 million people by the year 2010. The EU and 12 Mediterranean partners, from Turkey to Morocco (except Libya), began negotiating new agreements to replace the previous and out-of-date bilateral accords. The EU pledged \$4.7 billion in financial assistance over the first five years plus an equal amount in European Investment Bank assis-

tance and contributions from member states. In the words of French Foreign Minister de Charette, Barcelona is a "tremendous historic adventure."

Since the Oslo accords, European support for Arafat has deepened and intensified. After the failure of the fall meetings in Washington, PLO leader Yassir Arafat went directly to Paris to talk to Chirac, who followed up with a whirlwind Mideast tour that included Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan and Egypt. During a stop in Jerusalem, Chirac claimed that the legitimacy of a French-led European role in the peace process was "complementary to the U.S. role, not competing with it." He also told the Israelis to their faces that there would be a Palestinian state, and that they should give back the Golan Heights. Arafat has called for a European participation in future meetings and the EU named Spain's ambassador to Israel, Miguel Angel Moratinos, on Dec. 5 as the EU's answer to Dennis Ross.

**W**hat does all this mean for the post-Hebron future? First, Europe has become and will be an active participant in the future of Mideast talks, whether the United States likes it or not. It doesn't mean the EU will remotely threaten America's primary role in the talks. It is inconceivable that President Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright would step aside or share the political credit for the achieving of a final settlement. But Europe, possibly, and France, certainly, have a special role on the Syrian side of negotiations.

The EU is already the principal Palestinian and Mideast aid and trading partner, although it cannot hope to match America's annual \$6 billion subsidy to Israel and Egypt. Furthermore, Europe has used the enormous Israeli trade deficit and the signing of the EU-Israel Partnership Agreement as lever-

## F O C U S

age with Israel in the upcoming negotiations. The trick is going to be to convince the Israeli leadership, whether Labor or Likud, that Europe is a friend and collaborator, not just a pro-Palestinian adversary.

A second major factor is Israel's need to settle the Palestinian and Syrian peace processes so it can address larger long-term threats from Iran, Iraq, and possibly Saudi Arabia. Libya, reputed to be building the world's largest chemical weapons factory under a mountain in the desert, is also a potential problem. With these possible threats — all from the Moslem world — Israel needs friends not only in the West but in the Arab neighborhood as well. Two military cooperation agreements signed last year, which allow Israel and Turkey to use each other's airspace for training exercises and which require Israel to update Turkey's aging F-4 fleet, are a reminder that "the peace process was not just a romantic adventure but a strategic choice to help

Israel make peace with the inner core of countries around it so that it could deal more effectively with the real long-term threats to security on the outer core," according to *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman.

The third and possibly the greatest long-term threat to Middle East peace comes not from the past, but from the future: potential instability in the Middle East and North Africa caused by runaway population growth, economic stagnation and political dissatisfaction. The countries west of Iraq have been remarkably stable politically for a quarter of a century, but it would be foolish and short-sighted to expect this to continue. Enter Barcelona.

The Barcelona partners, north and south, have spent the past year getting organized, holding more than a dozen meetings on issues from water conservation to political/military affairs. This year, another 30 are scheduled. This new, deliberate, comprehensive approach to EU-Mediterranean relations in the

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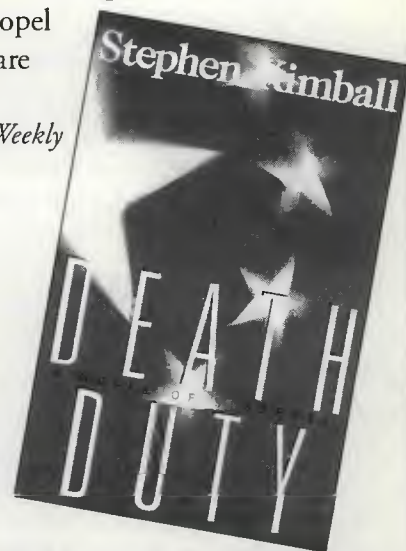
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## F O C U S

next century will have a major effect on the future of the peace negotiations.

Given geographic proximity and the complex web of official and unofficial relations with the Middle East, the EU is demanding a stronger role, and France a European commander in the Mediterranean. This European orientation is backed up by many analysts who see NATO's next challenge coming not from Eastern Europe but from the southern flank, the Balkans, the East Mediterranean and North Africa.

For the future, therefore, U.S. and European cooperation is essential. European and U.S. interests are not in conflict but roughly parallel across a broad range of issues, from water and development to defense and diplomatic negotiations, over which the United States cannot claim a total monopoly of responsibility.

Indeed, with regard to the Mideast peace process itself, U.S.-European cooperation is vital.

Euro-American competition has only helped polarize the peace process, with Palestine and the Arabs looking to Europe and Israelis to the United States, worsening rather than alleviating the conflict. For the West, a breakdown into competing camps only reinforces the divisions and defeats the solution. Recall that it was neutral Norway that broke the logjam, not the EU or the United States. Thus, U.S.-European cooperation should be seen as the future hallmark of the Western role in the peace process.

In the words of President Mitterrand's former special envoy and adviser on the Middle East, Eric Rouleau, "U.S. insistence on monopolizing the sponsorship of the peace process ... paradoxically reduces [its] own ability to help its ally embark on a more realistic and wiser course. A greater role ... for other Security Council members, especially France, would provide better balance and ultimately be to the benefit of both parties." ■



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## AMERICA & TURKEY



AS KEY NATO LINCHPIN  
IN EUROPE, TURKEY WORRIES  
WEST WITH MOVES EASTWARD

*By James W. Spain*

**A** government cannon sounding the day's fast during Ramadan, a spate of mosque building, female college students agitating for permission to wear the veil to class, an electoral plurality of 21 percent in the hands of the religiously-oriented Islamic Welfare Party: These recent developments are novel for secular, republican, NATO-member Turkey.

So are Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan's visit last year to Libya, his oil and gas deals with Iran and Iraq, and the limitations put on cooperation with the West in its most recent effort to counter Saddam Hussein's offensive against the Kurds.

## F O C U S

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*Turkey will continue to have problems with both the United States and Europe but the last thing it wants is to have to choose between them. It has nothing to gain from such a split.*

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Journalists and academic analysts, always eager to spot a trend, suggest that Turkey is turning back to traditional Islam and away from its secular orientation and ties with the West. It may be so. The strength of a new trend is hard to judge and it is possible that Turkey is rounding a corner.

But long-established fundamentals of the Turkish Republic must be taken into account as well. The 60 years after Ataturk founded the republic saw many domestic issues, but the form and thrust of government were never in dispute. Ataturk, like George Washington, overturned a corrupt monarchy and chased out foreign invaders. The republic he shaped in 1923 was militantly secular. He had the strength, popularity and prestige to make it stick.

He abandoned all claim to Ottoman Empire lands, Greek and Arab, and set a course of eliminating Armenian and Greek minorities and suppressing Kurds, while integrating Turks from all areas of the Anatolian homeland. Far from democratic at first, and even now less than deeply concerned with human rights, the system evolved toward representative democracy. By 1950 it had come far enough to allow the opposition Democratic Party of Adnan Menderes to take over from Ismet Innoyu, Ataturk's successor as leader of the Republican Party, in a popular election.

Domestic issues centered on economic policy: the etatism (government ownership and control) of Ataturk's Republican Party vs. the new parties' leanings toward free enterprise. The tug of war gave the Turkish economy a rough ride from the 1950s to the

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*James W. Spain, a retired FSO, served three tours in Turkey, the third, which ended in 1981, as ambassador. The author of the 1984 book, American Diplomacy in Turkey, he now lives in Sri Lanka.*

1970s with each succeeding government reversing the policies of its predecessor to the detriment of production and development. The rise of a prosperous and influential commercial class over the past few decades has now settled that issue, probably forever.

A second consideration, more a matter of domestic choice than foreign policy decision, was with which neighbors, fellow Moslem Middle Easterners or non-Moslem Westerners, Turks wanted to be chiefly associated. There were voices in favor of the Middle East. Turkey had ruled much of it. Turks were more advanced than people there and could profit from that. Why should they play second fiddle to Europeans who would take advantage of them? But Ataturk had pointed to Europe as a model: French law and language, German science, English merchandise, and few Turks were willing to challenge that.

**F**or the entire history of the republic, two factors dominated Turkey's foreign policy. One was the need for strength and protection against the Soviet Union, a threat which Josef Stalin made very real at the time of World War II with his claim to the country's eastern provinces and his demand for control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles that connect the Black Sea with the Mediterranean.

The other aim was to maintain military, political and economic superiority over Greece, whose armed forces — with World War I Allied support — ravaged Turkish territory in the first foreign attack on the country and whose influence in Cyprus and possession of almost all the islands that surround the Turkish mainland present a major irritation, if not a real military threat.

