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JOURNAL

THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

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*Web of Transnational Groups Threatens Globe's Economies*

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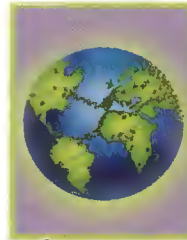
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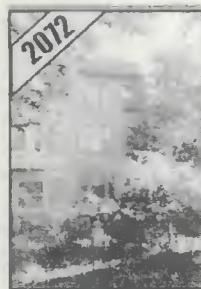


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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *Whither Professionalism?*

BY ALPHONSE F. LA PORTA

Professionalism is one of the three pillars on which AFSA stands. The other two are labor-management relations (our union responsibilities) and service to members. Foreign Service professionalism, as we in AFSA are keenly aware, has been under threat for some time. The reasons are many and have been explained many times in these pages.

But what is the prognosis? There is new leadership at State, most importantly a secretary of State who is determined to restore the department and the Foreign Service to their central, if not preeminent, role in our nation's foreign relations. The new under secretaries are being challenged to refashion and reinvigorate the department with expanded functions in public diplomacy and arms control. The reorganization of "New State" will consume our energies for half a decade at least.

For all members of the Foreign Service, there are also challenges and responsibilities. The first is to uphold standards of integrity and excellence of performance. The second is to equip ourselves mentally and acquire new skills for change, especially the transnational issues that increasingly will overtake, but not necessarily replace, the bilateral dialogue between nations. And third, we must use technology wisely, adopt new and more decentralized organizational forms, and adjust to diversity—as distinct from hierarchical direction—in how diplomacy is conducted.

*Alphonse F. La Porta is president of the American Foreign Service Association.*

*The reorganization  
of "New State" will  
consume our  
energies for half a  
decade at least.*

There are also touchstones for the Foreign Service: practices and institutions that have served us well. AFSA must defend the uniqueness and rationale of the Foreign Service Act, making it work better for all of the foreign affairs agencies, improve the merit promotion system and egress for low performance, and reduce bureaucratic tinkering.

Additionally, we must:

■ Defend State's written and oral examination system against management whims and political tampering.

■ Value diversity in recruitment and hiring by ensuring that the examination system has the widest possible reach to attract young Americans from all walks of life and all parts of the country.

■ Improve our language and area expertise, while developing new talents in global and transnational diplomacy. To ensure that our posts are staffed properly, we must maintain an effective system of language study and

assignment incentives, including allowances for hardship service and equalizers for locality pay.

■ Develop new career incentives at the mid-level to ensure greater equity in the assignment process, especially for specialists, and implement an effective and less bureaucratic cross-functional program to ensure that, upon reaching the threshold of the Senior Foreign Service, our officers have the right kinds of management and other experience.

■ Institute a professional certification process, especially at the senior level, preferably based on training (management training is still woefully inadequate) and excursions outside one's home agency. In short, the Senior Foreign Service must become more interoperable, to use a military term, in ensuring that the best Foreign Service generalists and specialists occupy our most responsible positions, irrespective of their agency affiliation, functional experience or specialization.

This is a tall order. AFSA looks forward to joining the new director general of the Foreign Service, Ambassador Edward "Skip" Gnehm, in pursuing this professional agenda. The pressure of world events, coupled with domestic politics and declining budgetary resources, is too intense to take a relaxed view. AFSA and all members of the Foreign Service must work forthrightly and persistently to achieve higher standards of professionalism. ■

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# LETTERS

*To the Editor:*

That was a marvelous cover [by freelance artist Jo Rivers] of the *Foreign Service Journal* ("Bush, Diplomat Extraordinaire: The Legacy of Ex-President, VP and Envoy to U.N., China," June-July *Journal*).

I wonder if I could obtain the original art work, for it would make a very nice and welcome addition to the George Bush Presidential Library at Texas A&M University.

In any event, thanks for making a cover picture that has a lot of meaning for me.

*George Bush  
Houston, Tex.*



*To the Editor:*

By literary as well as journalistic standards, the article on George Bush is a true gem ("The Political Years, 1964-1993," Karen Krebsbach, June-July *Journal*).

What currently passes for journalism too often consists of an indiscriminate listing of facts (and presumed facts), with no attempt to place them in an appropriate historical or social con-

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text. Similarly, much of today's writing is pedestrian, seldom engaging the reader's interest, much less awakening an appreciation of the style, wording and treatment of the theme. In this essay, Krebsbach has managed not only to select pertinent facts from the mass available, but also to convey them in a smooth, flowing narrative.

Please accept my congratulations on this accomplishment and my thanks for the pleasure that reading this article provided me.

*S.I. Nadler  
Retired FSO  
Washington, D.C.*



*To the Editor:*

We were most dismayed at the American Foreign Service Association's decision to recognize [Acting Deputy Chief of Mission] Peter Whaley of U.S. Embassy Kigali with one of its awards (June-July *Journal*). We are familiar with Whaley's role in the current crisis in Congo and feel that, far from representing the best traditions of American diplomacy, his performance obscured a grave humanitarian emergency and thwarted a rescue for its refugee victims.

Throughout the past nine months, Whaley has repeatedly denied that large numbers of refugees were left behind after a mass repatriation last fall and that they were — and still are — being massacred or have succumbed to disease while fleeing the rebellion. However, that number certainly in the tens of thousands.

What makes the story especially tragic is that for a brief period last autumn, the international community was on the verge of deploying a rescue mission to channel refugees back to Rwanda and keep them from dispersing into Congo. The resistance of Whaley and his embassy was a major factor in torpedoing the operation.

The position of U.S. Embassy Kigali has consistently echoed that of the Rwandan government. Whaley and Ambassador [Robert E.] Gribbin have denied the substantial involvement of the Rwandan Army (RPA) in the rebellion up to the point when Vice President and Defense Minister Paul Kagame himself recently admitted it — and long past the point when evidence of an RPA role was overwhelming.

It will be a very bitter irony if Whaley's career is rewarded for this performance.

*Lionel A. Rosenblatt  
President  
Refugees International  
Washington, D.C.*



*To the Editor:*

If Arthur Lezin's mottled understanding of Zaire's history prompted the rash of stereotypes he employs to describe that troubled land, those of us who served there have a great deal to reconsider ("Mobutu and Me," June-July *Journal*). In fact, Joseph Kasavubu was the country's first president, an ally of Mobutu Sese Seko until deposed along with Moise

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LETTERS

Tshombe in November 1965. The self-proclaimed guide added the grandiloquent mouthful of a title after that, one of the first elements in creating a personal cult and the *authenticité* of the early 1970s.

James J. Hogan  
Cultural Attache  
U.S. Embassy Paris

To the Editor:

Apart from the further impoverishment of the diplomatic establishment — even Sen. Jesse Helms has admitted it will cost more to consolidate the foreign affairs agencies than to let them stay as they are — my main concern about reintegrating these agencies into the Department of State is the administrative problems that will be created (“Turf War Reported Over Consolidation,” “Clippings,” June-July *Journal*).

The Department of State is, by its nature, policy-oriented. Two of the agencies involved, the U.S. Agency for International Development and USIA, are program-oriented. The management side of State has not demonstrated any great aptitude for administering programs.

During my 30 years in government, I spent 25 of them at State and USIA, both in Washington and in the field, as either an FSO or Civil Service officer. It was while doing a stint in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (then in State) and later serving as cultural affairs officer overseas that I became aware of the management problems in the department when programs are being considered rather than policies. That this particular problem had not been solved was admitted by former Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

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## LETTERS

cracy will not necessarily promote efficiency or save money, as many large private sector corporations have learned through bitter experience. But since most people, including those in Congress, do not seem to learn from either their own experience or that of others, the best that can be hoped for from this latest shotgun marriage of different bureaucratic cultures is that the current secretary of State finds a great undersecretary for management who can really cut through the administrative layers and produce a management revolution that will benefit all the reluctant marriage partners.

*Dorothy Dillon  
Retired FSO  
Washington, D.C.*

*To the Editor:*

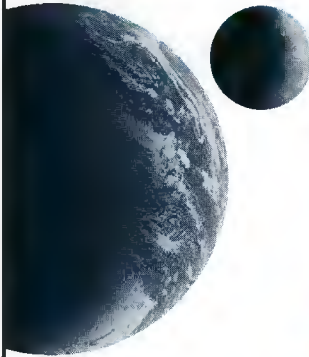
I've been hearing a lot of heavy talk these days about mission statements, professional standards and qualifications. It's time for some historical perspective. Nineteen years ago, I contributed the following paragraph from State's *Foreign Affairs Manual* to *The New Yorker*, which published it on March 13, 1978:

"All Foreign Service officers should embody a balanced blend of integrity, good judgment and decisiveness, initiative, loyalty, intellect, creativity, capacity for growth, courage, sense of priority, appropriate attention to significant detail, ability to work with others, persistence in pursuit of sound objectives, willingness to accept responsibility, industry and productivity, honesty, dependability, self-reliance, adaptability, fairness including fair treatment of colleagues and subordinates, honor, dignity, core skill and functional competence, independence of thought, humane and considerate conduct, acceptance of

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## LETTERS

Service discipline, and an ability to meet reasonable and clear goals. The foregoing list of positive qualities and attributes is not meant to be all-inclusive.'

That's obvious."

*Alfred Leroy Atherton Jr.*  
Retired FSO  
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor:

The differences dividing Turkey and Greece tend to cause current and former colleagues to line up with one or the other. That being the case, the *Journal* ought to require partisan identifications on letters and articles that venture into that minefield. Thus, Alan Berlind might have noted that he had a long tour as deputy chief of mission in Athens in the mid- and late 1980s ("Letters," June-July *Journal*). To be even-handed, I note that I served in Ankara from 1980-1982 and as Turkish desk officer in Washington from 1982-1984.

In his letter in the same issue on things Turkish, Matthew Smith probably "misspoke" by concluding that paragraph with the Turkish phrase *gecmis olsun*, which means "May it pass (quickly)," and is generally used to express the hope that a current misfortune not last. Assuming he wanted to praise our Turkish colleagues on their accomplishments, *tebrik ederim*, or "I congratulate (them)," might have been a better way of doing so.

*Michael W. Cotter*  
Ambassador  
U.S. Embassy Ashgabat

To the Editor:

The failure of the Western powers to prevent the disintegration of Yugoslavia will occupy historians for a

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## LETTERS

long time to come ("Diplomatic Differences in Bosnia," Marshall Freeman Harris, *April Journal*). Why did the Western powers seemingly disregard the national interests of the Serbs?

All of the ethnic groups making up Yugoslavia had what they considered national interests. In those circumstances, peacekeepers presumably would have wanted to know what those interests were, to weigh how they impinged on those of the other different groups. I have found little evidence of this, except in a negative way in the case of the Serbs.

The Serbs have been accused of so many civil deeds that the average interested person is inclined to say that whatever suffering befell them, "They had it coming to them." The conundrum is that critical decisions affecting their national interests were taken before they could be accused of doing anything.

Were the leaders of the Western powers and their advisers ignorant of what were basic Serb national interests? Difficult to believe.

We have also the incredible observation by Warren Zimmermann, a former ambassador to Yugoslavia, in his recently published book, *Origins of a Catastrophe: Yugoslavia and its Destroyers*: "There was no debate in the U.S. government about the causes of the Bosnian war: Everybody knew [Slobodan] Milosevic and [Radovan] Karadzic were the guilty parties." No need to analyze a complicated foreign policy problem, no need to ask questions or to consider the impact in the future of hastily reached conclusions. That may explain a great deal about U.S. problems in dealing with Yugoslavia.

Alex N. Dragnich  
Retired FSO, USIA  
Bowie, Md. ■

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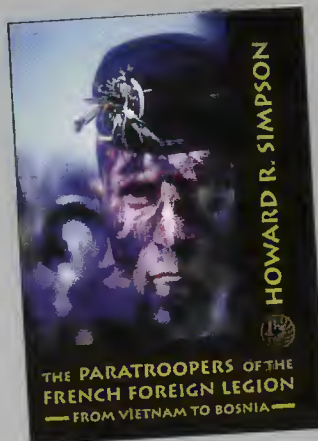
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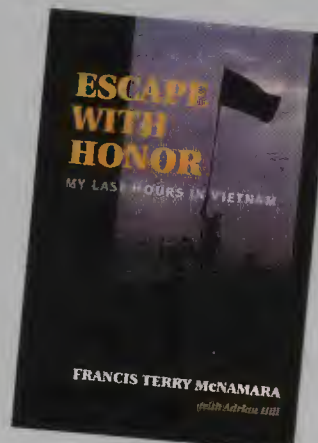
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# CLIPPINGS



*"[U.N. Secretary General Kofi] Annan's reforms are a baby step up this Everest of inefficiencies. ... The U.N. has become a bumbling, bureaucratic, empire-building organization."*

— MORTIMER B.

ZUCKERMAN, EDITOR  
IN CHIEF, U.S. NEWS  
& WORLD REPORT.

AUG. 4

## KENNAN MASTERPIECE ON SOVIETS TURNS 50

Only 50 years ago in July, *Foreign Affairs* published "the most celebrated essay in the history of U.S. diplomacy," setting forth "what was arguably the most effective American doctrine since Monroe's containment," *Wall Street Journal* reporter Walter McDougall noted in a July 28 piece.

Though Director of Policy Planning George F. Kennan had signed the piece as "X" so readers would not mistake it for an official State Department document, journalists soon ferreted out his authorship. "What Mr. Kennan's article did was to give these early Cold War initiatives a name that connoted purpose and coherence, and reassured Congress and the people that U.S.-Soviet rivalry need not lead to a third world war," McDougall wrote.

"Containment was a moderate, prudent approach that promised to defend America, her allies and values, until the Soviet empire's own contradictions brought its internal collapse. ... It took more than four decades, but the Cold War ended that way. And ever since, American pundits have called for a new 'X article' to chart a new U.S. policy in the confusing new era upon us."

## GAO: USIA SPENDS BIG FOR RELOCATION

Among 97 agencies, the U.S. Information Agency reported the third-highest cost of relocating its employees between 1991 through 1995, according to a recent report issued by the Government Accounting Office. The report noted that USIA spent \$47.4 million during that period, compared to \$141.1 million for the U.S. Navy and

\$65.9 million for the Energy Department, according to an Aug. 11 article in the *Federal Times*.

Among the 97 agencies reporting authorized relocations, seven — including the State Department — accounted for 52 percent of the total, according to reporter Meg Walker. No dollar figures were available for State.

For top 23 agencies, which had moved more than 40,000 employees for a total sum of \$363 million during these five years, relocation costs had escalated 88 percent. The GAO, which did the report at the request of Sen. Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, has been asked to devise a system to track each agency's cost of moving employees by 1998.

## HELMS IN HOT SEAT ON NOMINEE WELD

Congress may have been out of session in August, but that didn't stop politicians and pundits from assessing the furor over the refusal of Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., to schedule nomination hearings for former Massachusetts Gov. William Weld, whom President Clinton has chosen as ambassador to Mexico.

Opined George Will in an Aug. 7 column, "August, when time's winged chariot usually slows perceptibly, is occasionally eventful, and this year is enlivened by ... Weld's feistiness. ... In a city of driven strivers, Weld's talent for boredom with politics seems subversive of the social order."

Sen. Trent Lott, R-Miss., the Senate majority leader, is being pressured by his party to rein in Helms, who chairs the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In fact, Indiana Republican Sen. Richard Lugar, as chairman of the



# CLIPPINGS

Agriculture Committee, has threatened to make trouble for Helms's tobacco interests in North Carolina — the nation's largest tobacco-growing state — unless Helms allows a hearing for Weld. In September, the committee is due to begin hearings on parts of a key proposed settlement between the tobacco industry and states' attorneys general.

"Helms has done little to mobilize opposition to Weld," Matthew Rees noted in the Aug. 18 edition of *The Weekly Standard*, and pointed out that Helms has indicated that "the only deal he'll make is for Weld to go to some diplomatic post other than Mexico." Helms opposes Weld because of what he calls his "soft" stance on illegal drugs, his acceptance of gay rights and his pro-choice abortion views.

Uncharacteristic for ambassadorial nominees, Weld quit his day job to lobby for the slot in Washington, and held a press conference to blast Helms, a move that Lott said only "shot his [Weld's] foot off."