Both attitudes are intensified by historical consciousness dating back to the Byzantine Empire

## F O C U S

and the days of Russian expansion southward beginning in the 15th century. If you are a 20th-century American, your ancestors martyred for the national cause fell at the hands of a variety of enemies, British, Mexican, Confederates or Yankees, Spanish, German, Japanese. If you are a Turk, there are only two hereditary killers: Russians and Greeks.

Finally, after World War II, everything fitted together. The Truman Doctrine brought the United States into direct support of Turkey against the USSR. Turkey's membership in NATO completed the circuit and provided at least some leverage against Greece.

At no point during this period was there a secular vs. religious issue. Ataturk had settled that by such harsh measures as yanking the Turkish language out of the Islamic-connected Arabic alphabet and putting it firmly in Latin letters, strangling males who insisted on wearing the fez, and promoting the equality of women in all fields. Successive generations of Turks who became the shakers and movers of the country grew up in this ambience.

There are substantial numbers of devout, but for the most part poor and ill-educated people, both in the cities and countryside, who remain more devoted to religion than the leadership. They complain they are unable to pray in Istanbul's Aya Sofya, which after 500 years as a mosque was transformed by Ataturk into a museum. They are given a small out-building on the grounds of the ancient place of worship to use on Friday afternoons. The great building itself remains a museum.

They flock to the new mosques in the villages but in the squares outside business is brisk in Ataturk souvenirs. Even in the countryside the foreign visitor can get a meal during Ramadan. In Istanbul and the coastal cities the working folks' *pide salonu* remains open all day. The inevitable bust of Ataturk still dominates the square and the village headman or *gendarma* sergeant is apt to be more influential than the imam. The continuing migration from country to city brings into the political centers people of conservative views — which, in an atmosphere of social mobility, seldom last more than one generation. Sunday

remains the weekly holiday. It is very late to try to turn back the clock.

Behind the whole process is the Turkish army, the largest ground force in Europe. Its men are largely conscripts. To encourage national integration, those from the eastern part of the county serve in the western part and vice versa. Its officer corps, drawn from a wide segment of the population, often begins service in the pre-teen years and is thoroughly indoctrinated in the Ataturk tradition by the time its members achieve rank. Above all, they are imbued with the belief that they have a traditional, semi-constitutional responsibility to guard the stability of the state and the welfare of the secular republic, as well as the security of the nation.

Their behavior has been remarkably consistent. They took political control three times, once in 1950 when they hanged Prime Minister Menderes, largely for threatening their position, and again in 1971 and 1980 when Prime Minister Sulaiman Demirel effectively lost control of the country to terrorists.

Likewise, in accordance with the Ataturk tradition, each time they turned the country back to popularly elected civilian governments when "things were cleaned up." True, each time it took them longer to do so, but there was remarkably little vindictiveness. Twice-ousted Prime Minister Sulaiman Demirel is now president of the republic. It is the outcome of this contest between a current trend toward religion and long-established secular institutions that will determine Turkey's future. The odds seem to be on the side of the institutions.

Islam is becoming an increasingly powerful and respectable religion in the world. All Turks are Moslems by birth and inheritance. Even the most detached of them can be counted on to react negatively to attacks against Islam — as many agnostic Italian intellectuals resent aspersions by foreign non-Catholics on the Roman church and most Americans, not seeing the "Christian right" as a serious challenge to their way of life, are unwilling to endorse harsh measures against it.

Continued sporadic squabbles with Greece are inevitable — over the status of Cyprus and about sur-

*The West's belief that Turkey is turning "unspeakable," or radical Islamic, would signal to Turks the failure of a 75-year-old, carefully focused foreign policy.*

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face and sub-surface rights in the Aegean. Some strains in relations with the United States are probable — about the amount and kind of military assistance and constant American pressure on human rights. Turkey will examine critically every aspect of the proposed eastward expansion of NATO. If accomplished, it will reduce the geographical gap between western and southern flanks of the organization but may have unwelcome consequences in military support for Turkey.

At the same time, Turkey will remain the most powerful and prosperous nation in the eastern Mediterranean. As in the Gulf War and subsequent imbroglios over the Kurds, it will lend its resources to international efforts to contain such situations. It will continue to be a hard-working and pragmatic member of the United Nations. Turkey will continue to have problems with both the United States and Europe but the last thing it wants is to have to choose between them. It has nothing to gain from such a split and will likely devote such influence as it has to try to keep the two power centers together.

Regional matters are also likely to be handled in a familiar way. Turks' sympathies will remain with the Palestinians. With their own Kurd problem, they will be understanding of Syria's and Iraq's efforts to control the turbulent tribesmen. They will take advantage of opportunities to sell their goods and services wherever they can make a profit, including in Russia, the Caucasus and central Asia. Turkish exports to these areas are now estimated at as high as \$12 billion.

But Turkey is unlikely to support terrorist activity, from which it has suffered, or supply significant quantities of arms to its truculent neighbors; it will continue to do business with Israel; it is hardly conceivable that it would be a party to evasion of international limitations on nuclear, chemical and biologi-

cal weapons. In short, it is likely to remain an international "good citizen," of considerable importance to the United States and Europe.

**I**nternally the odds are at least even that the current religiously-flavored regime will give way to a more secularly-minded coalition or that a new party will emerge on top in the next election. If either the present government or a successor loses control of law and order, the odds are considerably better than even that the army will take over a fourth time — with the acceptance of a majority of the people and the active support of the commercial class. While this is hardly a democratic way of handling political problems, judging from past experience, the soldiers can be counted upon eventually to return the country to representative government.

The greatest chance of fundamental change, unpredictable in terms of Turkish dynamics alone, lies not in Turkey's rejecting the United States and/or NATO and Europe, but in the country's coming to feel that these long-time friends and allies have rejected Turkey. Smoldering resentment at Greece's considerable success in limiting U.S. military assistance and in blocking Turkey's entry into the European Union could flare up into a "to hell with the West" reaction. So could another confrontation over Cyprus.

Most destructive of all would be a reaction by the West that, despite Turkey's utility, the country is turning "unspeakable," or radical Islamic, again. To Turks, that would signal the failure of 75 years of carefully focused policy. The reaction to this ultimate insult would be as furious among modernist Atatürkists as among religious conservatives. It would almost certainly provoke radical changes at home and abroad. Fortunately, this is unlikely to happen. ■

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# MOSCOW'S IDENTITY CRISIS

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ELECTION REAFFIRMS INDEPENDENCE OF CHECHNYA,  
AS POLITICAL GROUPS BICKER OVER RUSSIA'S FUTURE

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BY VLADIMIR SHLAPENTOKH

**M**ost Russians consider Chechnya an uncivilized backwater, "a nation of thieves and murders," as Russia's Minister of Internal Affairs Anatoly Kulikov once called the rebel republic. Before Chechnya's first independent elections on Jan. 27, Russian politicians predicted that Chechen candidates, backed by their rival gangs, would resort to violence and fraud rather than honest voting. Russians were surprised when the elections were conducted quietly, as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe noted in a public statement, "The elections reflected the free will of those entitled to vote and formalized the legitimacy of the new authorities."

In addition to choosing a new president, Aslan Maskhadov, who had an imprimatur from the international community, the Chechen elections moved Russia closer to the inevitability that it has lost the republic forever. As Vitaly Tretiakov, editor of the influential newspaper *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, wrote, "[The election] has made Chechnya's exit from Russia irreversible."

Russia's identity crisis, prompted by the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, was exacerbated by the republic's 1994-96 war of independence in which

Chechen rebels routed the Russian army. As Sergei Rogof, a leading Russian political scientist, argued last year in the newspaper *Segodnya*, "Among the several crises that Russia now suffers, the most acute is the crisis of self-identification."

This debate over self-identity has engaged Russia's best and brightest in a duel over how Russia perceives itself as a nation. At the center of the dialogue is the thorny issue of Russia's status in the world, or as participants refer to it: "Russia's greatness." This test of wills over vision is important to Russia and the world because it will determine the direction of Moscow's foreign and domestic policies.

Debaters in the "Great Russia" debate can be separated into three factions: liberals, radical nationalists (which also includes most Communists) and moderates. All the groups accept democratic principles, at least publicly, such as the right to own private property and participate in free elections, although radical nationalists also insist on a greater role for the state. Differences are most pronounced among these groups when it comes to Russia's role in the world, and nowhere is this more clear than in their differing attitudes toward the defeat in Chechnya.

Liberals reject a Russian empire if it means a large state, lack of secure private property, a regulated economy, mass repression and a monstrous bureaucracy. They oppose the restoration of

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the Soviet empire, including reunification with former Slav republics, such as Ukraine and Belarus, and advocate maximum autonomy for Russian regions, like Chechnya. As Vladislav Storozhenko, a well-known liberal economist, said at a conference to address Russia's direction, "[Russia has] to abandon her policy of using coercion to retain control of ethnic and regional groups that want independence."

Liberals also reject the idea that a Russian lifestyle has advantages over Western society. Rather, they view Russia as, in the words of Igor Gaydar, a leading liberal who was prime minister in 1992, "a civilization catching up," in its attempt to emulate Western society. They want Russia to adopt universal values based on Western ones, predicting economic catastrophe unless it obeys the same economic laws as other countries. This group rarely denounces the negative developments in post-Communist Russia, such as the radical decline in social and moral values, claiming these changes are the price Russia must pay to achieve a Western lifestyle. They accept NATO's eastward expansion and America's role as the lead player in international affairs. They oppose a large Russian army and advocate a small professional force, and admire the efforts of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

For most liberals, Russia's future is as a prosperous democracy. Their predictions are optimistic, as long as the Communists don't regain power, though a minority of pessimists among them see Russia's future mirroring that of other Third World countries controlled by criminal capitalists. Liberals have many sympathizers among Russia's intellectuals and the general population, but they owe their strength to the economic and political elites whose wealth and power are based on relations with the West.

Last year, liberals and their supporters saw the defeat in Chechnya as evidence of the bankruptcy of the immense and inept Russian political and military machine, proof that Russia should reject empire building in favor of a system that favors democratization of society. During the Chechen War, liberals supported the rebels' demands for

independence and considered Chechen leaders and military field commanders Shamil Basayev and Salman Ruduyev heroes in a war for national independence; the Russian military and Moscow leaders portrayed them as terrorists.

For nationalists, who come in radical and moderate versions, maintaining Russia as a superpower is essential to its survival and self-identity. They advocate a return to the Soviet empire because, as leading nationalist and Communist party leader Gennady Zyuganov wrote in his 1994 book, *Derzhava*, "Without the Soviet Union, Russia cannot exist as a normal state." They see a special mission for Russia, due to its spiritual superiority over both Eastern and Western cultures. Nationalists have romanticized the Russian pre-revolutionary and Soviet pasts by creating, as Zyuganov has called it, a "cult of Russian history." Furthermore, their view of Russian destiny prescribes a special role for Russian Orthodoxy as the state religion. If they were to take power, nationalists would exclude non-Russians and Jews from holding public office. While most nationalists — with the exception of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy — temper their public statements about Jews, they perceive President Boris Yeltsin's regime as "Jewish" because of the number of Jews playing crucial roles in politics, finance and journalism.

Nationalists believe Russia's nuclear arsenal is an essential ingredient in the confrontational foreign policy they advocate, and they favor the obstruction of nuclear disarmament treaties and development of additional weapons. They also admire the Soviet past because of the USSR military's parity with that of the West.

"Radical" nationalists now see Russia in almost the same vein as Stalin did: surrounded by poten-

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*Differences are most pronounced among these groups when it comes to Russia's role in the world, and nowhere is this more clear than in their differing attitudes toward the defeat in Chechnya.*

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tial or actual enemies, with the West always plotting against her. They assume the West was responsible for the Soviet Union's collapse, and is now planning the disintegration of the Russian Federation. Nationalists are also sure the West wants to turn Russia into a raw materials appendage of the world economy and a dumping site for nuclear and other waste material.

Most nationalists see a pessimistic future for a Russia at the mercy of the corrupt ruling elite and the West. Remarkably, Russian nationalists are very angry with the Russian people, whom they hold responsible for widespread demoralization, loss of national identity and indifference to the motherland.

For most "moderate" nationalists, the Russian defeat in Chechnya was a bitter pill to swallow. Vladimir Lukin, former Russian ambassador to Washington and a typical moderate nationalist, compared the defeat to another famous Russian loss in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, in which the Japanese captured or destroyed almost the entire Russian Baltic Fleet. Moderates also believe the liberal media was culpable in the Chechnya defeat, since its coverage was sympathetic to the Chechen rebels and compassionate of Russian soldiers who lost their lives in a war for Russian integrity. Moderate nationalists accused the government of poorly organizing the war effort because its political and economic backers were profiting from supplying the army with food and weapons and from funds for "re-building" Chechnya, which actually went into the pockets of the banks and companies assigned to the re-building.

Like liberals, moderates saw the developments in Chechnya as a shameful defeat for the Russian army and, like radical nationalists, they saw the defeat as proof of the

disintegration of the Russian state machine. However, unlike the liberals, they saw defeat as a signal that the state needs strengthening and the army needs reforming. Still, given Russia's limited resources to continue fighting, the moderates accept Chechen independence, at least for now.

Radical nationalists — which includes most Communists, led by Gennady Zyuganov and different nationalist parties like Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democrats — reject the peace in Chechnya and favor retaining the breakaway republic, calling anyone who supports its independence a traitor. They control the Duma, the Russian parliament, so their voices were heard loudly last year when troop withdrawal from Chechnya was being discussed. They are certain the treaty with Chechnya was arranged by various Russian clans and foreign interest groups who, they surmise, were interested in gas and oil and who initiated and ended the conflict only after satisfying their interests. They even accused unnamed officials in Moscow of selling military information to Chechen commanders, suggesting that Russian intelligence on Chechen positions was intentionally suppressed by "somebody from above."

Many radical nationalists even deny the Russian army was defeated in Chechnya, contending the rebels could have been easily annihilated if not for the corrupt politicians in Moscow and the treacherous liberal media. Some nationalists even maintain that Chechnya, an alien state antagonistic to Russian culture and statehood, should be razed, as Russian Col. Sergey Modestov implied in an article he wrote for *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* last summer.

Nationalists also believe Chechnya's budding independence

will trigger a second wave of Russian disintegration, which could lead to Russian withdrawal from other regional "non-Russian" republics. They fear the "Chechen disease" could reduce Russian influence in the three independent Caucasian states of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia, and in the Baltics and Ukraine. They also fear the defeat will foster the growth of Islamic fundamentalism around the predominantly Muslim Chechnya.

Between the liberals and the radical nationalists are the moderates, who politically and intellectually dominate the Russian scene. While they yearn for Russian "greatness" like the nationalists, they see the reality of Russia much more soberly. For them, a crucial fact of life in Russia is the weak economy, the world's second largest before 1991. Today the country ranks 10th and will likely fall another few notches in the next century. They also recognize that corruption, crime and a demoralized population and military are significant impediments to achieving a "Great Russia."

Moderates, like radical nationalists and unlike liberals, are hostile to the West, which they consider more Russophobic than anti-Communist. They see the West using myths about Russia's imperial character to justify NATO's expansion and prevent Russia's rapprochement with her former Soviet republics. As army Gen. Boris Bromov, a moderate, warned last year in *Moskovsky Komsomolets*, "Western secret services are plotting to destroy the army and the whole country." However, moderates support cooperation with the West to restore the Russian economy, though oppose adopting its culture of mass consumption.

Moderates do not attribute contemporary Russia's woes to the col-

lapse of the Soviet Union or perfidious and subverting policies of the West and its servants: former president of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev and the main ideologue of perestroika — Alexander Yakovlev. Like the liberals, they believe the USSR collapsed from within because, as political scientist Sergey Kortunov wrote in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* last year, “The internal contradictions of the Soviet system ... [led to] the internal blast.” Kortunov assumes the West does not see Russia “as a strong and stable society,” but blames Russians themselves for Russia’s problems.

Still, moderates don’t have an exclusively negative view of the Soviet past; they see the former Russian empire as a “spiritual commonwealth” of the Russian people. They support a non-confrontational policy toward the West, but reject the type of coziness advocated by liberal former Soviet foreign minister Andrei Kozyrev between 1991 and 1995, and want to slow NATO’s eastward expansion until Russia regains its foreign policy strength. As Yakor Urinson, deputy minister of economics in charge of the military, bluntly noted in *Segodnaya* last October, “We have to build up our foreign policy with the assumption that we physically can not conduct war in the next 20 years.”

While most moderates want reunification with the Slav republics of Belarus and Ukraine, they reject including non-Slav states — except Kazakstan, which has a large Russian population — in their conception of a “Great Russia.” At the same time, they also strongly insist on the protecting of Russian interests in these states.

Like liberals and radicals, moderates can be divided into two camps, the pessimists and the optimists. One pessimist, Russian journalist Stanislav

Kondrashov, noted in *Izvestia* last year that the Russian people have “no strength, no will and no messianic zeal with which to nurture the will to restore today’s Russia to its previous status.”

Because of his presidential aspirations, Alexander Lebed is the great optimist among the moderates. He believes, as he contended in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* last fall, that the Russian people “will be able to create a great country since Russia possesses all the necessary resources and highly qualified cadres ... as well as Russian spiritualism, which is being resuscitated.”