*Washington Post* columnist Richard Cohen confessed in an Aug. 7 piece "to having a twinge of shameful admiration for Helms. He's an ornery man, 'tis true, but he's one of the few people in Washington who is untroubled by his national image. He cares only for the voters back home — the white, conservative voters, that is. ... Few will cross him. And that's a pity, because the man is dead wrong on this issue. Nothing in the Constitution gives him the right not to hold a hearing when the president nominates an ambassador."

If Clinton pushes the issue without waiting for Lott to resolve it, a majority of senators could vote to discharge Weld's nomination from the SFRC and bring it to the Senate floor. "But only the

majority leader — Lott — is empowered to call for a vote of the full Senate," Rees wrote. "Will Lott try it? ... I think he'll hang in there" in opposition, says Helms. Maybe, but don't bet the farm on it."

## WHICH PAGES WILL STATE DECLASSIFY?

The State Department has until 2000 to decide which of its 45 million pages of classified documents should be declassified under President Clinton's April 1995 executive order. The order requires that all secret documents 25 years and older be automatically declassified, unless specifically exempted. According to the Aug. 9 issue of *The Economist*, State's classified material is small to other agencies.

"The sheer volume boggles the mind," noted the magazine. "The CIA alone has 166 million pages of at least 25-year-old secrets that fall under Mr. Clinton's order." The Defense Department has 998 million pages, as well as 200,000 rolls of aerial film; the joint chiefs of staff has 4.7 million. "There is so much that, the National Archives reckon, only 1 percent will ever be looked at by researchers," the article said.

## ARTICLE CRITICIZES USAID IN ALMATY

Freelance writer Matt Bivens has penned a devastating account of life at USAID Almaty with "Aboard the Gravy Train: In Kazakstan, the Farce That is U.S. Foreign Aid," published in the August issue of *Harper's Magazine*.

Bivens "turned to the Dark Side" in 1994 when he joined the public relations staff of a USAID contractor.

# 50 YEARS AGO

"Secretary of State George C. Marshall is quietly deploying some of his youngest diplomats to key trouble spots in preparation for the diplomatic battle for peace with the Soviet Union," according to "authoritative sources" to *The Washington Post* of Aug. 6, 1947. *The Post* was quoted in the "Press Comment" column of the September 1947 *Journal*.

"By the end of the summer, the United States in the Balkans, Central Europe and Sweden will have the strongest diplomatic representation in history. The Middle East area has been strengthened, and major changes in China and France appear to be in the near-future book."

A United Press survey reported that, "for the first time in recent peacetime history, career diplomats in top posts abroad far outnumber purely political appointees."

## CLIPPINGS

*"The rest of  
the world ... is  
desperate  
for American  
leadership."*

— CHARLES A.

KUPCHAN,

GEORGETOWN

UNIVERSITY PROFES-

SOR, LOS ANGELES

TIMES, JULY 3

"Yes, almost everyone was winning," Bivens wrote. "Young Americans with fat paychecks, corporations with fat contracts, bureaucrats fattened by theft. Only those involved abstractly were losing: the American taxpayer, whose altruism had been twisted, and the Kazakstanis, who were seeing Soviet corruption thrive on American aid. .. [They] are saddled with hundreds of American 'experts,' and to the humiliating insult of public receiving humanitarian aid is added the injury of not even getting it. Feeling cheated, the bureaucrats scheme, and soon they are steering what's left of foreign aid toward friends or relatives or themselves."

The New York-based contractor, the PR firm of Burson-Marsteller, paid the 26-year-old Bivens an annual package worth \$70,000 — which shot to \$90,000 a few months later. "I was making more money, and working less, than I ever had before,"

he wrote. "I resigned myself to being one of those useless yet well-paid people ... who clutter the earth doing, well, doing nothing."

He describes an Almaty printer's bill for \$69,000 to produce five million pocket calendars. In addition to printing and paper costs, USAID was billed for the printer's office rent, storage, banking services, a "labor fund," medical insurance, "social insurance," a road-building fee and a 5 percent fee for an "investment fund." Also added was a 10 percent profit margin and a 10 percent "rush" fee, even though the calendars arrived long past their due date. The bill was paid, no questions asked.

Not that it mattered, since the PR firm had a "cost-plus" contract with USAID, described by Bivens as "a fairly standard deal: [US]AID would reimburse all of the costs we incurred, 'plus' pay about 7 percent on top of that — our profit margin. ... The more we spent, the more we earned." ■





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# SPEAKING OUT

## *Preserve Language Pay Incentives*

BY ROBERT GRIFFITHS

The current debate about whether FSOs should be paid an incentive for learning difficult languages is not just another tug-of-war between budget-conscious State Department managers and employees determined to maintain salary incentives for overseas service. Rather, the controversy focuses on the larger question of what role the Foreign Service plays in carrying out U.S. foreign policy.

The Foreign Service faces unrelenting budget restrictions. It's no wonder, then, that the beleaguered State Department is flailing about over day-to-day developments while trying to cope in rapidly changing world conditions. In this atmosphere, it's easy for management to lose sight of the essential purpose of the Foreign Service.

And that is what happened last December, when the Office of the State Department Inspector General issued a report recommending reducing the number of languages considered "hard," eliminating step increases for proficiency, cutting the salary rewards given to those entering the Foreign Service with foreign language competence, denying language incentives to ambassadors and deputy chiefs of mission overseas and raising test standards. To rank-and-file FSOs, the rationale for these proposals appears to be little more than half-baked arguments designed to deflect attention

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*Robert Griffiths is chief of the political-economic section at U.S. Consulate General Shanghai in China.*

*The cornerstone  
of the Foreign  
Service is its  
professionals'  
language skills.*



from further budget-cutting. In addition, eliminating language incentives seriously threatens the Foreign Service's ability to remain competitive in the foreign affairs community.

According to the IG's report, the State Department spends \$7.7 million annually to encourage employees to learn 42 hard languages. They include Albanian, Amharic, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Bengali, Bulgarian, Burmese, Croatian, Czech, Dari, Estonian, Farsi, Georgian, Greek, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Kazakh, Khmer, Kyrgyz, Lao, Latvian, Lithuanian, Mongolian, Nepali, Pashto, Polish, Russian, Serbian, Sinhala, Slovak, Tagalog, Tajik, Tamil, Thai, Turkish, Turkmen, Ukrainian, Urdu, Uzbek, Vietnamese and Visayan. Only five languages — Arabic, Cantonese Chinese, standard Chinese, Japanese and Korean — have been designated as "super-hard."

The Foreign Service Institute teaches about 60 languages, in classes

that range from several weeks to two years, depending on the difficulty of the language and the level of proficiency required for the job assignment. FS personnel needing to learn more obscure languages, such as Georgian and Kyrgyz, attend university classes or have private tutors.

Despite the considerable effort of language study, competency in hard or super-hard languages is not seen as "career-enhancing." To encourage their study, however, the department offers incentives, including temporary language pay of between 10 and 15 percent of pay atop salaries while using the hard languages at an overseas post, and long-term salary steps increases of one to three steps per language to officers demonstrating tested proficiency. Cut these incentives and officers will be less motivated to study or learn hard languages as well. Some will avoid them altogether.

The Foreign Service cannot presume it will continue to exist and thrive as it is. Ross Perot's suggestion during his 1996 presidential campaign that embassies should be replaced by fax machines is a tip-off about how the Foreign Service is regarded in some policy circles. Perot's notion that a fax machine could replace vital reporting, analysis and face-to-face interaction only reflects his lack of understanding of what the Foreign Service does. Perot is not alone in these beliefs.

Competing with the Foreign Service in providing grist for foreign policy formulation are the news media, think tanks, non-governmental organi-



zations, foreign governments and U.S. and foreign business interests, many of whom relay information instantly via the Internet. With all these divergent voices competing for attention, the Foreign Service must have a clear view of its competitive advantages — and play to those strengths. The Foreign Service will survive only if it can provide high-quality services that advance U.S. interests abroad.

To do that, the Foreign Service first needs to become more competitive within the government itself. While seasoned, clear-thinking diplomats still bring an invaluable viewpoint to inter-agency discussions on foreign affairs, the Foreign Service for decades has been fighting a losing battle with other agencies for primary influence on foreign policy issues. As generalists who change jobs and responsibilities every two to three years, FSOs cannot compete with other government experts who have devoted their careers to one geographical area or policy specialty. For example, Treasury Department specialists know more about international macroeconomic coordination than FSOs; Department of Transportation experts are more versed in opening civil aviation markets; and top Environmental Protection Agency officials know more about ozone protection initiatives. As foreign governments become more democratic and develop their economies by seeking worldwide markets, the Foreign Service's traditional access to foreign officials is being whittled away. Increasingly, heads of state and foreign ministers would rather talk to CEOs than ambassadors.

The Foreign Service's competitive advantage is its knowledge of foreign countries and peoples, a knowledge gained from living abroad and communicating in foreign languages. Ours is a unique and vital contribution to

America's foreign policy. Experts with substantive knowledge are needed to help clarify U.S. foreign policy goals, but FSOs are needed to carry out those plans. Since the cornerstone of the Foreign Service is its professionals' language skills, cutting back on language incentives is tampering with its vital role and putting its very existence at risk.

Cutbacks in language incentive pay would gut the essence of the Foreign Service, leaving State as just another Washington think tank, albeit public, but with fewer PhDs.

**I**s this much ado about nothing? After all, management has not proposed that language training be eliminated altogether. However, to cut language incentives would take the Foreign Service in the wrong direction. FSOs are responsible for reporting on developments overseas, but a Foreign Service corps that is poorly trained or not motivated to use the local language can keep busy doing bureaucratic tasks and never effectively report on social, political or business activities. It could be years before the low value of such work becomes obvious to managers in Washington, who rely on accurate field reporting to help form foreign policy judgments. By then it would be too late.

It is one thing if the American public, Congress and the secretary of State do not appreciate the Foreign Service's work. It is another to be incompetent and irrelevant. Tampering with Foreign Service language capability runs that risk.

Still, the language-incentive program could be improved to strengthen the Foreign Service's language readiness and save money:

■ Recruit more people into the Foreign Service who already speak at least one foreign language. This is by

far the most cost-effective way to improve language capability in the Foreign Service. Speaking a foreign language is not a factor in choosing potential FSOs now, which is dumbfounding. It should become one.

■ Make foreign-language capability, especially fluency in a hard language, a more important factor for promoting Foreign Service personnel. Now FSOs eligible for promotion are compared to others of equal rank level, based on performance in political, economic, consular or administrative specialties. Why not create a separate "language" specialty and also promote FSOs based on performance as language and geographical area experts? This would reward FSOs for making the Foreign Service more competitive in an area where it needs to maintain an edge.

■ Base language training on individual capability. Linguists at FSI acknowledge that the younger a student, the easier it is to learn a language. Why not recognize this instead of wasting taxpayer money pretending that a typical 46-year-old can learn Mandarin Chinese as easily as a typical 26-year-old? Older officers should receive refresher training as needed to maintain language capability learned earlier in life, but most should not be given new language training.

■ Make language ability a higher priority when making assignments. For example, an officer fluent in Urdu should have a competitive edge over others for an assignment to Islamabad. One would be surprised how often an FS professional's language fluency is wasted by poor assignment procedures.

Reducing the Foreign Service's language capability may help cut the State Department's budget, but it will also unquestionably undermine the Foreign Service as a player in American foreign affairs. ■



## DON'T SAY SAYONARA

By KEVIN K. MAHER

As an FSO with demonstrated ability in a “super-hard” language — Japanese — and one who has made career decisions based on language-incentive pay, I have a keen interest in the State Department’s proposal to eliminate those salary hikes. If a private company were to offer this language-incentive pay, induce its employees to make long-term decisions based on those rules, and then eliminate them, the firm would be legally liable for breach of contract.

The State’s Inspector General cited comments from FSOs as one reason for the proposed changes, according to its report released last December. Employees surveyed said “career enhancement, spousal employment opportunities ... and other such factors drive bidding choices far more than language incentive pay,” it said. No one ever surveyed me. If I had been asked, I would have said that language-incentive pay has been a key factor in my choice of assignments in my 16-year career. Let me explain.

As an incoming FSO in 1981, it became clear that concentrating on one geographic area, no matter how important that country might be, would not generate fast promotion at State, where generalists are preferred over specialists. However, after calculating that the financial cost of potentially slower promotions throughout my career would be offset by the 10 percent language-incentive pay I received while serving in Japan, I decided to try to become a specialist on that country.

On a scale of 1 to 5, my tested proficiency is 4+ in both speaking and reading Japanese, but I have spent many weekend and evening hours achieving this level of fluency. Since I hoped to serve several tours in Japan, I calculated this extra effort would be a wise investment; I would receive an additional 5 percent pay incentive for going beyond a 4 rating in both speaking and reading in Japanese.

Some would argue that I would have taken assignments in Japan anyway. Maybe, but maybe not. But since I made career decisions based on the incentives, it’s not fair for man-

agement to discontinue them now. If I held up my part of the bargain, management should continue to hold up its part.

Although management appears to agree that FSOs serving in posts with hard-language incentives will continue to receive them, it is not so clear about those who already have accepted assignments with language-incentive pay.

Management proposals are short-sighted from another perspective: Speaking foreign languages is an essential component of an FSO’s job. For example, during my last tour in Tokyo I was the working-level negotiator for a U.S.-Japanese agreement under which Japan spends \$4 billion annually to support U.S. military forces in Japan. If I had not been fluent in Japanese, I would not have been successful in the negotiation. Do the math. By investing \$7,000 a year in language incentives for me while I served in Japan, the U.S. government received a return of \$4 billion a year.

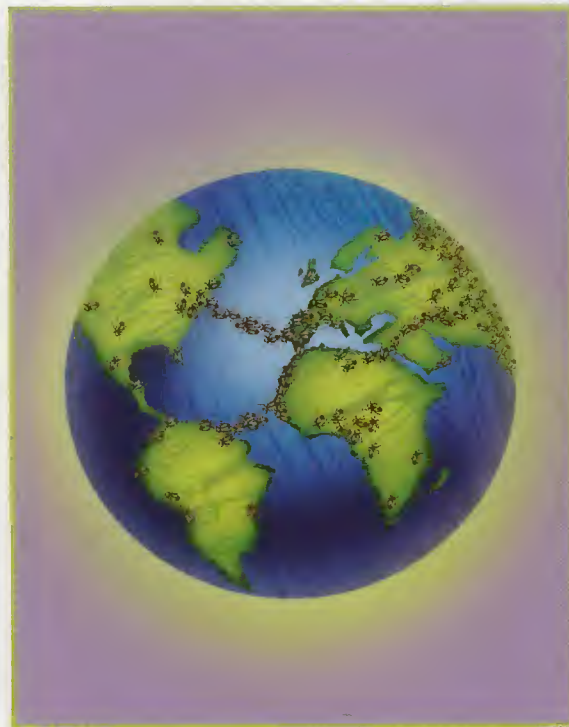
Perhaps there are too many “hard” languages for which pay incentives are offered; the list should be limited to those languages that are true priorities. If management is concerned that not enough FSOs are repeating tours, it should enhance incentives, not eliminate them. Start by telling the State Department Personnel Office to quit telling officers they are “overspecialized” and have served too many tours in one country. When I received my upcoming assignment in Fukuoka, Japan, personnel officials warned me that my concentration on that country, including two tours in Tokyo and one on the Japan desk in Washington, D.C., would hurt my promotion chances. This behavior indicates that the Foreign Service doesn’t really want FSOs proficient in hard languages.

Ironically, this short-sighted approach will not “fix” the perceived problem. State spends \$250,000 for two years of Japanese language training at FSI per employee. A mid-level, grade-2 FSO receives an additional \$24,000 in language-incentive pay for a three-year tour. If hard-language qualified officers, such as myself, no longer have an incentive to do repeat tours in the country where we can use our languages, State will need to train more officers to fill those positions. So, instead of spending \$24,000 in incentive pay for an officer who already speaks Japanese, State will spend \$250,000 to train someone else. Does that make sense? ■

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*Kevin K. Maher, a visiting associate at the University of Tokyo, is an FSO scheduled to be principal officer at U.S. Consulate General Fukuoka, Japan, in 1998.*

# ERADICATING CRIME GROUPS



BOB LYNCH

**E**

PROLIFERATION OF CARTELS  
AROUND WORLD THREATENS  
TO OVERWHELM GOVERNMENTS

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*By Louise Shelley*

very day, the newspapers and TV newscasts carry news stories on different crime groups operating on unprecedented scale in almost every region of the world. Striking in their brazenness are money laundering by Mexican drug traffickers; bombings and contract killings by Russian crime groups; and large-scale smuggling of Chinese to American shores by Asian crime networks.