Public opinion polls indicate that only about two-thirds of Russians share the moderates’ self-image of Russia as a country whose former greatness can be restored in the future, and shows ordinary Russians remain nostalgic about their nation’s history. According to nationwide surveys conducted by the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) last spring, 65 percent of Russians believe that “it is very unfortunate that the Soviet Union no longer exists.”

However, when Russians consider the present, their opinions become more liberal and maintain a strong focus on individual well-being. When USIA asked Russians to name the most serious problem facing the country, 56 percent named the economy, and less than 1 percent pointed to national security issues.

Polls also showed that one-third of Russians agreed Russia “should try to reunite with republics having significant Russian populations,” but only 10 percent agreed with the use of force to achieve this goal, according to data collected by Igor Khamkin, a prominent Russian political scientist. Recent data collected by Opinion, a public opinion research firm, shows that two-thirds of all Russians

endorse the independence of Chechnya.

The liberal vision, supported by the majority of Russians and the ruling elite, has the best chance of influencing events in Russia in the next few years. President Boris Yeltsin’s re-election last summer endorsed this view.

The radicals’ vision of Russia has little hope of implementation, even if an alliance of Communists and nationalists comes to power, because the Russian economy is too weak to support such a vision. In the next two decades, the Russian economy can be expected to continue deteriorating, becoming less productive than Indonesia and South Korea. In addition, the Russian government cannot restore a strong centralized government and reclaim its former international status because it faces limited resources, political instability, uncertain relations with provincial governments and widespread public apathy. Remarkably, radical nationalists, supported by about 10 percent of Russians, ignore these facts, preferring to concentrate on culture and ideology. Still, if they gained power, they would control the media and impose their vision of a “Great Russia” on the Russian population.

These diverse visions for Russia’s future are both reflection and cause for Russia’s deep social and political instability, and indicate the country will probably remain unstable for decades. American society would not have functioned effectively if there were more than one, simple “American dream,” and eventually Russians will have to resolve their differing opinions and agree on a single “Russian dream.” The question remains: Will the vision emerging from consensus be in the best interests of both Russia and the world? ■

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# JUNGLE FEVER

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SEDUCED BY BEAUTY OF AMAZON RAIN FOREST'S BEAUTY, EX-FSO  
FINDS 'SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT' MORE THAN JUST PC TERM

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BY THEODORE WILKINSON

**F**or most people born in the 20th century, Brazil has always seemed romantically vast and verdant. Books like William Henry Hudson's *Green Mansions* and William Beebe's *High Jungle* stirred readers' curiosity and conjured images of exotic flora and fauna somewhere on the world's least explored continent.

What few traditional diplomats could have foreseen, however, was that saving all this biodiversity from the ravages of development in countries like Brazil would spawn an international environmental movement, and would eventually become a key U.S. diplomatic goal.

Factoids like "the weight of the ants in the Amazon equals that of all the other animals together" or "1,692 species of birds live in Brazil alone — compared with only 695 north of the Rio Grande," were once relevant only for Trivial Pursuit. Now they seem almost routine in diplomatic dialogue.

During a trip last spring to Brazil, when it appeared that Secretary of State Warren Christopher would have to choose between a scheduled Sao Paulo

speech to 700 businesspeople and a stopover in Manaus, in the heart of the Amazon region, his staff advised him to pick the second. Embassy personnel were dismayed at the prospect of a public relations debacle, hoping that the Manaus stop would help raise the profile of environmental policy in U.S. diplomacy and highlight his forthcoming speech on that subject in California. In the end, he made both stops, and everyone was happy.

Is this new focus really warranted, or just politically correct?

**M**y personal interest in efforts to save the Brazilian rain forest began two years ago, when I arrived in Brasilia accompanying my wife, Xenia Vunovic Wilkinson, who is the U.S. embassy's science counselor.

Even the Brazilian government's own reluctantly published figures reveal the magnitude of the problem. Since 1992, when more than 100 chiefs of state assembled in Rio de Janeiro at the first world environmental summit, the deforestation of the Amazon's rain forests have continued unabated. Between 1991 and 1994, deforestation rose 34 percent, with 4,296 square miles lost per year during the 1990-91 burning season to 5,750 square miles lost by 1994. Each year, an area the size of Connecticut disappears.

In two years of wandering through the rain forest during the free time our embassy jobs allowed, Xenia and I have done little more than lift a corner of the canopy of this ecological wonder. We haven't weighed any ants, but we've seen dramatic evidence of their

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civilizations — row upon row of man-high ant apartment houses dotted across the central Brazilian savannah. After a day-long boat ride above Manaus on the Rio Negro, a guide introduces us to one of the thousands of species of forest ants — an inch-long tucandeiro, whose bite, we are told, will only kill those who already suffer from weak hearts.

The most exciting territory for amateur bird watchers is the Bolivia-sized Pantanal, Brazil's version of the Everglades. Threading our boat through its navigable parts, we are rewarded with sights of jabiru storks and cranes eyeing us regally from treetop perches; kingfishers darting on strafing runs back and forth across the water; aningas and cormorants speeding inches above the water, in search of piranha; and long-beaked limpkins pulsing by idly, with slow, erratic wingbeats like a butterfly's.

We drift past the local hotel for cattle egrets, a single spreading ipe tree whose branches are crowded with nearly 1,000 snow-white denizens. For half an hour, we watch hundreds more arrive from all azimuths, circling in for landings in V-shaped formations. Each successive squad of arrivals raises the noise level a notch, to the point where — if we closed our eyes — we could easily imagine standing at the portal of some immense diplomatic reception. Maybe the quality of conversation is lower, but the sound of 2,000-plus cattle egrets squawking at once doesn't sound that different from human hubbub.

In other parts of Brazil, we watch parrots leaving at dawn or returning at dusk to the islands where they spend their 80-year lives. Near the Superagui Island nature preserve off the coast of Parana, where the tiny black-faced golden tamarin monkey was discovered only four years ago, we watch dozens of a rare red-banded subspecies of the blue-cheeked parrot fly in for evening check-in on the tiny key that is their only known home. Off Parrot Island near Belem, all is silence in the pre-dawn twilight, save for the occasional soft warbles of songbirds, which sound like orchestra instruments tuning up. Then with first light, comes the crashing opening bar of the symphony, as hundreds of blue-headed parrots awake together and exchange morning greetings. Seconds later they are off, always in pairs, in all directions in search of fruit.

Parrots, we are told, are scrupulously monogamous. If one dies, the other does not take a new mate and rarely outlives its spouse for very long.

On a flight westward over the Amazon toward Peru, there is no hint of diversity of fauna or wildlife. The jungle rolls on for hours of monotonous green, broken only by thick gray rivulets of the giant Amazon river system, which carries one-fifth of the world's fresh water. In fact, however, there is infinite variety on the ground. The massive rivers seem to be responsible for some of this diversity, explains David Oren, chief biologist of the Goeldi Museum in Belem. Birds of prey and other high-flyers readily cross the water, but the insect-eating fowl and their prey are not comfortable outside their protective foliage, and either don't or can't cross the rivers. As a result, entirely different species of the same genus of birds often exist on opposite banks of the same river. Moreover, there are certainly still undiscovered species. On a map of the Amazon territory, Oren indicates the many sectors where no systematic studies have been done within 100 miles.

As for botanical diversity, linguist Denny Moore of the Goeldi Institute notes that indigenous people, who until recently led isolated lives dependent only on the forest, have vocabularies identifying 1,000 varieties of trees. Some derivatives are used in everyday life. The liniment Bengay, for instance, comes from the bengue plant in the Amazon. For malaria there is, of course, quinine, but there is also the bark of the carapanuava tree, which, when mixed with boiled water, is said to be an abortifacient. Other barks are valuable as insect repellents, coagulants for wounds, antacids and skin lotions. Chicle sap turns into gum, and other saps serve as laxatives. And Brazilians never tire of pointing out that a cure for cancer may still be awaiting discovery in a remote glen deep in the Amazon.

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*The fate of this  
Brazilian greenness  
can be summed up in  
the catchword, "bio-  
diversity," which  
spawned an interna-  
tional environmental  
movement and  
became a key U.S.  
diplomatic goal.*

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For nourishment, the Amazon is home to 55,000 varieties of fruits. One of conservationists' great hopes is that the world will develop a taste for one or another of the region's many exotic fruits, as it did for New Zealand's kiwi. In Belem, a rival of Ben and Jerry's is trying to promote the idea by selling 40 varieties of Amazon ice cream, largely from palm varieties, starting with abricó, assai, assai branco, acerola, arassa, bacava, etc.

**S**aving the Amazon rain forest is a last stand for biodiversity in Brazil. Less than 10 percent of the ecologically rich forest along the eastern coast is left. Since colonization nearly 400 years ago, farming, logging and urban growth have nibbled away at this temperate, hilly acreage. Sao Paulo's urban area has spread through the southern end of the forest. The southwestern Pantanal wetlands are still intact, but are threatened by plans to build a deep draft

waterway to Paraguay, Argentina and the Atlantic Ocean.

As a whole, the tropical forests of the nine Brazilian states of the Amazon are still largely intact, too, although the percentage of devastation rises geometrically as one nears civilization in the eastern reaches. In this region today, coexistence has nothing to do with communism and capitalism; the question is whether humankind and the biosphere can survive together. In the past, the two have lived together in harmony: American anthropologist Anna Roosevelt found evidence as old as 8,000 years of humans at Santarem, halfway between Manaus and Belem. In the 80 centuries since, humans have fished, hunted and grown manioc and corn without disturbing the balance of nature. Even the rubber boom that brought 75 years of fleeting wealth to the river cities proved benign to the forests. Extractive industries like that of rubber-tapping leave no enduring scars.

The key threats to the forests today are ranchers and loggers, particularly those in search of mahogany. For quality veneering, no other wood approaches that of the even mahogany boles, which grow straight up hundreds of feet through the jungle canopy. The most valuable trees, worth up to \$500 a cubic meter, are between 100 and 200 years old. The logging business attracts unscrupulous prospectors the same way gold mining does in other parts of the Amazon today. When mahogany trees and other valuable woods have been cleared, landowners routinely burn off the remaining vegetation and begin using the land for cattle ranching, taking advantage of the country's growing consumption of beef and dairy products. All too often the new proprietors pay no regard to conservation, quickly leaching the land and leaving it worthless as they move on to other forest clearings.

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What can be done to save the Amazon rain forest? Pure conservation is one obvious answer. Conservation means broadening parks and managing them better, plus demarcating Indian reservations where logging is proscribed. Tougher conservation measures could include outlawing the mahogany trade completely — now there's only a moratorium on new mahogany logging concessions — and stopping road construction into the forests, but forget trying to police a forest this large. The loggers will build illegal access roads when the price is right, and compliant indigenous leaders are not immune to bribes. Moreover, Brazilians — like most people — don't react well to being told they should save what others have squandered. The 17 million people in the states of the legal Amazon need to earn a living somehow. Private voluntary organizations like the World Wildlife Fund and the Nature Conservatory are subsidizing conserva-

tion where it's viable, and the United States and other aid donors are helping, but conservation measures alone are not enough.

Perhaps the best, but more complex, answer is "sustainable development." What this means in the Amazon is low-impact logging that allows for regeneration of trees; scientific ranching that sustains minerals in the soil; and new ways to exploit forest products, such as harvesting hearts of palm only from the assai tree, the only species that regrows this part. The others simply die.

While there is much agreement on the goal of "sustainable development," it's much harder to put into practice, requiring a great deal of research, education and willingness to change behavior. Many dedicated and enlightened Brazilians are working in government ministries and private organizations with the Group of Seven, the World Bank, the Inter-

American Development Bank and the U.S. Agency for International Development, among others, to find ways to use the forest without killing the flora or fauna. At German initiative, the G-7 countries jointly pledged \$250 million for Amazon conservation at a 1991 Houston summit.

To date the United States has committed \$7.5 million, which supports Amazon studies in centers like the Goeldi Institute, a similar government agency in Manaus, and various state-level environmental organizations. About \$1 million in USAID funds are spent annually to train Brazilians in park management and another \$100,000 to design low-impact systems for extractive industries.

With all this help, it would be comforting to believe that Amazonian deforestation is reversible, but for the moment, the best that can be hoped for is to slow the rate. The odds are not on the side of the conservationists. ■

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# FROM INDIANA TO INDIA

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FACING FEDERAL INERTIA, GLOBAL MARKET OPPORTUNITIES,  
U.S. STATES WOO FOREIGN INVESTORS, TRADE PARTNERS

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By DAG RYEN

**O**n Virginia Gov. George Allen's whirlwind tour of Europe last fall, he negotiated with trade officials in the Czech Republic to urge reductions in its tariffs on paper products. The following day he discussed the privatization of Hungarian electric power plants with development officials in Budapest. In Austria 24 hours later, he met with the newly elected first woman president of an Austrian canton. And two days later the governor sat down with Polish business owners to discuss import quotas on American poultry.

This kind of commercial and cultural diplomacy, once considered the sole purview of the diplomatic corps, is no longer reserved for federal insiders. It has become stock-in-trade for chief executives of American states and is only one of many examples of burgeoning international activity at the state level. Before the year is out, nearly three-fourths of American governors will have traveled abroad for substantive talks on issues affecting their states. Foreign travel is a consequence of the times. As Gov. Allen's press secretary Ken Stroupe said, "It's so very competitive. If the governor doesn't get involved, you're going to be left behind in the dust."

The topics foremost on governors' minds are tourism promotion, export promotion, cultural

exchanges and foreign direct investment, areas that for decades have been considered the responsibility of the federal government. But increasingly, issues such as trade barriers, immigration, environmental and health care issues are on states' agendas.

For example, in the Czech Republic, Allen was called upon to argue for tariff changes that would allow increased exports of poly-coated paperboard products manufactured in Virginia, enabling those exporters to compete with German and Scandinavian manufacturers. This type of activity presumes an in-depth knowledge of industry sectors obtained primarily through an ongoing dialogue with representatives of specific enterprises in the home jurisdiction.

The Allen example is only one of many indications that a new regional dynamic is at work in the international arena. Small, subnational jurisdictions — states, cities, regions — are waking up to their global potential and their global responsibilities. Increasingly they are forging ties with each other and with neighboring areas in other nations to take advantage of special opportunities in international commerce and in cultural and educational exchanges.

**T**he extent to which states are prepared to meet the global challenge of the coming millennium varies greatly. A few states began testing the waters of international contact early and have accumulated more than two decades of experience. Others have just begun to explore the opportunities that exist for

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*Dag Ryen is senior fellow at The Council of State Governments in Lexington, Ky.*

greater cooperation with foreign friends and business partners. Those few states that have relatively sophisticated track records need only to maintain a commitment to international activities. Less experienced sister states are still struggling with basic questions of cultural awareness and resource identification.

State international activities to date fall into three categories: direct gubernatorial initiative, international trade offices (including overseas offices) and a variety of educational and outreach programs.

The first concrete forays into the international arena were made by governors who saw a direct connection between the economic health of their jurisdictions and the growth of global trade. Beginning slowly in the 1970s, and growing steadily since then, governors and their staffs actively sought markets for state goods and services and courted foreign investors. At first, state officials were content to explore traditional markets such as Europe and Canada. But by the mid-1980s, states were expanding their horizons and seeking contacts in emerging markets. In 1987, 40 governors made 87 overseas trade trips, covering every continent. Among the target markets during the dawning of perestroika was the Soviet Union. Iowa's Gov. Terry Branstad, for instance, after hosting a U.S.-Soviet trade conference that year, traveled to Stavropol to promote the sale of Iowa food processing equipment and agricultural products. While there, he also signed the first U.S.-Soviet sister state agreement.

Efforts initiated in governors' mansions have had a significant impact on foreign investment in the U.S. economy, particularly in determining where foreign monies ended up. In the 1980s, Ohio lured a Honda factory to Marysville, Tenn., and landed a Nissan plant in Smyrna, and Kentucky convinced Toyota to build a giant manufacturing facility in Georgetown. In the negotiations for these deals, states were able to offer tax credits, road improvements and other incentives unavailable to federal officials. In the Kentucky example, the incentive package to Toyota, worth \$147 million, gave the state a 30.5 percent annual return, according to a University of Kentucky analysis. The Georgetown plant today employs 6,000 people and created 15,000 more jobs statewide.

States continue to try to replicate such successes. A BMW facility recently came on line in South Carolina and a Mercedes plant is now under construction in Alabama following 18 months of intense and sensitive negotiations. To secure the \$300 million investment, Alabama officials offered an incentive package worth an estimated \$250 million.

Critics of the fierce competition for these major foreign direct-investment projects claim that states are giving away the farm. Incentive packages are becoming so staggeringly large that the net gain is almost negligible and takes decades to realize. Moreover, for every state that wins, several lose. The losers must write off staff time and other expenses. Several governors, including Jim Edgar of Illinois, John Engler of Michigan and George Voinovich of Ohio, have called for an end to the bidding wars. They suggest that states could achieve more by working together in regional alliances.

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*Once considered the sole purview of the diplomatic corps, this kind of commercial and cultural diplomacy is becoming the stock-in-trade of U.S. states.*

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A trend toward cooperation is also apparent in the second area of state responses: international trade offices. Almost every state operates some form of export promotion program, in most cases housed within the state's economic development or commerce department. They range from North Dakota's one-person office to the extensive programs of Indiana, Illinois and Ohio with more than 30 full-time employees and annual budgets of \$2 million to \$3 million.