Though policymakers are not devoting as much time to the issue as the media, transnational organized crime will be for policymakers a defining issue of the 21st century - as defining as the Cold War was for the 20th century and colonialism was for the 19th. No area of international affairs will remain untouched, as the social fabric and political and financial systems of

## F O C U S

### *Transnational organized crime will be a defining issue of the 21st century for policymakers - as defining as the Cold War was for the 20th century and colonialism was for the 19th.*

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many countries deteriorate under the increasing economic power of international organized crime groups.

And there are other threats, as well. U.S. national security continues to be threatened by trade in nuclear materials. Large-scale arms smuggling may spark regional conflicts. The human costs of drug trafficking and illegal-alien smuggling are expected to be observable in an ever-larger number of source and destination countries. The proliferation of international prostitution and pornography rings has serious social and health consequences. The illicit timber trade and trafficking in rare species have already done grave damage to the global environment. The massive profits of the diverse transnational organized crime groups, laundered in international financial markets, are undermining the security of the world's financial system. Meanwhile, the competitiveness of legitimate businesses is being undercut by organized crime's involvement in industrial and technological espionage.

Further convoluting the maze, networks of organized crime groups have begun connecting around the world. Colombian drug traffickers are linking up with Nigerian crime groups providing couriers for European deliveries, which are routed through Eastern Europe or the former Soviet Union to minimize detection. Proceeds of these crimes may be laundered through four different countries before reaching their final destination in an offshore haven in the Caribbean. Law enforcement will be fortunate if they can dismantle any of this chain of illicit conduct.

**T**ransnational organized crime will proliferate in the next century because crime groups are among the major beneficiaries of globalization.

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*Louise I. Shelley, a professor at American University, is director of its new Center for Transnational Crime. She is the author of Policing Soviet Society, published in 1996 by Rutledge, and co-editor of the quarterly journal, Trends in Organized Crime.*

They take advantage of increased travel, trade, telecommunications networks and computer links, and are well positioned for growth. The International Monetary Fund recently estimated that the proceeds of the drug trade now contribute 2 percent to the world's economy, and if the money from tax evasion and other illicit activity is added, the total is several times larger. And since illegal businesses are untaxed and highly profitable, organized crime groups in the next century will control an even larger percentage of the world's economy as their share of the global financial market grows.

The impact of transnational organized crime is not uniform. It can destabilize major economies such as Japan and Italy, as evidenced in the 1990s, but the costs are even more devastating for transitional states. Organized crime groups often supplant the state in societies moving toward democracy, and their representatives assume key positions in the incipient legislatures that craft the society's new legal framework.

Key officials are often targeted for bribes: Most susceptible are judges, usually with salaries under \$500 a month, and police, who earn even less. Cabinet ministers cost more but are often worth the investment.

Former communist states, such as in those in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, with collapsing economies, weak governments and limited law enforcement are fertile ground for the growth of organized crime. China, with a long history of domestic crime groups called triads, is increasingly acknowledging their pervasiveness in the booming economy of southern China and their inroads in other regions.

**I**nternational organized crime groups are the opposite of legitimate multinational corporations. Corporations are based in the industrialized world and market to the developing world, whereas transnational organized crime groups are largely based in developing countries and market to the developed world.

## F O C U S

Extremely profitable and prolific, these transnational groups are even harder to regulate than multinationals, whose activities span countries. Furthermore, the incentives for control are not there. Many countries lack economic alternatives and crime groups become dominant economic and political forces. Off-shore banking centers thrive in such settings, drawing money steadily from countries with powerful crime groups and eager tax evaders. High-level corruption also impedes action against these groups. Lack of harmonized legislation and the absence of mutual-assistance legal treaties make it impossible for foreign powers to effectively act against these groups.

Divergent law enforcement policies among nations also contribute to the transnational character of organized crime. Groups rapidly shift their operations to regions where they can more easily elude authorities. The recent alarm bells sounded by the leadership of South Africa, a country with no previous history of organized crime, despite its strategic location, because of its history as a strong police state, reveal that transnational crime groups have quickly moved to exploit the country's newly weakened law enforcement. The most successful crime groups also respond rapidly to changes in law enforcement capacity. As American training programs have helped Moscow airport officials spot drug couriers, traffickers have shifted their couriers' routes to other airports where personnel lack trained eyes.

**I**nternational organized crime organizations are on every continent. While they are usually most active in regions near their home country, increasingly they are reaching across continents to form alliances with other groups.

The following analysis of organized crime in the former Soviet Union, Colombia and Italy illustrates the diversity and complexity of transnational organized crime. Contrary to the stereotype that organized crime groups develop in a particular kind of environment, these case studies reveal that international groups can emerge under a variety of political and economic conditions including those of a collapsing super-power, a less-developed region of a major industrialized country, or a once-democratic developing country. There is no form of government immune from the development of transnational criminal organizations in its country, no legal system capable of fully controlling the growth of such crime and no economic or financial system able to resist the temptation of profits at levels disproportionately higher than those of the licit system.

Our challenge is to use results of this analysis as a new way to approach policymaking. Policy solutions cannot be simplistically homogeneous: They must target specific problems of a particular country's or region's organized groups. Moreover, joint strategies with a particular country are feasible only where corruption has not decimated domestic law enforcement and the state bureaucracy.

**O**rganized crime in the former Soviet Union has emerged on the international arena with an intensity and diversity of activities unmatched by other transnational crime groups. In the former Soviet states, crime groups number in the thousands, consisting of loose networks rather than the rigid hierarchical structure of the prototypical organized crime family. Unlike other countries where established crime syndicates have specialized in specific goods and services, post-Soviet organized crime has infiltrated a full range of illicit activities as well as large-scale penetration into the legitimate economy, including many public companies now being privatized.

Post-Soviet organized crime exploits the traditional market of illicit goods and services (prostitution, gambling, drugs, contract killing, supply of cheap illegal labor, stolen automobiles) and extorts legitimate businesses. It has also branched out to include such diverse activities as illegal export of oil and raw materials and smuggling of weapons, nuclear materials and human beings.

Organized crime can infiltrate the legitimate economy by investing illicit profits in new capital ventures and by establishing accounts in banks that are poorly regulated or willing to ignore the source of badly needed capital.

Although much of the groups' activities operate under the threat of violence, they include an unusual coalition of professional criminals, former members of the underground economy, and members of the Communist Party's elite and security apparatus. Their ranks contain highly trained specialists (such as statisticians and money launderers) not readily accessible to transnational crime groups in other parts of the world.

Organized crime has deeply penetrated the state, from the municipal to the federal level, with the financing of candidates and members of the newly elected parliaments of Russia and the former Soviet states. In some cases, the groups have supplanted the state by providing the protection, employment and social services no longer available from the government.

*Thanks to increased globalization, organized crime groups are well-positioned for growth, as they take advantage of increased travel, trade and telecommunication networks.*

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The successor states of the former Soviet Union have neither the legal infrastructure nor the law enforcement to successfully combat organized crime. Endemic problems of corruption impede domestic efforts to combat the problem or develop cooperative bilateral and multinational efforts to combat groups based in the former USSR.

Italian organized crime includes four major groups, all based south of Rome. The Mafia or Cosa Nostra in Sicily, the Neapolitan Camorra, the Calabrian 'Ndrangheta and the lesser known Sacra Corona in Apulia are all international players on the organized crime stage. The Sacra Corona, based along Italy's eastern coast, has recently benefitted from the conflict in Bosnia and the absence of controls in Albania by trafficking in arms, drugs and human beings. The four groups have changed dramatically in the past two decades. Once considered the poor relations of their American cousins, the international drug trade of the 1980s and 1990s transformed them into groups with significant capital. As major beneficiaries of the public works program for the south, they moved into large-scale construction projects and are now major investors in the highly profitable tourist industry, owning large resorts and hotel complexes. They have also moved into Italy's dynamic entrepreneurial sector, acquiring numerous food manufacturers and producers of consumer items.

Traditional crime families continue to dominate Italian groups, but they lack the specialists found in Russian and Colombian groups — a major disadvantage in laundering their proceeds. Instead, much of their funds has been invested domestically, prompting the Italian government to freeze \$3 billion of assets during a crackdown on organized crime in the early 1990s.

Like in Russia, Italian organized crime has penetrated to the core of the political process, and the criminalization of the state has clearly deprived Italy of its role as a major economic power. Several parliamentary members have

been Mafia representatives and, indeed, a strong symbiotic relationship has evolved between the Mafia and government officials in the south.

Giulio Andreotti, the seven-time prime minister and stalwart of the preeminent post-war Social Democratic Party, has twice been denied parliamentary immunity after being charged with Mafia collaboration. He remains on trial.

Recently, Italy has made significant inroads against organized crime through passage of legislation against the Mafia and money laundering, creation of a national anti-Mafia investigative board, and the launching of a witness protection program that has spawned a hundred turncoats, or *pentiti*. But the state's fight against the Mafia has been costly in both human and economic resources.

By penetrating the Mafia through legal and financial means, and by focusing on its men of honor, the state has had some success in weakening crime groups, but the government is clearly having difficulty sustaining the drive.

The big boys of Colombia's organized crime, the Medellin and Cali cartels, emerged in the 1970s and were international organizations almost from their birth. At first, Colombian drug traffickers supplied cocaine to other criminal groups, such as La Cosa Nostra and Mexican and Cuban gangs. But as the profitability of cocaine became more apparent, the Colombians started their own smuggling and distribution operations between the Latin American producers and the U.S. buyers. As operations expanded into Europe in the 1990s, the Colombian cartels formed alliances with organized crime groups in Italy, Nigeria, China and, more recently, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet states.

The Colombian cartels have developed far beyond their street-level crime roots. More than other international crime groups, their members have shown a capacity to adapt to the global environment and to retain the professionals needed to expand. Experts in banking and finance offer advice on

## F O C U S

logistics, money laundering and investments.

Before organized crime became such an integral part of the Colombian economy, Colombia was one of Latin America's most stable nations. However, as crime groups funneled large sums into local and national election campaigns — some traffickers have won office themselves — the government and its police and legal systems have been seriously undermined by corruption and violence. President Ernesto Samper stands accused of accepting large campaign contributions from drug traffickers.

Billions of drug profits have returned to Colombia, raising the prices of real estate, and a certain percentage is spent on narcotics production. Yet the cartels' capital has not led to industrial development or diversified the economy.

**N**o easy conclusions can be drawn from these three case studies. Nor do they suggest obvious solutions. The unfortunate conclusion is that transnational crime groups operate in diverse environments on such a large scale that they are affecting the political, economic and social development of countries on every continent.

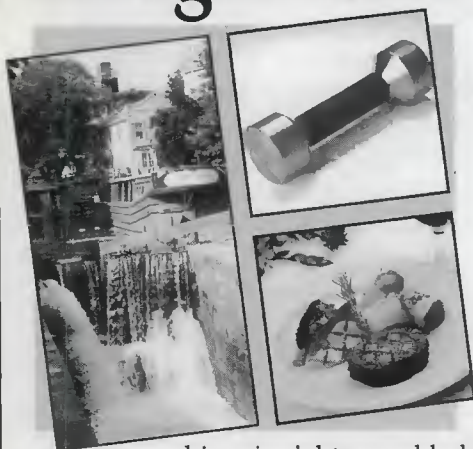
The threat of transnational organized crime to U.S. inter-

ests is increasingly recognized by President Clinton and both Democratic and Republican leaders of Congress. This high-level interest is increasing pressure on U.S. diplomats to address the problem abroad, since it cannot be left solely to lawyers and law enforcement professionals. A coherent and consistent initiative must be developed by the White House, National Security Council, CIA, State Department, Justice Department and Defense Department in coordination with Congress, which can be translated into action by Foreign Service personnel overseas.

As a policy issue, organized crime is a major issue for FSOs overseas. For example, consular officers must determine whether visa applicants are associated with organized crime. Are their financial documents authentic or for front companies? Personnel at the U.S. Agency for International Development must consider how to promote democratization and multi-party elections when crime groups are bribing the media and infiltrating the electoral process. How can assistance programs be protected from corruption, particularly funds for projects in construction — an industry heavily dominated by organized crime groups around the world?

Economic and commercial officers need to accurately

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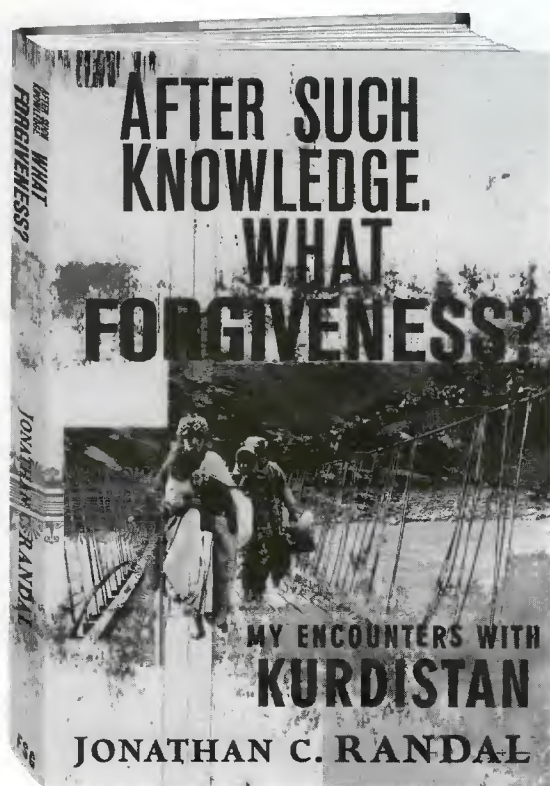
## F O C U S

identify the financial risks in economies where illicit trade flows are a significant share of the economy and are threatening the integrity of the banking system. Political officers have to address the stability of a government infiltrated with organized criminals. A U.S. Information Agency officer may have little hope of convincing voters of the importance of democracy when corruption is destroying the host country's democratic potential at its very foundation. And can U.S. national security be ensured when organized crime groups are trafficking in weapons and nuclear materials?

Only bilateral and multilateral efforts can work effectively against transnational organized crime. Transnational organized crime's strength is also its weakness: Its networks are brutal, but fragile. Though groups may exploit gaps in legislation and enforcement abroad, they can also be severely weakened by coordinated activity by many nations. For example, many groups have been thwarted by the freezing of bank accounts, the arrest of suspects under extradition treaties, and the denial of visas. A broad number of signatories should be sought for international extradition treaties and mutual legal assistance agreements.

A successful policy must seek the international harmonization of legislation on crime, banking, securities and customs. Human rights monitoring should be broadened to include the activities of transnational crime groups, such as trafficking in human beings, violating labor codes and intimidating the press. Since the strongest safeguard against the growth of organized crime is a strong civil society and an uncorrupt government, assistance programs should help citizens empower themselves. Such programs should focus on strengthening the court systems and ensuring adequate salaries for judges and security for court personnel and witnesses. Greater contact is needed between judges and police abroad and their American counterparts.