The services provided by state trade offices, though varying greatly in quality and quantity, are surprisingly similar in content. Most states with a trade promotion program offer services within four basic areas: technical assistance to private firms (counseling, matchmaking, seminars on export logistics); trade events (trade missions, catalog shows); financial assistance (liaison with federal or state loan programs and export finance training); and informa-

tion brokering (maintaining trade lead data bases, product directories).

Though many states have more than 10 years' experience in trade promotion, there is no sure-fire approach adopted by all. Arkansas, for instance, maintains a one-on-one focus, assisting individual firms with their export needs. On the other hand, after years of focusing on direct assistance to specific firms, the Oregon International Trade Division now has a more flexible approach, trying to reach a broader group of potential exporters.

Florida is restructuring its programs through Enterprise Florida, a non-profit institution expected to wean itself gradually from state funding. Other states, such as Vermont and Virginia, established public/private authorities for trade activities. Conversely, Massachusetts is exerting greater state control over export-promotion programs. After years of working within a public/private framework

and through the Massachusetts World Trade Center, the state is expanding its Department of Commerce activities to include a trade promotion office, though officials insist cooperation with the World Trade Center, the Massachusetts Port Authority and other institutions will be a big part of their international activities.

An important adjunct to state export promotion offices is overseas representation. Virginia officials were ridiculed by the press and political opponents when they opened the first overseas state office in Europe in 1969. Today however, 39 states and Puerto Rico operate an average of four overseas offices each, including representation in such exotic places as Johannesburg, Kuala Lumpur, Guadalajara, Santiago and Vladivostok.

A final area of state response is outreach. Through a series of programs, ranging from sister-city agreements to educational exchanges, states are rein-

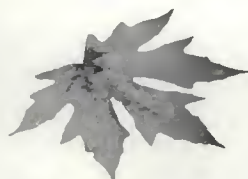
forcing global ties. In most cases, such initiatives serve merely to buttress the more basic economic development mission of state governments. But many officials are convinced that success in the global marketplace depends on the wise management of extensive networks of global contacts.

Another area of intensified state activity is improving relations with neighboring Canadian provinces and Mexican states. In the past decade, there has been a veritable explosion of cross-border cooperation, prompted in part by the creation of NAFTA, but also in response to policy concerns such as water pollution, public health or wildlife management — all blind to political boundaries. In recent years, American states and Canadian provinces have set up various cooperative arrangements to control the spread of zebra mussels in the Great Lakes basin or Eastern spruce bud-



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worm in Northern forests, while American and Mexican states have entered into agreements to monitor the spread of tuberculosis along the U.S.-Mexico border. Other agreements seek to streamline normal contact and commerce between neighbors. They cover issues such as transportation, taxation, hydro-electric facilities, hunting and wildlife management, educational and cultural exchanges, air and water pollution, fire protection, vehicle safety standards, waste disposal, tourism and interjudicial assistance. In the process, they are negotiating true policy alliances.

The acceleration of contacts with foreign neighbors is testing the limits of traditional legal standards. On first reading, it would appear that the U.S. Constitution strictly limits states from concluding formal agreements with foreign entities. However, Supreme Court rulings have greatly expanded state options.

Several factors have contributed to the expansion of state activity in the international arena. One strong catalyst is federal inertia. Relatively speaking, the level of intensity of federal assistance has declined over the past decade. Severe cuts in the 150 Account (federal funding for foreign affairs) and legislative gridlock have precluded additional federal economic development initiatives. Moreover, a new political philosophy has descended on Washington, one which gives the states greater responsibility for what former budget director Alice Rivlin has called the productivity agenda. Officials in Washington are deliberately stepping aside to make way for state programs in job creation and economic development.

A second factor in the equation is the information revolution. State officials have become active internationally because, perhaps for the first time, they have access to the information they need to be successful actors on the

international stage. Data once held on a proprietary basis by national governments and independent organizations is now readily available. What's more, it is available through high-tech sources that place a premium on speed and ease of access. State officials can tap into these resources and craft specific proposals to meet local and regional needs.

Also prompting state involvement is the global movement toward free trade and the emergence of the global marketplace. The negotiation of comprehensive trade agreements and creation of free-trade blocs has created an environment conducive to more individualized action. Reduced trade barriers have made state-government intervention in economic development simpler and more effective.

A fourth and final factor is a general evolution and sophistication of the ability and general expertise of state decision-makers to respond to policy challenges. The growing complexity of

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the world in general and the public's intensified demand for accountability at all levels of public service have helped drive this trend.

**L**ike it or not, American states are subject to global forces and states are scrambling to stay abreast of these developments. There have been some early successes, but many hurdles remain. To date only limited efforts have been made to coordinate state leaders' activities with federal policy. Individual governors often consult with embassy officials and the U.S. Trade Representative's Office has established a contact network for issues that surface during free-trade negotiations, but communications between the two levels of government on these issues are largely haphazard.

While there is ample goodwill among state officials not to tread on toes of national officials, potential for conflict between policy goals at both

levels exists. A recent example is the extensive support states have given to the Republic of China's request for status at the United Nations. In direct contradiction to the federal government's long-standing "one China" policy, the legislatures in 42 American states have passed resolutions supporting the Republic of China's bid to sit in the world body.

Another case of states exerting influence on global politics came during the South African disinvestment campaign of the 1980s and reinvestment in the early 1990s. By withholding their considerable investment potential in the form of billions of dollars in pension and trust funds, the states exerted strong pressure on the South African government to move ahead with reform. And in the wake of the abolition of apartheid, states were among the first to reward the new South African government, in some cases prior to official revocation of the U.S. boycott.

On the other hand, the potential benefits of state-federal coordination are enormous, as evidenced by the success of recent initiatives by Puerto Rico's Gov. Pedro Rossello to assist in the economic and political recovery of Haiti. With the blessing of President Bill Clinton and partial funding from U.S. government agencies, Puerto Rico has conducted a series of technical-assistance programs for Haitian officials in health care, transportation, public works and communications.

There's a long way to go before such close-knit cooperative efforts become commonplace, but they're clearly the wave of the future. In the complex world of the 21st century, there will be ample opportunity for all levels of government — federal, state and local — to become intimately involved in international activities. The real challenge for leaders at all levels will be to ensure that these efforts are complementary, not contradictory. ■

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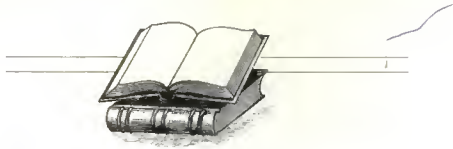
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## BOOKS

### 'INSIDER' ACCOUNT IGNORES CIA ERRORS

**Secret Agencies: U.S.  
Intelligence in a Hostile World**  
*Loch K. Johnson, Yale University  
Press, 1996, hardcover, \$30, 262  
pages.*

BY MELVIN GOODMAN

Loch K. Johnson has been in the intelligence community's catbird seat for two decades, holding several high-level staff jobs on Capitol Hill, including, most recently, senior staffer with the Aspin-Brown Commission, which assessed U.S. intelligence after the Cold War. Though Johnson analyzed hundreds of pages of classified information and interviewed dozens of senior CIA officials for this book, he wrote a disappointing analysis.

Johnson sets out to provide an insider's account of the failure of congressional intelligence committees to monitor the intelligence community. In doing so, he accuses the oversight committees of laziness, lassitude and an obsequious attitude toward the CIA, which he says led committee members "to toss mostly softballs" to CIA witnesses.

But the author himself becomes part of what he calls the intelligence committees' "farrago of sycophancy" toward the CIA by ignoring its efforts to resist reform for the last decade and by relying on informa-

tion provided to him by the CIA instead of doing his own, more difficult research. As a result, he commits several sins of omission.

He minimizes the CIA's failure to accurately record and predict the dissolution of the Soviet Union, one of its most costly mistakes. Instead, he becomes a cheerleader for the CIA's reporting record on the Soviet Union and ignores that the CIA never discussed Soviet problems with any sense of urgency. Johnson relies on carefully selected documents that the CIA itself has declassified to argue that the Reagan and Bush administrations ignored warnings about the evidence of genuine reform inside the Soviet Union.

At the same time, he reports that Deputy CIA Director Robert M. Gates watched his boss, CIA Director William Casey "on issue after issue, sit in meetings and present intelligence framed in terms of the policy he wanted pursued," but never explains why Gates didn't challenge Casey on the misleading testimony. Similarly, Johnson praises the CIA for producing national intelligence estimates with footnotes and dissents, but fails to note that few dissents were allowed under Casey and Gates.

Though Johnson calls for restraint in the use of covert action, he doesn't understand the issue. He terms "successful" the CIA support of the anti-communist coups in 1953 in Iran and in 1954 in Guatemala, as well as its support of the Afghan

resistance in the 1980s, which ignores these covert actions' long-term failures. The intense unpopularity of the Shah after the CIA helped him to power led to the Islamic revolution of 1979. Guatemala became the home of the most brutal military regime in Central America and CIA officers failed to pass on reports of terrorist activities by Guatemalan military officers. Afghanistan has become a land of death and misery, and weapons supplied to the mujahideen are fueling conflicts in Bosnia and the Sudan.