Organized crime is a cancer affecting every region of the world, but it assumes different forms in diverse societies. Just as colonic cancer requires different treatment than leukemia, strategies to fight organized crime must be targeted at specific regions or groups. Globalization is here, and proliferation of transnational organized crime is the most negative consequence of this phenomenon. ■



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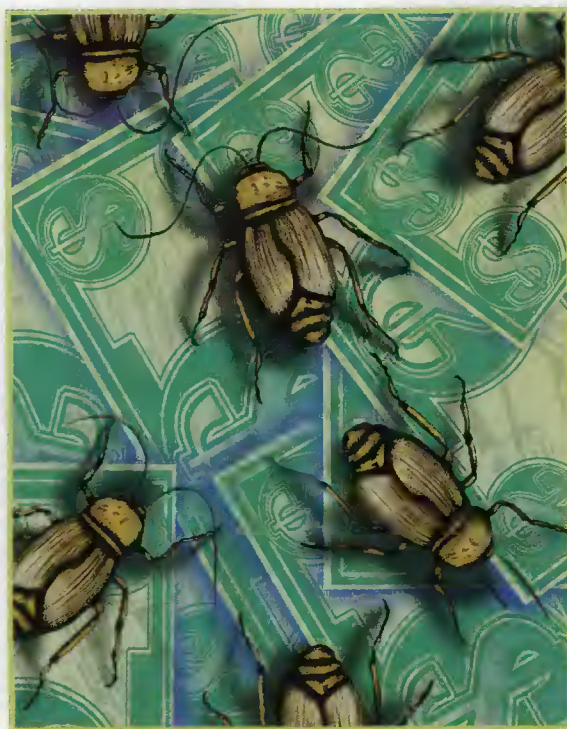
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# TRACKING THE MONEY FLOW



BOB LYNCH

**N**

**'DIRTY MONEY' IS POLLUTING  
GLOBAL FINANCIAL NETWORKS,  
MENACING SHAKY ECONOMIES**

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*By Douglas Keh*

o longer stilled by superpower rivalry, the international economic system is undergoing turbulent shifts in geopolitical fault lines. And with global demand for illegal goods and services burgeoning, transnational organized crime is quickly emerging as the largest growth industry of the post-Cold War world. The cynic's adage, "Nice guys finish last," explains why crime cartels are thriving in this new world disorder: Their disdain for the law translates into a huge competitive advantage over legitimate businesses.

Illegal funds are doing untold damage to the vulnerable emerging economies of the developing world. The weak banking regulations of many of these countries have allowed vast amounts of illicit funds to pollute the legitimate financial systems —

*Transnational crime groups have adapted well to the newly evolving world economy, with its falling risk and rising demand, while governments have remained mired in bureaucracy.*

sums that might derail economic policies by artificially inflating prices. Central banks' attempts to slow overheating economies by raising interest rates are not always successful, which is simply another sign of how an influx of illegal funds distorts the accuracy of conventional economic indicators. Although it is impossible to calculate the percentage of the world's economy affected by organized crime proceeds, many specialists agree it is in the trillions of dollars per year.

Ironically, the growth of organized crime has been fueled by the world's embrace of the freemarket economic system. And as the largest free-market economy in the world, the United States harbors its share of activities and monies generated by organized crime syndicates.

Extortion has traditionally been one of organized crime's most lucrative enterprises. In Russia, between 70 and 80 percent of private enterprises and banks pay extortion fees of 10 to 20 percent of their income to crime syndicates. Extortion fees from Russia's oil industry alone represents 20 percent of total GNP for the country, according to Massachusetts Sen. John Kerry's recently published book, *The New War: The Web of Crime that Threatens America's Security*. U.S. officials are reluctant to estimate what percentage of the \$60 billion in U.S. investment in Russia between 1987 and 1993 ended up in the pockets of crime bosses, but agree that extortion practices are clearly threatening additional U.S. investment in that region. In 1996, London financiers admitted they had paid tens of millions of pounds in extortion fees, transferred to untraceable offshore accounts, to international gangs that had threatened to crash their computer systems. The three-year scam affected brokerage firms, blue-chip banks and defense firms.

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*Douglas Keh is a political analyst with the U.N. International Drug Control Programme in Vienna. This article does not necessarily reflect U.N. policy.*

Counterfeiting, another pet mob activity, is also difficult to track. The total sum of fake money in global circulation is tough to estimate, but U.S. counterfeiting is believed to have increased 300 percent between 1992 and 1993 alone, according to 1994 testimony of Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt., then (and still) a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The income of other cartel activities is also difficult to estimate, though a few scattered figures are available. For example, the illegal export of raw materials costs Russia an estimated \$10 billion in lost revenue each year, and Dallas-based criminal groups from Nigeria earned \$2.5 million a month in a 1996 credit card scam that affected hundreds of card holders.

Drugs, however, continue to be the best-selling product for criminal cartels, netting between \$100 billion and \$400 billion a year in profits - or three-fifths the size of the U.S. federal budget. Increasingly, drug trafficking syndicates are wedding themselves to military groups, substituting arms for drugs along its intricate transportation networks to civil conflicts from Afghanistan and Peru to Columbia and Tajikistan. The case of Burma is instructive. Until rebel leader Khun Sa came to terms with the country's military junta last year, his drug trafficking syndicate was the war's most well-armed faction. Khun Sa's Mong Tai Army proved the axiom that, whereas legitimate enterprises are constrained from catering to illegal demand because of perceived risks or governmental restrictions, criminals are deterred by neither.

Organized crime's largest business — after drug trafficking and car theft — is money laundering. With almost \$2 trillion zipping through global banking networks every day, it's almost impossible to trace ill-gotten gains. In the United States, about \$100 billion was laundered in 1993, according to testimony by Carol Hallett, a retired U.S. Customs Service commissioner, who spoke at a 1994 conference on transnational organized crime in

Washington, D.C. Although the No. 1 source of revenue for crime groups in most countries is drugs, she estimated that only 35 percent of the \$500 billion laundered worldwide that year was drug-related. Trafficking of arms and nuclear materials, for example, is more profitable.

A common method of laundering money is by flushing it through legitimate businesses. About 40 percent of Russian mafia gangs use some 1,500 front companies and control more than 40,000 businesses, including about 400 banks and 45 commodities and currency exchanges, according to testimony from former CIA Director James Woolsey, also a participant of the 1994 conference. Restaurants, bars and stores are common fronts: Even stores that are empty most of the time can be quite profitable on paper.

Fake businesses are another typical scam, particularly in the Caribbean. Jack Blum, a noted international lawyer and money-laundering expert, noted during the conference that a company can be incorporated for only \$1,500 in the Cayman Islands, with \$1,000 more to maintain it for at least one year. And for another \$1,500, total anonymity is guaranteed. Short-term companies are routinely born and killed off during that year; and once the money trail is cold, it's almost impossible to find its source.

Then, there's the stock market, particularly in the developing and emerging economies. Russia, for example, has become a booming money laundering center. The Sicilian Mafia, believed to be increasingly laundering Colombian drug funds through the Russian stock market, is earning a cool profit of between 200 and 500 percent on these transactions.

But most criminals, like capitalists, prefer to keep their money in banks. A popular burying ground for many crime groups is the Caribbean, long a safe haven for the legitimate funds of the international banking elite. A new generation of "pseudo-banks," particularly popular on the islands of Aruba and Antigua, are copying their legitimate cousins, except that their clients are predominantly drug dealers. One newcomer to the game, the European Union Bank of Antigua, offered via its elegant Web site untraceable bank services by computer from anywhere in the world. The European Union Bank allowed clients to create new "corporations," complete with phony officers and directors, and to obtain and use fake credit card numbers to "order" and "pay for" fake goods and services. The cyberspace bank was cracked by the CIA, however, when it linked its creation to a \$1 million investment by Russian organized criminals. Another wildly successful off-

shore haven is the Cayman Islands, where the government guarantees financial secrecy for bank clients. In his book, Kerry accused offshore banks of "quasi-legal piracy cloaked in official secrecy."

Legitimate banks have long been part of the picture: Cyprus banks serve Eastern European crime groups; Hong Kong, Singapore and Vanuatu banks are favored by Chinese cartels; and Swiss banks maintain an untarnished reputation for discretion among their international clientele, many of whose funds have undetermined origins. Some modern transnational cartels prefer to own their own banks. After the Soviet Union fell in 1991, Russian mafioso took advantage of the lawless atmosphere to invest in the growing number of financial institutions, and today, organized crime funds have infiltrated at least half of Russia's banks.

**I**nnovative criminal entrepreneurs are taking their lead from legitimate vertically-integrated businesses by hiring professionals expert in finance, technology and law; by diversifying their products and services; and by making transnational business deals with other cartels. The most effective organizational structure is the Italian Mafia, given its long track record, and probably the least effective is that of the Russian groups, which have a more loosely hierarchical model.

The top honchos of criminal groups, the CEOs – so to speak – tend to be more powerful than real chief executive officers. For example, when the Medellin drug cartel dissolved after the death of kingpin Pablo Escobar in 1993, the power vacuum was filled by the competition – the Cali cartel.

Missing from this international cooperation, however, is the sense of goodwill and trust common among authentic businesses: No matter how expansive a market is in a given country, it is unwise for a foreign group to penetrate it without a local partner. There are too many obstacles, including language difficulties and territorial claims, which could complicate business dealings.

Most groups prefer joint cooperation. For example, if a Czech group wants to sell an excess supply of Russian-made, anti-aircraft missiles, it will ask a cartel in its target country to act as middleman. Or, if the Cali drug cartel wants to expand its Los Angeles cocaine market, it must work through Mexican organized crime groups, which control land-based drug trafficking routes into, as well as cash shipments out of, the lucrative U.S. market. This type of cooperation is now so common that, according to the U.S. Drug Enforcement

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*Governments can fight cartels by hitting them where it hurts – their bottom line. However, effective combat requires international cooperation among police, diplomats, judges and bankers.*

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Agency, Mexican groups' "access fees" routinely amount to 40 to 50 percent of cocaine profits from Colombia, Peru and Bolivia.

**T**ransnational groups have adapted well to the changing world economy - with its falling risks and rising demands for goods and services - while governments have remained mired in bureaucracy.

The market for organized crime's products and services is dynamic and free-flowing, unrestricted by established practices of sharing information. In contrast, government agencies are subject to plenty of rules and regulations, and are much more reluctant to share data, even among themselves. U.S. police information at the local level, for example, rarely circulates to the State Department, the CIA or other agencies that deal with foreign governments; in addition, intelligence gathering on organized criminal activity usually stops at the U.S. borders. Journalist Claire Sterling, who has published four books on international organized crime, describes these groups' ability to escape retribution in her recent book, *Thieves' World: The New Global Threat of Organized Crime*. "If [sovereign states] go down to dismal defeat in the war against crime, it will be largely because they are hampered by all the baggage of statehood - patriotism, politics, accountable governments, human rights, legal strictures, international conventions, bureaucracy, diplomacy - whereas the big criminal syndicates have no national allegiances, no laws but their own, no frontiers," she says.

Leading pioneers of the criminal underworld - the Colombians, Italians and Russians - are well aware of the disadvantages governments face in combatting their activities, and have turned this knowledge to their advantage. For example, U.S. crime syndicates working with Russian groups across the east-west divide know that their governments' historical distrust makes it difficult for the two to share classified intelligence. In the Caribbean, most nations refuse to share information with the Antiguan government, because, as one law enforcement official put it, "Everything we give them is compromised."

The same is true in Mexico, where no fewer than six attorneys general and at least as many government drug czars, including most recently, Gen. Jesús Gutiérrez Rebollo, have been on the payroll of the Mexican criminal cartels.

The contrast between cooperation in the criminal world and limited cooperation among governments on crime control is more significant because of the way criminal activity is segmented. Criminal organizations are divided into "cells," in which members carry out different activities, such as trafficking, marketing and distribution. Members of one cell are unknown to associates in other cells. Only the kingpins have knowledge of the entire organization, so if the police expose one cell, the others can remain active. Governments that do not share information about criminal organizations are left holding separate pieces of an intercontinental puzzle.

**G**overnments can fight cartels by hitting them where it hurts - their bottom line. However, effective combat requires international cooperation among police, diplomats, judges and bankers. Much can be done, such as enforcing international banking laws to ferret out money launderers; pushing for asset forfeiture laws; globalizing law enforcement efforts, including more effective border controls; and increasing worldwide intelligence networks. One of the most effective weapons against organized crime to date has been the U.S. law requiring its financial institutions to report international transactions worth \$10,000 or more. Other countries have rapidly followed suit with similar legislation, including Panama and Venezuela - Latin America's two largest money laundering centers. Russia passed its own version in 1996.

The laws have begun bearing fruit in the fight against transnational organized crime. For example, between 1989 and 1995, the international asset-sharing program collected \$125 million, more than \$40 million of which went to foreign governments that cooperated in the forfeitures. Ecuador received \$40 million; Switzerland received \$2 million; Canada received \$500,000; and the United

## FOCUS

Kingdom, Canada and Israel received smaller sums. And in a 1992 joint undercover operation, code-named "Green Ice," law enforcement from the United States, Italy, Spain, United Kingdom, Cayman Islands, Costa Rica and Colombia uncovered collusion between the Colombian cartels and the Italian Mafia. Police seized \$47.7 million in assets and froze another \$7.4 billion in 140 bank accounts around the world.

Although there's no international consensus on how to track all economic activities of international organized crime groups, models do exist. The Financial Action Task Force, formed in 1989 by the G7 governments, meets three times a year to discuss strategies to combat money laundering. Interpol, the United Nations International Drug Control Programme, and the World Customs Organization also provide important building blocks in international cooperation.

In the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley of Lebanon, long a bastion of drug trafficking and terrorist organizations,

even Syrian President Hafez Assad appears to be bowing, however grudgingly, to Western pressure to curb organized criminal activities like those conducted by the Japanese Red Army and the Kurdistan Worker's Party. Both groups, which have trained for decades in the Bekaa, are major players in the Middle East crime economy, selling their services as transporters of illicit arms and brokers in transactions between criminal groups. And in Colombia and Mexico, officials are responding to public pressure to hold drug cartels accountable for the economic and political chaos they have sparked.

Banks, particularly those with proud reputations for protecting their depositors, are on the frontline of the international battle against organized crime. Swiss banks are finally being prised open. Others should follow. Generally speaking, given that enforcement will be increasingly difficult, self-monitoring among banks, in particular, is a key step forward.

Still, there are limits to what governments can accomplish with international cooperation. As crucial as it is, it's

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often merely symbolic. As more countries cooperate and share data about organized crime activities, the risk increases that confidential information will be leaked to criminal groups with the ability - and the money - to coopt the most dedicated of public servants.

Does organized crime hurt the world's legitimate economy? Of course it does, although a poor kid in Cali might have a different answer. If everyone agreed it was a problem, it wouldn't be one.

However, where organized crime dominates, public and private welfare is jeopardized and things that should happen in the name of public interest simply don't. Organized crime undermines a nation's economy by crowding out legitimate investment and by introducing anti-competitive, market-unfriendly business methods, such as violence and extortion. An excellent example of how organized crime hurts public welfare is the public works projects in Sicily, where huge elevated bridges were built for no practical purpose.

Today not enough good can be said about the drive

toward international efficiency. Bringing out the best in all of us is what open economies are supposed to do, but free markets and liberal democracies can inspire desires not wholly virtuous. Consider the thinly-veiled authoritarian views of Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore's prime minister from 1965 to 1990, who is now an influential senior government minister. Lee's views advocating the need for tight state controls in democratic states strike a cord even within human-rights circles that dismiss his views as self-justification. Lee is merely stating what many consider a truism better left unsaid: People can't be expected to behave as governments might wish.

As governments throughout the world pursue the goals of democracy, individual liberty, and market-led growth, society must be prepared for the expression of all that is human, both the good and the bad. How to contain the bad while nurturing the good may be one of the principal dilemmas of the post-Cold War world. ■

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# PUSHING DIPLOMACY'S LIMITS



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WITH MULTINATIONAL HELP,  
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AND INFLUENCE OF CARTELS

*By Crescencio Arcos*

ransnational crime presents perhaps one of the most pressing demands on American diplomacy, because internationally, both narcotics and organized crime pose grave threats to fundamental U.S. foreign policy objectives of promoting democracy, rule-of-law and free market economies. The manipulative power of the criminal cartels is now driving the power politics in many countries and diplomats need to pay attention.

In testifying before the Senate in 1994, former CIA Director R. James Woolsey pointed out the difference between dealing with sovereign nations and international crime syndicates. Even in the most adversarial situations, communication with other nations was always possible. "From quiet diplomacy to public demarchés, from hot lines to summitry, the means

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## Armchair Diplomacy: Take a Seat

By Margaretha Wiont  
AFSA Communications Intern

**Eddie:** *How do you think people in Hong Kong feel about reversing back to Chinese control?*

**Don:** *I think many people would like Hong Kong to stay just as it is, but they recognize that isn't going to happen. They just want to be able to do their own thing and earn money. There are probably many people who, being Chinese, are rather proud that the British colonial period is ending.*

On May 1, former Consul General to Hong Kong Don Anderson took part in a

thirty-minute online chat program sponsored by CNN-Turner Learning and designed specifically for school children. Mr. Anderson, Consul General from 1986-1990, was approached to do the project by Suson Reardon, AFSA executive director. The half-hour program was part of a Virtual Field Trip to Hong Kong. Mr. Anderson answered questions posed by participants logged on to the system. Students asked questions like: "Will the name of Hong Kong be changed?" "What do you think the Chinese will do to Hong Kong?" "How did you get involved in foreign affairs?" and "What did you study in school?"

Mr. Anderson's participation in this Virtual Field Trips series is just one means by which AFSA is strengthening its outreach programs. Other programs developed to raise public

Continued on page 7

## • AFSA Dateline •

• The newly elected AFSA Governing Board held a retreat at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center Aug. 2. Led by AFSA President Al La Porta, board members reviewed AFSA goals and strategies and established both short- and long-term plans for all functional departments.

• International Associates, AFSA's corporate relations program, and the Washington Export Council (WEC) will jointly host a business reception at the U.S. Department of State on Sept. 16, honoring U.S. and foreign diplomats for their efforts in promoting international business. Foreign embassy commercial and economic officials, WEC

corporate leaders, and key legislators are invited. U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and U.S. Secretary of Commerce William M. Daley are expected to attend. For additional information, contact AFSA Corporate Relations Coordinator Robert Krill at (202) 944-5508.

• AFSA's Hope Rogers Bastek Memorial Scholarship, established in 1979 as a perpetual scholarship honoring the late Hope Bostek, will now honor the memory of John Anthony Bostek, as well. John Bastek, who retired from the FS in 1984 after 35 years of service, died June 29 in Naples, Fla. His wife died in 1976. Donations, payable to

Continued on page 8

STATE  
**V.P. VOICE**

• BY DAN GEISLER •

## The Labor-Management Agenda

One of the many ideas that surfaced at the AFSA Governing Board retreat Al La Parta organized last month was making the V.P. Voice columns more news-oriented and less editorial. That is a bit challenging, since you read these pieces about six weeks after they are written. But let me try to predict what issues will occupy our labor-management agenda over the coming weeks.

At the top of our list will be the ongoing work to redefine multifunctionality. We have agreed that we need to develop a corps of officers with broad-gauged skills, including both wide exposure to emerging policy issues and hands-on experience managing people and money. We are trying to modify the current multifunctional program to provide promotion incentives to do this. The hard part is relating the broad goals to specific jobs. The outcome will directly affect how mid-level Foreign Service generalists manage their careers and how supervisors staff their offices.

A second related agenda item will be mainstreaming officers in the science, narcotics and labor subareas in a way that recognizes the importance of what, for lack of a better term, we are calling "global" issues. In doing so, we need to provide career opportunities for officers now in those cones, as well as for those working toward obtaining those skill codes.

Third, we will be looking at the relation between the time-in-class (TIC) system and selection-out for failure to maintain the standards of one's class. The dramatic drop in promotion rates is forcing a high number of experienced officers to leave the service through the blind operation of TIC.

Our position is that the Service would be stronger if we identified low performers. But we have to do this without abandoning our grievance rights. Easy? Not very.

Fourth, we will still be pushing on rationalizing the senior assignments process, an aspect of which is instilling discipline in the process.

This list is heavily weighted towards Foreign Service generalists. However, we will be taking up items that directly affect specialists, who account for 40 percent of our 4,700 State Department members.

For example, we will work on revising the role of Foreign Service secretaries in order to bring their careers up to modern office standards. We have also asked to formalize an agreement on rationalizing the reimbursement that information managers get for travel expenses when they go for training in Warrenton, Virginia. But we need to recruit more specialists and engage them in AFSA so that we can identify their concerns and then use our influence to address their issues.

Identifying opportunities will be one of the core tasks of the State Standing Committee. Our success depends on getting information from our members. Last month in this column I made a pitch for more feedback. That does not necessarily mean a multi-page analysis of a career issue. It can be a few lines by fax or e-mail. The significant response rate we got regarding management's proposal to eliminate language incentive pay strengthened our hand enormously and had a major impact on our negotiations. Your input matters. A lot.

*"... we need to develop a corps of officers with broad-gauged skills ..."*

## New FS DG Gnehm Warmly Received on Hill

In his confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on July 24, then Deputy Representative of the United States to the United Nations Edward W. Gnehm Jr. was roundly praised as a fine choice for the post of director general of the Foreign Service. Senator Michael Enzi (R-WY), Gnehm's college roommate, said he considers Gnehm a brother and called him "a man



Edward W. Gnehm Jr.

of our times." Gnehm was commended for his work ethic and the role he played so skillfully as ambassador to Kuwait during Desert Shield and Desert Storm. Senators Cleland (D-GA) and Coverdell

(R-GA) joined in their recommendations of Gnehm. Gnehm responded to questions regarding diplomatic readiness, the need for increased resources and the effects of foreign affairs reorganization on U.S. embassies.

Gnehm joined the State Department in 1969 and has served in Syria, Saudi Arabia, North Yemen and Jordan. He has received numerous awards, including Presidential Meritorious Service Awards in 1990 as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense and in 1991 as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Near East and South Asia. He is also the recipient of several State Superior and Meritorious Honor Awards.

Gnehm has been awarded two Secretary of Defense Medals for Meritorious Civilian Service. In 1993 the U.S. Arab-American Chamber of Commerce recognized Ambassador Gnehm for his substantial and extraordinary support for U.S. business abroad.

Gnehm is married to the former Margaret Scott of Macon, Georgia, and they have two children, Cheryl and Edward III.

At press time, a ceremony was scheduled for Aug. 25 in which Ambassador Gnehm would be sworn in as director general of the Foreign Service.

# Inside

THE FOREIGN SERVICE COMMUNITY

By Julie Ann Ginocchio  
*Foreign Service Journal Intern*

## AFSA Members in Action

• Retired ombassador **Edward Rowell**, AFSA vice president for retirees, was recently named president of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, an independent association based at NFATC. Rowell, a 38-year veteran of the FS who served as U.S. ambassador to Bolivia, Portugal and Luxembourg, is replacing outgoing president Steve Lowe.

• **David I. Hitchcock's** monograph, "Factors Affecting East Asian Views of the United States: The Search for Common Ground," was recently published by the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Hitchcock, a retired FSO from the USIA, was a visiting fellow at CSIS in 1989 and is a long-time member of the *Foreign Service Journal's* Editorial Board.

• Former FSO **James Gibney** was recently named managing editor of *Foreign Policy*, published by the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace. To his new job, Gibney brings his experience as Clinton speechwriter and managing editor of *The New Republic* and *The Wilson Quarterly*.

• Ambassador **Thomas Graham Jr.** in July joined the Lawyers Alliance for World Security and the Committee for National Security as LAWS president. Graham is also special representative of the president for Arms Control, Non-Proliferation and Disarmament.

• Retired U.S. Ambassador to Zaire **William Harrop** was featured on ABC's "Nightline" on Feb. 3, in a segment devoted to the insurgency in Zaire under leader Laurent Kabila. Harrop served as ambassador to Zaire from 1987 to 1991.

• FS spouse **Rebecca Latimer's** autobiography *You're Not Old Until You're Ninety: Best To Be Prepared, However* was recently published by Blue Dolphin. Her husband, retired FSO Frederick

Continued on page 8

# USAID V.P. VOICE

• BY FRANK MILLER •

## Family-Friendly Progress

After requests from dozens of employees and 18 months of talks between the Agency and AFSA and AFGE, USAID is beginning to fully participate in the Clinton/Gore family-friendly initiatives. What has brought us to this point? Hours of hard work by career employees.

Last year AFGE initiated a survey on alternative work schedules (AWS), programs that offer flexibility in work schedules. Over 600 employees voiced interest in these arrangements. The former Management head refused both unions' requests to implement AWS, believing that our supervisors could not effectively manage employees under these flexible conditions.

To allow this Management fear of more flexible work schedules, AFSA sought assistance from the Work and Family Program Center in the Office of Personnel Management (OPM). In a family-friendly seminar sponsored by AFSA and AFGE in June, OPM staff briefed employees and management staff from State and USAID on various options and resources which can help employees balance work and family obligations. They emphasized that many government agencies and private firms have developed appropriate scheduling and managerial control mechanisms to successfully implement these programs. Indeed, the results of family-friendly activities are clear: improved morale, reduced absenteeism and use of sick leave, increased retention of highly qualified employees and improved productivity.

Where are we now? Fortunately, we have a new Management team. The acting chief and human resources deputy firmly believe that employees and supervisors can and should work together to enhance the

Agency's mission. With the administrator's support, they have moved family-friendly activities to a priority objective status. The Agency will soon be conducting a survey to assess employee interest for family-friendly work arrangements such as: 1) compressed work schedules; 2) telecommuting or flexiplace; and 3) job sharing.

What can employees do to speed things along? Respond to the survey when you receive it. If you have questions or comments, contact Joon Jones, M/HR/PPIM/PP. Please copy AFSA. This is a golden opportunity for employees to play a role in improving workplace

and family conditions. Participate and empower yourself. The Agency is now planning to implement desired family-friendly activities only in Washington. Lessons learned here can be adopted in the field. However, considering how the field has left Washington behind in terms of successful reinvention activities, I would not be surprised if field staff designed their own family-friendly activities.

In other examples of employee-friendly progress, AFSA has convinced USAID to provide employees with a Metro subsidy beginning Sept. 1. We identified savings in the current budget that could be used to boost employee morale and encourage staff to use public transportation. The monthly \$60 subsidy will also help employees stretch their family budget.

AFSA was instrumental in pushing for a reasonable parking rate in the new office building. The negotiated monthly rate of \$40 will help the family budget. Our thanks to M/AS. We are now looking into alternative car parking sites, as well as spaces for bicycles and motorcycles.

Stay tuned!

"Participate  
and  
empower  
yourself."

# USIA V.P. VOICE

• BY J. RILEY SEVER •

## Best Practices

By the time this issue reaches AFSA members, the Administration's reorganization plan for the integration of USIA and ACDA into a "New State Department" will be before Congress awaiting review and approval. As I write this column several key policy issues remain to be resolved, including the proper relationship between public affairs, with its U.S. domestic constituency, and public diplomacy, which has an overseas foreign audience. In addition, the role of Smith-Mundt in determining how USIA program resources can be used and the desirability of a separate assistant secretary for information remain undecided at this time. Despite the delay in these major issues, considerable progress has been made in working out a mechanism for the transition.

In my capacity as AFSA USIA vice president, I have attended many task force meetings and planning sessions for the consolidation in the last weeks. I am impressed by the commitment and concern shown by our colleagues in USIA, as well as those in State, ACDA and USAID, to deal with the multitude of issues and problems posed by the upcoming merger. AFSA participation in this process has been encouraged and our input has been solicited. It was reassuring to me that a key theme throughout the various sessions has been the smooth transition of personnel into the "New State Department" with the goal of ensuring employees positions and opportunities.

The real challenge for AFSA will be monitoring the procedures and policies required for the implementation of the merger of our personnel and

programs into an existing system. AFSA anticipates that considerable fine-tuning and adjustment will be required during this process and we will actively represent the best interests of our constituencies. While AFSA's prior participation in integration planning was at the discretion of management, as the exclusive representative of the Foreign Service, AFSA has the legal responsibility to negotiate any proposed changes to our working conditions. During the coming months, we expect to be actively engaged in that process. In the face of imminent change, AFSA must protect

the hard-won improvements it has achieved for us over the years.

We have been assured that "best practices" will be the guiding principle of this merger. This concept will be sorely tested in the coming months as differences in the various organizations' functions are resolved. My concern is that expediency and convention within the larger organization will take precedence and, if so, the opportunity to create an improved "New State Department" will be lost. I believe that the best criterion of success for this reorganization will be the number of best practices from USIA, ACDA and USAID that are ultimately incorporated into the new system.

As I immerse myself in meetings and preparations for my new responsibility as your vice president, I still find that I get the most useful information from talking with colleagues. I encourage you to visit me in Room 368, e-mail me at JRSever@USIA.GOV or call me at (202) 619-4040.

*"My concern is that expediency and convention ... will take precedence ..."*

## Demand for Foreign Service Scholarships Expected to Grow

By Julie Ann Ginacchia  
Foreign Service Journal Intern

Requests for AFSA-based scholarships are expected to increase during the coming academic year, now that application forms can be accessed on AFSA's web site. But will enough funds be available to support the increased number of applicants?

Foreign Service dependents can peruse the scholarship page of AFSA's web site, [www.afso.org](http://www.afso.org), to download applications for AFSA's scholarship programs: AFSA Financial Aid Awards and AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards. Applications for the 1998-99 academic year, expected to be available Nov. 1, are due Feb. 6 via e-mail or the postal service. The Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) sponsors the Merit Awards by providing half the funding. AAFSW also contributes approximately \$26,000 a year to the Financial Aid Awards. In the 1997-98 academic year, 23 students will be awarded AAFSW scholarships. AAFSW's annual BaakFoir proceeds support these programs.

Qualified applicants for the Financial Aid Awards must be dependents of Foreign Service employees (active, retired or deceased), be claimed as dependents on a parent's taxes, be high school seniors or be studying full-time as undergraduates at an accredited U.S. college or university, have a 2.0 grade point average and demonstrated financial need. Merit Awards are given only to graduating high school seniors and have no needs-based criteria.

Some 115 dependents applied for AFSA's \$106,000 Financial Aid Award program for the 1997-98 academic year, 60 percent of whom received grants of between \$500 and \$2,500 each. Another 72 applied for the \$23,000 in Academic Merit Awards, 20 of whom received \$1,000 each and eight of whom received \$200 each; 12 students applied for the \$1,000 Art Merit Award program, only one of whom was chosen. The remaining \$400

All government - indeed, every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue and every prudent act -

is founded on compromise and barter. - Edmund Burke

was disbursed for a variety of small awards, including two for community service and best essay.

As competition becomes fiercer for the 1998-99 program, AFSA Scholarship Administrator Lori Dec worries that students may receive smaller awards because of the larger numbers of students who qualify. "We hear from so many worthy applicants," she said. "AFSA just doesn't want to say no to young people with college dreams." Members can help by donating to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

Especially valuable are the Perpetual Named Scholarships, which require a minimum of \$10,000 to establish. Only the interest on the principal is available for scholarships. "Donors have a lasting impact on the lives of the students they fund," noted Dec. "We encourage recipients to keep in touch with their donors or their families and maintain that tightknit Foreign Service community."

AFSA administered 43 perpetual scholarships for the 1997-98 academic year, including those named for Rose Marie Asch, Hope Rogers Bastek, William Benton, Robert Waads Bliss, David K.E. Bruce, Betty Carp, Albert E. Carter, Selden Chapin, Suzanne Marie Callins, Adolph Dubs, John Fester Dulles, Arthur B. Emmons, Howard Fyfe, Philip C. Habib, Landreth M. Harrison, Harry A. Havens, Julius C. Halmes, Louise Halscher, Charles B. Hasmer, Ruth Frost Hayt, Harriet Winsor Isom, Dalton V. Killion, Francesca Bufano Lapinski, Robert E. and Florence L. Macaulay, Susan Lawe Madi, Marcia Martin Maare, Evelyn K. and Harace J. Nickels, Jefferson Patterson, C. Montague and Frances M. Pigott, Lowell C. Pinkerton, Walter K. Schwinn, George and Helena Shultz, Ernest V. Siracusa, Jack Bachman Siracusa, Clarke W. Slade, Anna Berstesser Steeves, Charles C. and Janet K. Stelle, Clare H. Timberlake, Edward T. Wailes, John Campbell White, John C. Whitehead, Sheldon Whitehouse and Theadore A. Xanthaky.

Three additional perpetual grants are considered for award every year, though they have very rigid requirements: the Beirut Memorial Scholarship; the Paris Memorial Fund; and the Vietnam Memorial Fund.

One-year Named Scholarships, which require minimum donations of \$1,000, were disbursed on Sept. 1, for

Continued on page 6

## F A S

# V.P. VOICE

• BY MAGGIE DOWLING •

### Be All That We Can Be

Congratulations to AFSA award winners Margaret Blabey and Kamilah Hause, daughters of Richard Blabey and Maurice Hause. We all feel a great sense of pride when one of our own receives such special recognition.