Johnson does not suggest any serious reforms or remedies for the CIA and appears oblivious that its budget now exceeds that of the State Department. Other than a call for fewer covert actions, Johnson prefers CIA business as usual. The national security community sorely needs a serious book on the subject of intelligence, but Johnson's cheerleading account is not the one.

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*Melvin A. Goodman was an analyst with State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research in the 1970s and with the CIA in the 1980s. A professor at the National War College and a senior fellow at the Center for International Policy, he is the author of The Wars of Eduard Shevardnadze. He also wrote Gorbachev's Retreat, published in 1991, and The End of Superpower Conflict in the Third World, published in 1992.*



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## BOOKS

### BAPTIST CHILD'S VIEW OF MUSLIM PAKISTAN

#### Some Far and Distant Place

Jonathan S. Addleton, *University of Georgia Press, 1997, hardcover, \$29.95, 232 pages.*

BY DANIEL O. NEWBERRY

The dust cover to Jonathan Addleton's memoir of his childhood and adolescence in Pakistan carries the label "Muslim-Christian encounters through the eyes of a child." There is precious little in the book about such encounters between the Conservative Baptist missionary family into which Addleton, now an FSO with the U.S. Agency for International Development, was born and their Pakistani neighbors in the little town of Shikarpur in the province of Sind. The potential for conflict, however, was ever present for this American family struggling to "witness" a population of Muslims who stubbornly resisted proselytization except for a handful of lower-caste "sweeper" converts who had simply traded one form of discrimination for another. Both "sweepers" and Christians were looked down upon by higher-caste Muslims.

Jonathan Addleton does a fine job of recreating his childhood from a young boy's perspective. For more sophisticated views, he draws on the extensive correspondence and record-keeping of his parents. Little Jonathan, with his brother and his sister, seems to have accepted unquestioningly their peculiar, isolated situation and the potential for martyrdom that always lurked beneath the surface of their lives.

At age 6, Jonathan was shipped off to boarding school at the

Murree Christian School near Rawalpindi. His memoir, therefore, is occupied as much with his school experiences with other missionary children as with returning for vacations with his stoic, but loving family.

The reader may yearn for more attention to the young Addleton's contacts and his presumed friendships with his Muslim contemporaries. The best passages in this regard are those that deal with the anxieties of neighboring Bengali families during the Pakistan-Bangladesh war of 1971.

What then is the relevance for Foreign Service readers? There are finely detailed lessons to remind parents what nightmares may lurk in the minds of children. For Foreign Service youngsters or for those who are trying to reconcile puzzles from a remembered childhood, there are touching accounts of parents' concern for their children in difficult circumstances where a change of career or location are not options. In other words, some non-Foreign Service families have had it worse and have nevertheless sorted it out into a coherent view of themselves and the world.

Jonathan Addleton, now a veteran of World Bank and USAID missions, is today "witnessing" in a way perhaps more comprehensible to Foreign Service families.

*Daniel O. Newberry, a retired FSO, served in the Foreign Service for 37 years, including 3 tours in Turkey and as charge d'affaires in Bangladesh from 1972 to 1974. He is editor of the recently published book, The Foreign Service Reader, Selected Articles from 77 Years of the Foreign Service Journal.*



## IN MEMORY

**Estella Barbara Osborne Hermanson**, 81, widow of retired FSO John Herbert Hermanson, died of cancer Sept. 28 at her home in Potomac, Md.

Born in Georgetown, British Guiana (now Guyana), Mrs. Hermanson was educated in England and the Netherlands. She was an assistant to the commercial attaché at U.S. Embassy in London before and during World War II. She accompanied her husband on assignments to South Africa, Afghanistan, France, Morocco, the Ivory Coast and Washington. After Mr. Hermanson's retirement, they lived in Hove, England, until 1973, when they returned to the Washington area. Mr. Hermanson died in 1980.

Survivors include two daughters, Judith Hermanson Ogilvie of Potomac and Barbara Christina Klein of Philadelphia; two sisters, Thelma Lucy Osborne Penny of Hampshire, England, and Irma Ella Osborne Hort of Sussex, England; a brother, Charles Bernard Osborne, of London; two granddaughters; and a step-granddaughter.

**Gloria Maria Jordan**, 52, an FSO who worked on the Panama desk at the State Department, died of lung cancer Jan. 25 at her home in McLean, Va.

Mrs. Jordan joined the Foreign Service in 1988, after accompanying her FSO husband, Robert E. Jordan, to Foreign Service assignments in Peru, Panama and

Ecuador. She was later posted to the Philippines and Egypt.

A native of Havana, she moved to Miami in 1961. She graduated from the University of Miami and received a master's degree from the University of Texas. She later taught Spanish at the Foreign Service Institute in Washington, D.C.

Survivors include her husband of McLean; a son, Daniel R. Jordan, of McLean; a brother, Julio Otazo, of San Antonio; and two sisters, Maria Diaz-Pou and Alicia Sorondo, both of Miami.

**Dorothy Spofford Kretzman**, 90, a librarian who spent most of her career at overseas posts of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), died of hear failure on Jan. 21 in Holland, Pa.

A native of Haverill, Mass., Mrs. Kretzman graduated from Simmons College in Boston and worked at the library of Brown University. She then joined USIA, working in USIA libraries in Sweden, Yugoslavia, India, Pakistan, Egypt and Japan. After retiring from USIA, she worked at the public library in Mystic, Conn.

In 1980, she married FSO Edwin M.J. Kretzman. After their retirement, they lived in Providence, R.I., until Mr. Kretzman's death in 1988.

Survivors include two sisters, Ethel S. Cole of East Hampstead, N.H., and Barbara S. Haynes of White River Junction, N.H.; a stepson, Franz W. Kretzman, of Wheaton, Md.; a former daughter-in-law, Judith C. Kretzman,

of Washington; and two step-grandchildren.

**Philip T. Lincoln**, 54, the U.S. consul general in Guangzhou, China, died in an automobile accident Dec. 2 while traveling on official business in the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.

Mr. Lincoln's Foreign Service career included postings to Beijing, Taipei, Seoul, Sydney and Washington, D.C., where he was on the faculty of the National Defense University.

Survivors include his wife, Jane, of McLean, Va.; and three children, Pamela Lincoln of Hartford, Conn.; David Lincoln of Arlington, Va.; and Diane Lincoln of McLean, Va.

**Robert S. Lindquist**, 73, of Bethesda, Md., a retired FSO, died Dec. 7 of Alzheimer's disease.

He served as an officer in the United States Marine Corps during World War II and the Korean War. Following World War II, he worked for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the International Refugee Organization before joining the Foreign Service in 1951. He served in Syria, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand.

After retiring from the Foreign Service in 1975, Mr. Lindquist worked for Chase Manhattan Bank in Hong Kong and Dow Banking Corporation in both Hong Kong and Singapore.



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Survivors include two daughters, Ann Lindquist of Bethesda, Md., and Jean Wittman of Frederick, Md.; and one grandson.



**Pardee Lowe**, 92, a retired FSO for USIA, died Sept. 24 after suffering a stroke in Menlo Park, Calif.

He graduated from Stanford University and received his MBA at Harvard University before serving in Burma and India for the U.S. Army during World War II. After several years in various business ventures, he joined USIA's China desk in 1957. Later, he became cultural attache at U.S. Embassy Taiwan and worked for the State Department. After retiring from the Foreign Service in 1972, he became a business consultant, dividing his time between California and Taiwan.

Mr. Lowe is survived by his wife, Anita; a son, Pardee Jr., of Falls Church, Va.; a daughter, Patricia, of Menlo Park; four grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.



**Eleanor M. Mallory**, 83, the widow of ambassador Lester D. Mallory, died Dec. 11 in Lake Forest, Calif.

Born in Mexico City, she was raised in Germany and Mexico. In 1946 she married Lester Mallory, an FSO, and accompanied him to postings in Cuba, Argentina, Jordan, Guatemala and Washington, D.C., before the couple retired to southern California.

Survivors include a son, Lester D. Mallory Jr., of Houston, Texas, and a sister, Carmen Struck de Ollivier, of Mexico City.



**Robert J. McCloskey**, 74, a retired FSO and former ambassador, died of leukemia Nov. 28 in Chevy Chase, Md.

A native of Philadelphia and a graduate of Temple University who also studied at The George Washington University, Mr. McCloskey joined the Foreign Service in 1955. He served as State Department spokesman during the Johnson and Nixon administrations, as special assistant to the secretary of State and as deputy assistant secretary of State. He was a three-time ambassador, serving in Cyprus, the Netherlands and Greece. He also served as ambassador at large and as assistant secretary of State for congressional relations.