As exports boom, farm incomes climb and foreign markets expand, there is a similar sense of pride we all take in the achievements of FAS. There is a prevailing optimism in the future for both the agency and ourselves. Perhaps the relatively small turnout of FAS/AFSA members voting in the recent AFSA elections reflects, in part, both that confidence and the successes of my predecessor and of the many who contributed their time and talents so generously for the benefit of us all.

But we must not let greed be the enemy of the best. As Kamilah Hause wrote so poignantly in her essay, "I have learned through the Foreign Service that I want to be the best person, the best black female and the best Kamilah that I can be." Having talked to nearly all 200 FAS Foreign Service officers in the process of organizing our union, I know that Kamilah expresses what most of us feel.

And while we have that sense of pride in the achievements of FAS, many of us have experienced, as well, a sense of disappointment when FAS falls short in its responsibility to provide all members of our organization the opportunity to give their best.

The widely publicized case, for instance, involving FAS and a disabled child left us all embarrassed and diminished. With more widely based participation in AFSA from FAS Foreign Service officers, my goal

is to ensure that our agency policies are always consistent with the innate values and aspirations of all individuals within FAS.

In addition to the current FAS/AFSA work on the new assignment policy, the new language incentive policy and flex-time and flex-place guidelines, I will work to provide stronger safeguards to the integrity of such

important management tools as investigations, disciplinary actions, performance evaluations and the grievance process. As FAS/AFSA vice president, representing a bargaining unit made up of very smart, very demanding and very decent Foreign Service officers, I will work to raise the bar of good policy even higher.

Your comments and recommendations are always welcomed. Confidential messages may be sent to my e-mail address: breadnroses@campuserve.com ("Bread and roses," by the way, is the slogan used by women textile workers during their 1912 strike in Lawrence, Mass. They demanded more than mere subsistence.)

When we are all given the opportunity to be our best, our prospects are limitless. Just ask Margaret Blabey and Kamilah Hause.

*"I will work to raise the bar of good policy even higher."*



Find interesting foreign stamps and coins at the Stamp Corner during the AAFSW BookFair October 16 through October 26 at the State Department. Call (202) 223-5796 for more information.

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

## Choices

Sometimes there are choices we would rather not have to make. And when they arise they seem to come at awkward moments.

A couple of months after the closing date for registering for the 1997 AFSA elections, I was persuaded to become a candidate to succeed Steve Law as president of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training (ADST). ADST supports the Foreign Service Institute, the primary training center for our nation's diplomats, and advances the study of U.S. diplomacy and diplomatic history. Training and the study of diplomacy are essential building blocks in my quest for more broadly-based respect for and appreciation of the work of the United States Foreign Service.

I have been lucky. ADST's Presidential Search Committee has nominated me to become the association's president. I have accepted the nomination, so I am resigning as AFSA's Vice President for Retirees effective September 15.

AFSA's new Governing Board has graciously asked me to stay on as chair of its Professionalism Committee, and I have agreed. This committee will continue to work on your behalf to sustain a strong, professional Foreign Service. By the time you read this, AFSA's Governing Board will have chosen a strong new vice president who, I am sure, will look after critical retiree issues with vigor and commitment. And you can continue to count on Retiree Liaison Ward Thampson to keep a close eye on retiree interests and to be, as always, an effective ambassador on retiree issues with the State Department.

Thank you - all of you - for the wonderful help you have given AFSA and me. Your interest and support have made all the difference in our ability to protect your interests in Washington and to enhance your access to events in the world of foreign affairs.

Keep up your engagement with AFSA. I am keeping up mine. And consider supporting ADST.

## AAFSW BookFair 1997

State Department

October 16 - 26

Proceeds benefit a  
scholarship program  
and local charities.

### Demand for Scholarships

*Continued from page 5*

Jahn P. Becker, Robert C. Frasure, Public Members Association of the Foreign Service, Arthur P. Shankle Jr. and Robert L. Yast. Additional funds are disbursed through three trusts - funds held by outside institutions but distributed by AFSA - in remembrance of Wilbur J. Carr, Oliver Bishop Hariman and Gertrude Stewart.

Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired (DACOR) also provides funding for AFSA's Financial Aid Awards, offering up to \$30,000 annually to college juniors or seniors majoring in foreign affairs through a trust established by the late Heyward G. Hill. "DACOR is pleased to offer these awards and it is especially gratifying when DACOR members meet Hill Scholarship recipients or when students keep in touch via letters," says Herbert Harowitz, DACOR Education Committee Chairman.

"AFSA's Scholarship Program is an excellent way for members to know that their Foreign Service legacies will live on through young people pursuing the same career," points out Susan Reardan, AFSA's executive director.

For more information on establishing a scholarship, making a donation or applying for AFSA scholarships, contact Dec via e-mail at [scholar@afsa.org](mailto:scholar@afsa.org) or by phone at (202) 944-5504. Her fax number is (202) 338-6820.

### AAFSW FORUM 1997-98

Since 1960, the AAFSW has served as an independent advocate for the concerns of the Foreign Service community. The FORUM needs your input to find new solutions to problems both old and new.

**Saturday, October 4 10 A.M. - 1 P.M.**

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3401 Nebraska Ave., NW, Washington, D.C., 20016  
(202) 363-4900**

**(Near Ward Circle, off Mass. Ave., across from American University)**

Be prepared to prioritize those issues that affect you most -- issues we will address during FORUM 97-98. Examples: NAFTA daycare; language training for spouses; eldercare.

Morning refreshments will be provided. Bring a "brown bag" if you would like the flexibility of staying later. For more information, contact Mette Beecroft (301) 320-7698 or Peggy McMahon (202) 966-8247

## Armchair Diplomacy

Continued from page 1

awareness of the importance of diplomacy are Diplomats Online (DOL) and the World Issues Forum (WIF).

Diplomats Online originated in 1993, and was created by Lynn Fontono of Fountain Communications with funding from the Uno Chopmon Cox Foundation. A feasibility study of this instructional medium was conducted in the spring of 1993, followed by a more extensive study involving teachers from *Notional Geographic's* Instructional Leadership Institute, as well as retired diplomats recruited by AFSA. Results demonstrated that DOL had the potential to engage students, teachers and the general public in thoughtful discussions about international issues. In late 1994, DOL launched a grassroots campaign, promoting awareness of international issues and support for American leadership abroad. DOL was recently awarded a grant by the United States-Japan Foundation to create online curriculum modules focused on U.S.-Japanese relations.

Programs such as these provide a valuable source of information for the

public and, more importantly, for school children. Says Don Anderson of his Online experience: "I got an idea of how well informed high school students are on issues such as Hong Kong. I learned a bit about how this medium can be used in education." He went on to explain how programs such as these are beneficial: "They bring people who have in-depth experience in foreign affairs into the classroom on a scale that would otherwise be impossible." When asked if he would do it again, he replied with an emphatic "Yes!"

The importance of Diplomats Online and other interactive online programs is just now being realized. Says former AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Horris, "Foreign policy is too important to be left entirely to professionals. Input from an informed, engaged American public is essential for the maintenance of a vigorous United States leadership role in world affairs. DOL is an ideal medium for stimulating and shaping input."

The outreach program World Issues Forum is the AFSA-sponsored Speakers Bureau. It provides speakers, mostly retired diplomats, to diverse audiences across the nation in universities, local

community service organizations, churches, high schools and World Affairs Councils. Speakers encourage youth, especially minority members, to consider Foreign Service careers. Discussion topics have included "the new world disorder," "U.S. economic security," "the democratic revolution" and "emerging global issues."

AFSA is currently working to merge Diplomats Online and the World Issues Forum by bringing the World Issues Forum online. Obvious advantages to this merger include geographic availability of speakers, ease of electronic requests for a speaker and interchangeability of speakers for DOL and WIF.

A new era has dawned in the world of diplomacy. While face to face interactions are still the most effective means of open diplomatic communication, electronic interactions are on the rise. Computer interactions can be executed in the comfort of an old armchair. AFSA is trying to make diplomacy accessible to everybody. And what's more accessible than the old armchair?

If you are interested in volunteering for DOL or WIF, contact Kristina Kreomer at [comm@ofsa.org](mailto:comm@ofsa.org) or (202) 944-5506.



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## Inside the FS Community

Continued from page 3

Latimer Jr., left the FS in 1954, after 25 years of service. Latimer wrote extensively for the *Journal* during the 1950s and 1960s.

- Retired FSO **Theodore L. Lewis** recently self-published his book, *To Restore The Church: Radical Redemption History to Now*, which traces the history of Biblical redemption. For information on purchasing a copy of the book, contact Lewis at (301) 972-5956.

- Five and Ten Press, Inc., of Washington, D.C., recently released its first work of fiction, *Innocents of the Lotter Day: Modern Americans Abroad*, by retired ambassador **James Spain**. The press, founded by retired U.S. ambassador **Robert Keeley** in November 1995, has released five works of non-fiction. For more information on the press, contact Keeley at (202) 244-9163.

- Retired FSO **Arthur S. Lezin** self-published his book, *From Afghanistan to Zaire: Reflections on a Foreign Service Life* in August. For information on purchasing a copy, contact Lezin c/o Karakorom Press, P.O. Box 3133, Sunriver, OR 97707.

- Former FSO **Rev. John J. Hurley Jr.** recently participated in a faculty development seminar on the politics and ethics of humanitarian intervention, sponsored by the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs. Rev. Hurley, who teaches graduate and undergraduate courses at Catholic University, is associate pastor at St. John the Baptist Catholic Church in Silver Spring, Md.

### Affiliated Organization Activities

- **AAFSW** is sponsoring a fund-raising tea for the FS Oral History Project at 4 p.m., Sept. 16 at DACOR House and a general meeting at 10 a.m., Oct. 14 at State featuring Under Secretary Thomas R. Pickering. For more information, call AAFSW at (202) 362-6514.

- **DACOR** recently released a monograph of its fall conference, "Foreign Policy and Congress," chaired by retired ambassador **Donald R. Norland**. To obtain a copy, call (202) 682-0500. Do you have news about a recent accomplishment of an AFSA member or news of an event of interest to the Foreign Service community? Fax it to (202) 338-8244.

## Dateline

Continued from page 1

the AFSA Scholarship Fund, may be mailed to AFSA Scholarship Coordinator Lori Dec.

- Author John Boskin is seeking Winthrop Burr, Edward Curtis, Robert Hiatt, Roberto Hochort, James King, Robert A. Schow and Sherwood Sidelinger, former State Department officials who were interned as hostages in Boden-Boden in 1943. The diplomats were part of a group of 145 known as the American Exchange Group which included relief workers, journalists and children who were taken hostage in France at the time of the invasion of North Africa. Boskin's book, to be published by Houghton Mifflin in 1999, will focus on the hostage-taking through the eyes of the witnesses. Contact Mary Ann Olding via e-mail at [olding@fso.uc.edu](mailto:olding@fso.uc.edu) or by phone at (513) 721-7727. Fax her at (513) 721-7729.

- Ed Miltenberger has joined the FSJ staff as Advertising and Circulation Manager. He recently completed a three-month stint as elections supervisor in the Serb Republic, Bosnia and Croatia. A business graduate of Frostburg State University, Miltenberger was a training coordinator for the Cochran Fellowship Program at FAS. As a Peace Corps volunteer from 1987-92, he worked in small enterprise development in Ecuador and Bolivia.

- AFSA Post Representatives are needed in Adana, Almaty, Ashgabat, Asmara, Auckland, Baku, Bongo, Borcelono, Belfast, Bogota, Brozoville, Bridgetown, Bucharest, Budapest, Bujumbura, Calgary, Chengdu, Chenoai, Cotonou, Curocao, Doha, Durbon, Edinburgh, Florence, Freetown, Guayaquil, Halifax, Hamburg, Hamilton, Hanoi, Havana, Hermosillo, Khortoum, Kiev, Koror, Leipzig, Ljubljano, Maseru, Merido, Minsk, Moscow, Niamey, Nouakchott, Nuevo Laredo, Paramaribo, Perth, Peshawar, Ponta Delgada, Port Louis, Port-au-Prince, Port-of-Spain, Praia, Pusan, Quebec, Recife, Reykjavik, Rio de Janeiro, Rome, St. George's, Sapporo, Shanghai, Shenyang, Skopje, Sofia, Surayaba, Suva, Tashkent, Tbilisi, Thessaloniki, Tijuana, Tirana, Vatican City, Vilnius, Warrenton Training Center, Yaounde, Yekaterinburg and Yerevan. Contact Yolonda Odunsi, Membership Representative, at [member@afsa.org](mailto:member@afsa.org) or by phone at (202) 338-4045 ext. 525.



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# FOREIGN SERVICE

JOURNAL

## Letters

To the Editor:

In May it occurred to me with shock that I had been retired for 20 years. As a way of looking back I reviewed the interview I had given in 1989 for the Foreign Affairs Oral History program and was struck by my answer to a question regarding my wife's role during my FS career.

Reflecting on my answer, I realize how much the FS has changed since my retirement, especially in regard to the status of women, whether as employees or as wives, or now, even as both. Perhaps my observations will be of interest both to those active today and to those retired who served in an earlier era.

Ernest V. Siracusa  
Ret. FSO  
San Clemente, Calif.

Q: Speaking of family, would you care to comment on the role played by your wife, especially in your more senior positions?

A: Something should be said about the indispensable contribution made to my career and our representation of the United States by Jacq Bachman Siracusa.

She served in another era when women did not expect to be compensated and voluntarily performed their myriad functions as an essential half of a husband and wife team. The FS in those days surely did get two for the price of one, and the more talented and capable the wife, as in my case, her contribution may easily have counted for twice that of her husband. Add to this the responsibilities of a mother - meeting the demand of her children from infancy through the terrible teens, balancing their needs with social responsibilities - and you can see the pressures and demands on such women.

In my case, Jacq was not only a talented person with unquenchable intellectual curiosity and scholarship in many fields, but also a superb linguist and an empathetic listener. She listened to people, they responded to her and often she became confident and confessor, helping others cope with the strains and pressures of their lives.

She was also drawn to serve the afflicted and underprivileged, far too many to enumerate.

She was hastess - formal and same-

times informal - to presidents, prime ministers, cabinet officers, military and civilian leaders, ambassadors, executive and congressional visitors, the local American and host country business and community leaders, the clergy, leaders in the arts. This aspect requires not only social skills of a high order, but also protocolary balancing acts. And lastly, she was moral supporter, counselor, sounding board and confidant to her husband and sometimes the firm hand to prevent him from doing or saying something foolish.

Let us forget, there were also the demands of her children, moving as they grew up from country to country and culture to culture, making and leaving best friends and always adapting to differing environments. To keep a heavy official and social schedule night and day while trying to nurture, mold and support growing children places heavy demands on both parents and children. Too much cannot be said in praise of the FS wife, cast in the mold of Jacq Siracusa and, for that matter, of children who pay a high price for the privilege they enjoy from the positive, enriching aspects of FS life.

Jacq did not even receive a teocup from a "grateful" government on retirement. I, after all, received a lot of buttan and the American and ambassadorial flags. To recognize her merit and to honor her work, I funded a perpetual scholarship to be given in her name annually by AFSA to students in financial need. And to keep my own name at least minimally alive in an organization in which I was honored and proud to serve for over 37 years, I established one in my own name, as well.

Dear Tex,

Thank 'em all - everyone who had a hand in the marvelous award and in the warm welcome back to the world of Foreign Service. It was a real honor to receive that award. I respect the Foreign Service and will always be grateful for its support.

Warm personal regards,

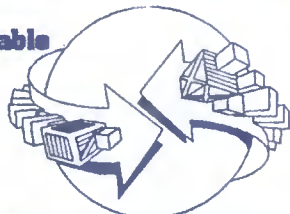
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### Independent Auditor's Report

Governing Board of the  
American Foreign Service Association  
and Associated Organizations

We have audited the accompanying combined statement of financial position of the American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations (the Association) as of December 31, 1996, and the related combined statements of activities, changes in net assets, and cash flows for the year then ended. These combined financial statements are the responsibility of the Association's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these combined financial statements based on our audit.

We conducted our audit in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards. Those standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements are free of material misstatement. An audit includes examining, on a test basis, evidence supporting the amounts and disclosures in the financial statements. An audit also includes assessing the accounting principles used and significant estimates made by management, as well as evaluating the overall financial statement presentation. We believe that our audit provides a reasonable basis for our opinion.

In our opinion, the combined financial statements referred to above present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations as of December 31, 1996, and the changes in their net assets and their cash flows for the year then ended in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

As discussed in Note 2 to the combined financial statements, in 1996 the Association changed its method of accounting for certain investments.

*Lang + Associates, P.A.*

Bethesda, Maryland  
March 31, 1997

**American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations  
Combined Statement of Financial Position  
December 31, 1996 and 1995**

	1996	1995 (Restated)
<b>Assets</b>		
<b>Current Assets</b>		
Cash and cash equivalents, including restricted cash of \$224,631 in 1996 and \$147,018 in 1995	\$ 540,042	\$ 302,824
Accounts receivable, less allowance for doubtful accounts of \$3,067 in 1996 and \$14,250 in 1995	83,657	73,038
Contributions receivable	32,235	60,625
Accrued interest and dividends	10,092	9,011
Prepaid expenses and other assets	22,611	22,115
Total current assets	688,637	467,613
<b>Noncurrent Assets</b>		
Land, building and equipment, net of depreciation	610,268	657,240
Temporarily restricted investments	2,759,402	2,487,862
Marketable securities	41,356	39,447
Total noncurrent assets	3,411,026	3,184,549
<b>Total Assets</b>	\$ 4,099,663	\$ 3,652,162
<b>Liabilities and Net Assets</b>		
<b>Current Liabilities</b>		
Accounts payable	\$ 47,694	\$ 41,838
Accrued expenses	52,117	41,051
Deferred revenue	246,269	228,737
Current portion of note payable	40,578	37,748
Total current liabilities	386,658	349,374
<b>Note Payable, less current portion</b>	17,822	58,360
Total liabilities	404,480	407,734
<b>Commitments and Contingencies</b>	---	---
<b>Net Assets</b>		
Unrestricted	669,096	553,806
Temporarily restricted	3,026,087	2,690,622
Total net assets	3,695,183	3,244,428
<b>Total Liabilities and Net Assets</b>	\$ 4,099,663	\$ 3,652,162

**American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations  
 Combined Statement of Activities  
 Year Ended December 31, 1996  
 (With summarized financial information for 1995)**

	1996			1995
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total	(Restated) Total
<b>Revenue, Gains, and Other Support</b>				
Membership dues	\$ 1,393,016	\$ ---	\$ 1,393,016	\$ 1,244,257
Advertising sales	369,667	---	369,667	360,576
Contributions	66,586	295,333	361,919	315,625
Corporate sponsors	23,965	46,000	69,965	141,403
Subscriptions	8,653	---	8,653	9,445
Realized and unrealized gain on marketable securities	1,909	268,079	269,988	555,385
Dividends and interest	5,182	91,038	96,220	91,885
Other	30,428	---	30,428	36,612
Net assets released from restrictions				
Satisfaction of program restrictions	364,985	(364,985)	---	---
Total revenue, gains, and other support	<u>2,264,391</u>	<u>335,465</u>	<u>2,599,856</u>	<u>2,755,188</u>
<b>Expenses</b>				
<b>Program services</b>				
Alumni	82,018	---	82,018	105,115
Journal	685,215	---	685,215	612,348
Membership	43,564	---	43,564	45,814
Labor relations	379,929	---	379,929	384,423
Legislative action	133,153	---	133,153	125,477
Club	51,222	---	51,222	50,417
Election	---	---	---	12,382
Board and committee	47,961	---	47,961	51,219
AFSA Fund	122,058	---	122,058	111,055
Outreach	80,562	---	80,562	174,527
International associates	28,914	---	28,914	16,314
Minority intern	2,164	---	2,164	7,550
Diplomats on line	41,299	---	41,299	5,969
Scholarship	237,696	---	237,696	258,770
Total program services	<u>1,935,755</u>	<u>---</u>	<u>1,935,755</u>	<u>1,961,380</u>
<b>Supporting services</b>				
Management and general	162,298	---	162,298	201,321
Fundraising	3,264	---	3,264	7,291
Membership support	47,784	---	47,784	75,940
Total supporting services	<u>213,346</u>	<u>---</u>	<u>213,346</u>	<u>284,552</u>
Total expenses	<u>2,149,101</u>	<u>---</u>	<u>2,149,101</u>	<u>2,245,932</u>
<b>Change in Net Assets</b>	<u>\$ 115,290</u>	<u>\$ 335,465</u>	<u>\$ 450,755</u>	<u>\$ 509,256</u>

American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations  
 Combined Statement of Changes in Net Assets  
 Years Ended December 31, 1996 and 1995

	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total
Net Assets, December 31, 1994, as previously reported	\$ 612,315	\$ 1,966,800	\$ 2,579,115
Adjustment for adoption of newly issued accounting principle	---	156,057	156,057
Net Assets, December 31, 1994, as restated	612,315	2,122,857	2,735,172
Change in net assets	(58,509)	567,765	509,256
Net Assets, December 31, 1995	553,806	2,690,622	3,244,428
Change in net assets	115,290	335,465	450,755
Net Assets, December 31, 1996	\$ 669,096	\$ 3,026,087	\$ 3,695,183

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*The Foreign Service's ability to cope with transnational crime is, at best, limited. The FSO corps is openly uncomfortable in dealing with the underbelly of foreign policy.*

---

could be found to try and settle disputes," he said. "Often, the negotiating table was just a phone call away. With organized crime there is no such table. The tools of diplomacy have no meaning to groups whose business revolve around drug trafficking, extortion and murder. And when international organized crime can threaten the stability of regions and the very viability of nations, the issues are far from being exclusively the realm of law enforcement; they also become a matter of national security."

During the Cold War, U.S. foreign policy analysts invariably sought out the ideological dimension of power politics in each country. With ideology no longer the paramount threat, the new driver of power politics has become organized criminal syndicates. These cartels' manipulation of the political and economic landscape has become increasingly evident in countries like Colombia, Nigeria, Mexico, Burma, Russia and the emerging countries of the former Soviet Union's New Independent States. The strength of the Sicilian Mafia, Chinese triads, Nigerian heroin smugglers, and American-based Colombian and Mexican crime organizations should also be noted. Through corruption and intimidation, these groups target and weaken institutions designed to enhance public safety and political participation: the legislature, judiciary, police and media. In Colombia, organized crime now controls the country's legislature and presidency, and in the emerging democracy of Russia, it has wreaked havoc in politics. In fact, many observers believe that behind legitimate power in Russia lies a cabal of mafia leaders — political puppeteers.

The United Nations values the illegal international

---

*Crescencio Arcos is a retired FSO who served as ambassador to Honduras from 1989-1993 and as senior deputy assistant secretary of State for International Narcotics and Crime from 1993-1995. He is now vice president of the Caribbean and Latin American region for international public affairs at AT&T in Coral Gables, Fla.*

narcotics trade alone at more than \$700 billion a year, which does not include alien smuggling, currency forgery, money laundering, white slavery, auto theft, illicit nuclear material sales, tax evasion, credit card deception, telecommunications fraud, bribes and misuse or looting of public funds. Moreover, the technological revolution has accelerated the movement of the electronic transfer of illicit monies and the transshipment of illicit drugs, aliens and arms.

This means that the challenges to rule of law and democracy are even greater. Soviet communism and the possibility of nuclear annihilation were plainly invidious threats. International crime is insidious: It seeks to corrupt, coerce, co-opt and control the established order. Moreover, its modus operandi is to offer self-preservation or financial enrichment. Hence, it is often difficult to determine the motive of officialdom's corrupt behavior.

**T**he Foreign Service's ability to cope with transnational crime is, at best, limited. First, the FSO corps is openly uncomfortable in dealing with the underbelly of foreign policy. International crime is not an elegant or fashionable issue. FSOs' attitude is: Let the FBI, the Drug Enforcement Agency, Diplomatic Security, the Coast Guard or other law enforcement agencies deal with this disagreeable and sticky issue. Second, the average FSO is not trained to deal with these international law enforcement challenges. Monitoring crime requires a special kind of approach that readily recognizes the human weakness for illicit enrichment. Unhappily for the career diplomat, there are no illustrations of ideological and military might, as in the Cold War days.

Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright's \$230 million, fiscal 1998 budget request for international narcotics and law enforcement highlights drug control and cooperation. "Through training, institution-building, and information-sharing, U.S. funds will also work to strengthen law enforcement operations against major



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international organizations targeting the United States," the request said. "The overall goal is for host nations to strengthen their own laws and institutions so that they can conduct the full range of enforcement efforts — from investigation to incarceration — on their own." More than three-quarters of the budget would go for salaries and benefits of employees at State's Bureau of International Narcotics.

To truly be competitive against the new threat, FSOs should also receive short-term assignments to law enforcement and intelligence agencies, as well as improved and increased training in international law. Additionally, one of the more daunting challenges is the FSO corps' ability to cope with the temptation to tell U.S. leaders what they want to hear — and not letting the truth hamper a foreign policy goal. Trade comes to mind. Too often policymakers do not want to hear that a friendly country's leadership is corrupt or compromised. The professional and diplomatic approach to corrupt or criminally-inspired governments is to discreetly report the truth and let the host government know that the United States knows what it knows.

Too often FSOs, especially chiefs of mission, believe they are expected to defend — not criticize — their host government. Ironically, this lessens U.S. domestic support for organized crime measures because the true threat is unknown. Evaluation or certification mechanisms, such as the controversial and unsuccessful U.S. narcotics certification, ideally should be carried out multilaterally. One country publicly evaluating another is offensive and invariably counterproductive. Although the process is immensely popular on the domestic front, it undermines U.S. credibility and seriousness of purpose abroad. More effective can be U.S. vetoing in the United Nations, discreet blocking of bilateral and multilateral loans and withholding most-favored-nation trading status.

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## F O C U S

Again, the FSO corps needs to overcome its aversion to international crime and recognize its serious threat to national security. But more importantly, U.S. leaders must not only talk against organized crime, but ensure that U.S. diplomatic treatment of the issue is clear, decisive and innovative. A mere mention of concern in secretary of State briefing books for meetings with heads of state will not suffice. Constant, private and discreet, yet firm, expressions of concern are indispensable for diplomatic purposes.

Finally, the insidious nature of the threat of international crime must alert America that, like patriotism in the United States, sovereignty is often the last refuge of scoundrels in many countries. The recent manipulation of the extradition law in Colombia is an example of a criminal organization hiding behind a nationalistic issue. The rule of law must be a paramount in American foreign policy objectives; without it impunity will prevail and enable organized crime to grow even more powerful. International agreements, such as the Organization of American States' recent anti-corruption convention, would be more effective if international treaties included agreed-upon penalties.

No matter which country, the emergence of a civil society that roots out corrupt and criminal regimes appears to be the most effective antidote to an immoral and corrupt political and justice system. Moreover, the emergence of a civil society offers a unique opportunity for U.S. diplomats. FSOs should identify and publicly nurture these islands of healthy institutions and citizens in their assigned countries. To be seen publicly consorting with and entertaining corrupt politicians and criminals will readily be seen by the host country's populace as legitimizing the cartels' conduct. Even more distressing might be that the United States rails vociferously against crime and corruption, but tolerates unethical behavior among friendly governments. Cynicism will take hold not just in the civil society, but also among the FSO corps. ■

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# AN EYE ON IRAN

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NEW PRESIDENT PROMISES TO PRESS WESTERN IDEALS  
BUT WILL HE CLASH WITH AYATOLLAH KHAMEINI?

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BY GEORGE GEDDA

**A**mong America's foreign policy setbacks, Iran is almost in a class by itself. The seizure of power by radical Islamists in 1979 was perhaps the worst strategic defeat for the United States since World War II. An enemy regime took power in a country that was once the linchpin of U.S. policy in the Persian Gulf. It is a country associated with American humiliation and defeat. It provided Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan with perhaps their darkest moments in the White House.

Iran nowadays is seemingly intent on accumulating weapons of mass destruction, has played a major role in sponsoring terrorist groups well beyond its borders and does what it can to sabotage the Middle East peace process. As for anti-American vitriol, few countries can match Iran's record. Where else, besides Iran, could a 100-mile procession be organized — as it was last April — with "Death to America" as its overriding theme?

Normally, the United States engages countries that are both powerful and adversarial. But the Clinton administration, until now, has seen Iran as a country beyond reach. There has not been a functioning U.S. embassy there since 1979 and no member of Congress has visited Iran in 10 years. Far from

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*George Gedda is the diplomatic correspondent for the Associated Press.*

seeking an accommodation with the Iranians, the Clinton administration and the Congress have worked to increase the pressure on them. The United States imposed a total trade ban on Iran in May 1995. Legislation signed in August 1996 requires sanctions against foreign firms that invest more than \$40 million in any one year in Iran's (and Libya's) oil and gas sectors. Among some analysts, there is skepticism as to whether deterrents apply in a country like Iran, whose Shi'ite religious doctrine exalts suffering and martyrdom, and a country that used human wave attacks in its war against Iraq. The late Les Aspin, who served as Clinton's first defense secretary, once called Iran "undeterrable."

How to deal with Iran has been the subject of serious differences within NATO, since many European allies refuse to go along with the containment policy advocated by the United States. Those differences, however, appeared to narrow this year after a German court on April 10 concluded that Iran's leaders had ordered the killings of four exiled Iranian dissidents in Berlin in 1992. The European Union responded by barring high-level meetings between any EU country and Iran and banning Iranian intelligence officials from visiting Europe. But trade ties between Iran and EU countries remain unaffected. Germany is Iran's largest Western trading partner, with two-way exchanges valued at \$1.2 billion last year.

While opinion in Europe against Iran has hardened, questions have arisen in unofficial American circles about the wisdom of the get-tough U.S. policy.

Some analysts believe the policy has produced scant results and should be replaced by one of increased engagement. And advocates of such a policy were given a boost by the surprise election last May of Mohammad Khatami as president of Iran. As minister of culture in the 1980s, he eased censorship and allowed more foreign publications into the country. During his run for the presidency this past spring, he campaigned for human rights, personal freedom and the rule of law.

It was obvious from both the turnout (88 percent of eligible voters) and the size of his victory (69 percent) that Iranian voters were fed up with the strict Islamist approach to governance and were eager to embrace a reformer. Their rejection of the establishment's candidate was unmistakable. On election day, Khatami showed particular strength among the young and women. His election was a surprise development in a region in which coups d'état, not the ballot box, are the normal means for changing direction.

**T**he views of Khatami, who took office Aug. 3, on the outside world seem at times out of step with the traditional Iranian establishment view that the West is decadent and materialistic and should be rejected. He told a women's magazine earlier this year that he believes "the West has a superb civilization which has influenced all parts of the world." He speaks German and has studied Western philosophy. According to Stephen Fairbanks, of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Khatami spoke often during the campaign about the need to reduce international tensions in the region and beyond.

"If that means a less confrontational attitude, that's all to the good," says Fairbanks. Clinton saw Khatami's election as a "hopeful" sign that Iran may be moving away from fundamentalism.

If Khatami is intent on a new beginning in relations with the United States, he must move with care lest he alienate the clerical-led power centers that see themselves as guardians of revolutionary doctrine. He has promised to obey the dictates of Iran's bitterly anti-American spiritual leader, Ayatollah Ali Khomeini. His chief rival in the elections, the conservative Ali Akbar

Nateq Nouri, is expected to remain as speaker in Iran's parliament and to try to deter any U.S.-Iran detente. Also, the notion that Khatami is eager for peaceful coexistence with the outside world is tempered somewhat by a comment he made to an Iranian newspaper six years ago: "Where do we look in drawing up our strategy?" he asked. "To expanding and extending the revolution or to preserving the country? We must focus on extension and expansion."

Khatami's penchant for contradictory signals makes it difficult at this point to predict whether he will be an agent for change. Some wonder whether his election was orchestrated by the Iranian mullahs as a means of strengthening the hand of American moderates and undercutting those who advocate increasing the pressure further.

"Let's be clear from the start," says American University Professor Amos Perlmutter. "There are no moderates in Iran any more than there were moderates in the Soviet Union before Mikhail Gorbachev." He says the real power in Iran will lie not with Khatami but with the "totalitarian, ideological clergy, whose hatred for the West, and especially the United States, surpasses all otherwise rational behavior in international politics and diplomacy." That view is disputed by Gary Siek, a senior research fellow at Columbia University, who says "the classic view of Iran — that there are no moderates, that this is a closed, impossible system — has been seriously challenged" by Khatami's election.