Retiring from the Foreign Service in 1981, he became ombudsman of The Washington Post for two years and then senior vice president of Catholic Relief Services in New York and editor of the Mediterranean Quarterly in Washington.

Survivors include his wife, Anne Phelan, of Chevy Chase, Md.; two daughters, Lisa M. Keeler of Richmond, Va. and Andre Taylor McCloskey of Shelburne, Vt.; and one granddaughter.



**Ralph J. McGuire**, 76, a retired FSO and former ambassador, died of cancer Nov. 21 in Austin, Texas.

A graduate of The George Washington University, where he also earned a master's degree, Mr. McGuire joined the Foreign Service in 1948 after serving as a naval aviator during World War II. After several FS assignments in the Far East, he earned a degree at the National War College in 1961 and went on to assignments in Paris, Mali and Washington, D.C., where he was director of the Office of NATO Affairs at the Department of State. In 1973, he was named ambassador to Mali, and retired from the Foreign Service in 1976.

Survivors include his wife, Rosemary, of Austin; a daughter, Kathleen Berst, of Takoma Park, Md.; and a granddaughter. He was preceded in death by a son.

**James P. Murphy**, of Calumet, Okla., a retired FSO, died Nov. 12.

He attended the University of Notre Dame, receiving a graduate degree in U.S. diplomatic history in 1962, before joining the Foreign Service that same year. He also attended the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. His Foreign Service postings included Paris, Laos, La Paz, Lima, Panama City, Canberra and Manila.

Survivors include his wife, Irene; two daughters, Elizabeth and Wesley; and three grandchildren.



**J. Richard Thurman**, 52, a retired FSO, died Jan. 25 of a heart attack while he was walking his dog near his Silver Spring home.

Mr. Thurman graduated from Oklahoma City University and did graduate work in political science at Vanderbilt University. He retired from the Foreign Service last year after 29 years of service in Washington, D.C., and as political officer in embassies in Chile, Turkey, Cyprus, Mexico and Brazil.

Survivors include his wife, Judith, of Silver Spring; two children, Alexander of Brooklyn, N.Y., and Diana of Santa Barbara, Calif.; his parents, Kelly and Mary Thurman of Winter Haven, Fla.; and a brother, Roger, of Richmond, Ky.



**Leslie C. Tihany**, 85, a retired FSO, academician and Congregational minister, died of a stroke on Feb. 7, in Cincinnati, Ohio. Mr. Tihany served in diplomatic and consular positions in India, Lebanon, Vietnam, Belgium, Austria and Washington.

Born in Hungary to a long line of Protestant pastors, he came to the United States in 1930 as an exchange student, later became a U.S. citizen and joined the U.S. Army.

He studied at Franklin and Marshall College, Northwestern

University, the University of Chicago, Harvard University, the University of Budapest, the University of Helsinki and the Sorbonne, earning two doctoral degrees and several other advanced degrees. He held faculty appointments at Harvard, the University of Denver, American University, Northern Kentucky University and the University of Cincinnati.

Survivors include his wife, Maria; a daughter, Elizabeth Tihany, of New York; a son, Richard Tihany, of New York; a stepson, Peter Dekom, of Beverly Hills, Calif.; and three grandchildren.



**Janet L. Woodward**, wife of retired FSO Paul E. Woodward, died of heart failure on Dec. 21 at the family home in Annapolis, Md.

Mrs. Woodward accompanied her husband to various posts in Latin America, as well as to Pakistan and Thailand. She enjoyed working with children, and taught at various American schools abroad.

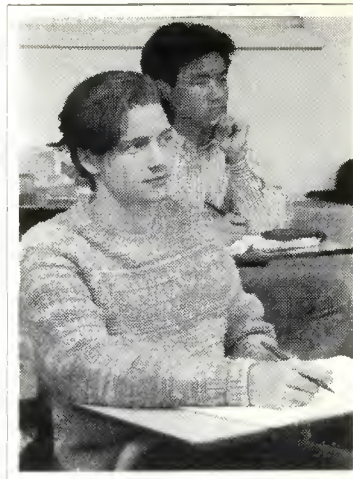
Survivors include her husband and three sons, Paul Jr., Robert and Geoffrey, all of Virginia.



**Richard C. Wooton**, 80, a retired FSO, died Dec. 6 of Alzheimer's and Parkinson's diseases in Arlington, Va.

Mr. Wooton began his government career in 1947, working in Germany on re-education programs for the U.S. military government. In 1949 he transferred to the Foreign Service and USIA, serving at various posts in Europe and South America. He retired in 1977.

Survivors include his wife, Billie, and a son, Flaud, both of Arlington; four daughters, Valerie Stine of Frederick, Md., Natalie Oginz of South Pasadena, Calif., Stephanie Horstman of Middletown, Md., and Kira Wooton of Arlington; and six grandchildren. ■



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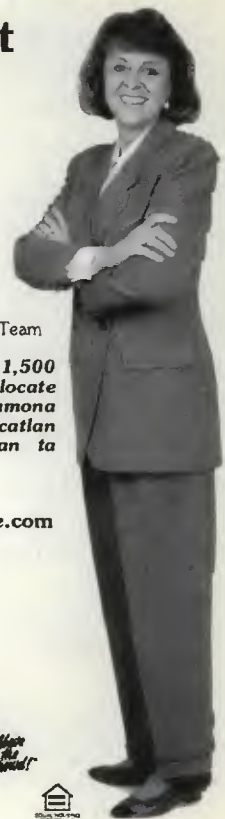
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# POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

## *Last Man Ashore in Kenya*

By BONNIE KATHRYN SCHMIEL

The sun beat down on us as we stood on the docks watching the two U.S. Navy ships depart. We waved and smiled as the destroyer and frigate that had dwarfed us alongside the pier carefully maneuvered away from the pilings. Making wide, arching turns they passed through the harbor entrance, and we watched until the white-uniformed officers on the docks became glittering specks in the distance.

As we returned to the car, we were flooded with mixed feelings of pride, patriotism, homesickness and anxiety. On a five-month cruise of the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf, the ships had just ended a liberty visit in Mombasa. These week-long visits were exciting times, full of social events, sports competitions and goodwill volunteering. Open houses on board the ships allowed hundreds of Kenyans to get a firsthand look at the U.S. Navy. Baseball and soccer games brought together cheering crowds of locals and Americans. Sailors generously donated their free time to paint orphanages and schools.

So as we got into the car, I was feeling nostalgia as well as concern. The visit had gone well, but now the city's streets seemed empty without clusters of American sailors on every corner.

There was, however, one cause for concern. Just as the ships were prepar-

---

*Bonnie Kathryn Schmiel, a Foreign Service spouse, is a freelance writer in Springfield, Va. The Schmiels were in Kenya from 1986 to 1988. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."*

*One of the  
American Navy  
seamen was  
missing. Where  
had he gone?*

ing to leave, my husband Gene, then the principal officer at the U.S. consulate, had received word that three of the sailors were missing. Although they had been required to be on board several hours before sailing, the three had not been present for roll call. The next day, we received word that two of the men had been located, safe and sound, aboard their ship; the third, however, was definitely AWOL.

At about 11 on the third evening after the ships had sailed, my husband and I were preparing for bed when we heard a gentle knock at the kitchen door. Unaccustomed to visits at the house at that hour, we opened the door cautiously. Behind our night guard Abdul and another uniformed Kenyan, stood a very sunburned, very weary young man in shorts, a t-shirt and scuffed loafers. The uniformed man turned out to be a guard from a nearby beach resort hotel. The sunburned one was the missing sailor, alive and, if not exactly well, at

least on his feet and able to communicate.

Embarrassed and frightened, the sailor spent the night in our guest room and the next few at a modest downtown hotel, "enjoying" a strictly supervised extension of his liberty visit, until transportation could be arranged to return him to his ship. We knew the sailor's expenses for his "vacation" might be deducted from his pay, but we never heard if that happened.

We did, however, learn why he had missed the boat. Seduced by the tropical sun, vast stretches of sandy beaches, and draught after draught of Tusker beer, the sailor had completely lost track of time and fallen asleep on the sand. As darkness fell and the tide rolled in, he woke up briefly and made his way toward the palm trees at the edge of the beach, crawled into a tool shed, and slept some more. When his desire for sleep was sated, he finally woke up, only to discover his ship had sailed without him. Fearful and unsure of what to do, he had wandered the beach for two days until he was found by the hotel guard.

We never saw or heard of the young man again, and the thousands of other sailors who visited Mombasa during our years in Kenya have become distant recollections. But the sunburned face of the missing sailor, the last man ashore during that Navy visit, lives on amid our memories of beautiful Kenya, with its shimmering seas, brilliant sunshine and endless stretches of white sand. It has always been clear to me why he overstayed his visit. ■

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