Even before the election, there were those in the United States who believed the current U.S. policy is at a dead end and that an effort should be made to work with the Iranians. The most prominent among them are Zbigniew Brzezinski, Richard Murphy and Brent Scowcroft, all senior officials in the Carter, Reagan and Bush administrations. For Brzezinski especially, Iran is a sensitive issue, for it was on his watch as national security adviser in 1979 that the pro-American monarchy was driven from power.

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*The foreign policy implications of Khatami's election are profound, and his less confrontational attitude toward the West is promising.*

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He joined with Murphy and Scowcroft in authoring a *Foreign Affairs* article last spring that questioned the American effort, carried out virtually alone, to isolate Iran through economic sanctions. Under the Clinton administration's "dual containment" approach, the same policy is pursued towards Iraq although with much broader international support.

The three argue that the opening of Clinton's second term, coupled with the inauguration of a new administration in Tehran, offer a timely opportunity for a review of U.S. policies toward the Persian Gulf. They contend that the U.S. sanctions policy enjoys only tepid support from the generally pro-Western Gulf Cooperation Council. And it "drives Iran and Russia together and the United States and its Group of Seven allies apart," according to the *Foreign Affairs* article.

They added that the sanctions, "although doing some damage to the Iranian economy, have produced no major achievements and increasingly isolate America rather than their target."

The administration says it is not opposed to a dialogue with Iran but that any such exchange must begin by focusing on three areas of concern to the United States: Iran's efforts to build weapons of mass destruction, its sponsorship of international terrorism and its attempts to undermine the Middle East peace process.

However, the three former officials contend such efforts by Iran, while deplorable, "should not be grounds for international excommunication." As for the first two, specific policy instruments should replace "the current crude and counterproductive attempt to cordon off the entire country," they said.

The authors called Iran's quest for a nuclear weapons capability the single most worrisome aspect of its behavior. "The United States should respond by pushing the controls and inspection provisions of the existing nuclear non-

proliferation regime to their limits and continuing to make counter-proliferation efforts a top priority," they wrote.

"It should focus more narrowly on the nuclear threat as opposed to other issues, which might strengthen its case for controls and achieve greater success in stemming the flow of support for the nuclear weapons program."

The authors counsel that the United States should meet with the Europeans, the Japanese and its Gulf allies "and hash out what each other's interests are, what policies make sense in trying to protect those interests and how policy disagreements should be handled. "Only such high-level consultations can yield multilateral policies toward Iran that stand a good chance of achieving their goals and being sustainable over the long run," they said.

Some analysts, like Perlmutter, seriously question whether Iran is ready to change course. Another skeptic is Patrick Clawson of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, who recalls that the Islamic republic's first president, Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, was thought to be a moderate who would solve the hostage crisis but turned out to be powerless. He wound up in exile. Clawson also pointed out that the Iran-contra affair began in 1985 with a CIA effort to reinforce Iranian moderates who opposed Soviet ambitions. Only later did it emerge that the Iranian interlocutors were lying, "saying whatever would persuade Washington to sell them arms," Clawson added. And when Hashemi Rafsanjani was elected president in 1989, Clawson described him as "the great white-turbaned hope," yet he sponsored more terrorism than did his predecessors." State Department figures dispute that claim, however.

Still others question the Brzezinski-Murphy-Scowcroft thesis that the American containment policy is going nowhere. Zalmay Khalizad, of Rand Corporation, says the policy has pre-

cluded Iranian hegemony in the gulf. It ensures the free flow of oil, he says, deters or at least delays Iran's acquisition of weapons of mass destruction, limits the effect of its opposition on the Middle East peace process and makes Iran pay for its sponsorship of terrorism.

The U.S. containment policy, Khalizad adds, "is more successful than most observers give it credit for." The sanctions' regime, he contends, has contributed to Iran's economic difficulties and forced the Iranian government to make tougher choices, especially regarding military modernization.

**K**halizad sees Khatami's election as a reaction to Iran's deepening economic problems. There were non-economic factors behind his election as well. Many women voted for him as a protest against the country's conservative dress code. There is also resentment against rules that bar public contact between unmarried males and females and against the exclusion of women from high public office. Many Iranians also are counting on Khatami to dismantle the country's repressive apparatus. According to the State Department's human rights report, systematic abuses include extrajudicial killings and summary executions, disappearances, widespread use of torture, harsh prison conditions, arbitrary arrest and detention, lack of fair trials, and restrictions on freedom of speech, press, assembly, religion and movement.

The U.S. foreign policy implications of Khatami's election are what count most. Initially, both sides were predictably cautious after the election. Khatami said improvement in U.S.-Iranian relations would "depend on changes in the attitude and positions of the U.S.A." U.S. officials said the ball was in Iran's court.

Getting a dialogue started with Iran is no easy task, given the extraordinary amount of historical baggage that bur-

dens the relationship, not least of which is the 1979-1981 hostage-taking of American diplomats in Iran and the country's sponsorship of terrorism against U.S. personnel and interests. Iran, of course, has its own list of grievances, including the CIA's role in reinstating the Iranian monarchy in 1953 and American support for Iraq near the end of the Iran-Iraq War a decade ago.

Any attempt by either side to open a dialogue probably would be quickly aborted if Iran were found to have had a hand in the Khobar Towers bombing in Saudi Arabia in June 1996, which left 19 American servicemen dead. If such a determination is reached, the United States would have little choice but to retaliate, perhaps militarily. The State Department regards Iran as the "premier" state sponsor of terrorism worldwide, even though official figures indicate a sharp decline in the number of terrorist incidents in which Iran is believed to be directly involved. Some analysts say Iran is no less interested in sponsoring terrorism these days, but does a better job of masking it through increased reliance on surrogate groups such as Lebanon's Hezbollah.

There is strong sentiment in Congress for keeping the pressure on in Iran. A week before Khatami's inauguration, more than 200 House members urged the administration to escalate the pressure on Iran. But as that statement was being circulated, the administration undertook what some analysts interpreted as a friendly gesture towards Iran. It decided to acquiesce in the construction of a \$1.6 billion pipeline that would carry huge quantities of Turkmenistan natural gas across Iran to markets in Turkey and Europe. The State Department said the pipeline will aid Turkmenistan's development and help it achieve independence from Russia while enabling Turkey to overcome its needs for natural gas. The United States does not endorse the pipeline but concluded that it does not

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*The late Les Aspin, who served as President Clinton's first defense secretary, once called Iran 'undeterrable.'*

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technically violate the 1996 Iran-Libya Sanctions Act, aimed at deterring investments in the two countries' oil and gas sectors. Republican Sens. Alphonse D'Amato of New York and Sam Brownback of Kansas said the administration's decision "helps fill Iranian coffers and thus furthers their ability to sponsor terrorism and acquire weapons of mass destruction." But Iran has assured Washington it has no intent of becoming a nuclear power, pointing to its membership in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. "Iranian nuclear programs are crystal clear and transparent and for humanitarian purposes," President Rafsanjani said shortly before leaving office. But, as Michael Eisenstadt, of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, has noted, evidence that Iran plans to become a nuclear power has been cited by the American, German, Israeli and Russian intelligence services.

Eisenstadt says Iran's procurement practices over the past decade "are not entirely consistent with a peaceful nuclear program and thus raise suspicions about its intentions." He says Iran could have nuclear weapons in six to 14 years — sooner if it were to receive fissile material and extensive help from abroad. The evidence for Iran's involvement in the production of chemical and biological weapons is much less ambiguous than that relating to its nuclear effort. "Iran has the most active chemical warfare program in the developing world," says Eisenstadt. "It can produce several hundred tons of

chemical agents a year and may have produced as much as 2,000 tons of agents to date — including blister [mustard], choking [cyanide] and possibly nerve [sarin] agents. It produces bombs and artillery rounds filled with these agents and probably has deployed chemical missile warheads." Eisenstadt says Iran can probably deploy biological weapons and disseminate them via terrorist saboteurs or spray tanks on aircraft or ships.

He says Iran's strategic missile force consists of 200-300 North Korean-produced SCUD-B and -C missiles, with ranges of 330 and 500 km respectively, and 200 or more Chinese CSS-8 missiles, with a range of 150 km. He says they are armed with conventional and perhaps chemical warheads.

Eisenstadt notes that the presence of U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf is a major deterrent to Iranian adventurism. This deployment is reinforced by security cooperation agreements the United States has reached with all members of the Gulf Cooperation Council. Eisenstadt points out that while most of these efforts were taken to deal with a residual Iraqi threat, they also enhance America's abilities to deal with contingencies involving Iran.

In June, U.S. officials indicated concern over Iran's testing of an air-launched, anti-ship cruise missile. Sen. Bob Bennett, R-Utah, said the development marked "a dramatic upgrade in Iran's threat to American warships controlling the Persian Gulf." He warns that Iran can threaten U.S. service personnel from "land, water and now air."

The United States, of course, is no slouch militarily in the gulf, with more than 20 warships, 200 combat aircraft and 15,000 troops there to ensure that oil continues to flow freely. Those forces are expected to be there for some time irrespective of what happens in Iran. This is, after all, the Middle East, and the potential for mischief-making is not limited to Iran. ■

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# DUELING BUREAUCRATS

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INVITATION TO 1826 COLOMBIA CONFERENCE  
SPAWNS TALE OF POLITICS, FARCE, TRAGEDY

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BY ROBERT W. DREXLER

**O**n the morning of April 8, 1826, Secretary of State Henry Clay tried to put a bullet through Sen. John Randolph of Virginia. Their duel took place on the right bank of the Potomac across from Foggy Bottom. Initially, Randolph had not planned to shoot directly at Clay, intending to circumvent Virginia's law against duelling. He changed his mind after learning Clay meant to kill him.

Both men missed with their first shots. As they prepared to shoot again, Randolph indicated to one of his companions that he would not return Clay's fire. He stood calmly as the secretary of State shot at him once more, skimming the skirt of his overcoat. Then Randolph fired in the air, tossed his pistol away and walked over to Clay. The two men shook hands and the "affair of honor" was concluded.

This affair, which is likely to remain unique in the annals of personal relations between secretaries of State and senators, arose because of a joint invitation, delivered on Nov. 2, 1825, to the United States from Colombia and Mexico to attend a Latin American regional conference in the Colombian province of

Panama in June 1826. President John Quincy Adams had sent a message to the Senate announcing his acceptance of the invitation and portraying relations with Latin America in unusually promising terms.

The Colombians were the driving force behind the conference, enticing President Adams by highlighting conference agenda items such as freedom of the seas and other issues of international law, which were known to interest his administration.

Unfortunately, the invitation revealed two agenda items which soon embroiled the conference proposal in U.S. domestic politics. The Colombians wanted participants to consider how to abolish the African slave trade and how to normalize relations with the black nation of Haiti. This provoked harsh opposition from southern senators, who in March 1824 had successfully blocked U.S. ratification of a bilateral treaty with Colombia against the slave trade.

Senators who opposed the Adams administration on a range of issues, and who had begun calling themselves "Democrats," seized upon the Panama conference as a means of discrediting Adams and Clay. Surely the most venomous and erratic of these senators was Randolph, who rose to make what one modern historian has called "the strangest accusation ever heard on the floor of the Senate." Randolph declared that the Colombian-Mexican invitation had never existed and that it had been forged at State with the connivance of President Adams. This was far too much for Clay, who immediately challenged Randolph to the duel.

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*Robert W. Drexler is a retired FSO who served 31 years in the Foreign Service, including as deputy chief of mission at U.S. Embassy Bogota from 1975-1978. This piece is derived from research for his book, *Colombia and the United States: Narcotics Traffic and a Failed Foreign Policy*, scheduled to be published in fall by McFarland and Co., Inc., Publishers.*

The Senate debate on American representation at the Panama Conference, dragged on for six weeks before the upper house finally confirmed Adam's nomination of two American delegates in March. One was Richard C. Anderson, who had recently arrived in Bogota as the first U.S. minister plenipotentiary to Colombia. The other was John Sergeant, a Pennsylvania politician. Sergeant spoke no Spanish and had no background in Latin American affairs, but in those days, as now, this was not viewed as disqualifying.

Sergeant, however, did know two important things about Panama: It's hot and it's wet. Even though the conference was to begin in June, Sergeant refused to travel to Panama before the end of summer. Clay did not move to replace him for fear that a new nomination would revive the imbroglio in the Senate. Instead, he sent instructions to Anderson, giving him the option of going to Panama alone or requesting the Colombians to delay and transfer the conference to a more healthful place. Unfortunately, the State Department courier carrying these instructions was shipwrecked and when he finally reached Colombia, Anderson had already begun his journey to Panama.

This involved an arduous trip by mule train from Bogota across the Andes to the upper Magdalena River and then by steamboat to the mouth of the river on the Caribbean coast. Being easier and faster, steamboat passage down river cost only one quarter of the fare in the other direction, but on this occasion Anderson paid with his life. He caught a tropical fever and died on July 24, two days after reaching Cartagena.

By that time, formal meetings at the conference had already begun in Panama but they soon ended prematurely because of "the hazards occasioned by the climate." The Latin American delegates were able to negotiate some agreements during the session, but they were never ratified or implemented. Meanwhile, Sergeant was still waiting in the United States for better weather.

Although the conference had been the brainchild of Simón Bolívar, Colombia's liberator and president, the Adams administration was unaware that he had

never wanted to invite the United States. Consequently, the absence of American representatives hardly disturbed Bolívar. Bolívar had grandly envisioned a Latin American federation arising from the Panama Conference, and he believed it essential that this federation be closely linked with Great Britain to protect it from intervention by Spain and other European powers. Bolívar saw to it that Great Britain was represented at the conference by an observer. In opposing an invitation to the United States, Bolívar had told his colleagues that "the North Americans, like the Haitians, are foreigners to us in character."

The invitation was the work of Francisco Santander, Colombia's vice president. Though he had been Bolívar's closest comrade-in-arms during the Colombian independence struggle, now he had started to challenge Bolívar's authority and policies. Santander arranged to have the invitation to the United States issued at a time when Bolívar was away from Bogota. Upon his return, the liberator acquiesced in Santander's action but he later opposed the idea of reconvening the conference in Mexico, where he feared it would more easily fall under American influence.

Because of a number of other problems, however, the conference was not reconvened. Its saga remained buried in history until it was resurrected by Colombian novelist Gabriel García Márquez in his best-selling 1991 novel, *The General in His Labyrinth*. The book grimly portrays the final days of Bolívar and his death in northern Colombia. In one episode, the dying liberator is dwelling on his life's failures and blames the United States for striking a "fatal blow" during the Panama Conference against his great plan for a Latin American federation.

One must hope that García Márquez's readers — especially Colombians — will not mistake this tale as historically accurate. There is no need for a fictionalized account: The true story is strange enough. ■

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*Sen. John Randolph  
accused the department  
of fabricating the invitation. This was too  
much for Secretary of  
State Henry Clay,  
who challenged  
Randolph to a duel.*

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# SISTERHOOD OF SPIES

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IN SOUTHEAST ASIA IN 1940s, WOMEN  
OF OSS FIND THEIR PLACE IN THE WAR

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BY ELIZABETH MCINTOSH

**T**he first contingent of women of the Office of Strategic Services, the CIA's precursor, to arrive at the Ceylon headquarters sailed from California on March 9, 1944, aboard the one-time luxury liner, *Mariposa*. There were nine in the group: Virginia Durand, Julia McWilliams, Rosamond Frame, Eleanor Thiry, Virginia Pryor, Louise Banville, Cora DuBois, Jeanne Taylor and Mary Nelson Lee.

Thiry kept a diary of the trip. "We girls are the source of curiosity in our army fatigues and steel helmets, sharing a tight ship and meals with hundreds of GIs," she wrote. "We are also occasionally the object of wolf calls and whistles. Julia launched a rumor that we are missionaries, which has helped curb the outbursts. Our cabin holds all nine of us, in three sets of triple-decked bunks. There is one bathtub, one toilet and one sink, with only salt water for bathing. Somehow nine women live together in this crowded space and get along beautifully."

After taking on supplies in Australia in late March, the *Mariposa* picked up a destroyer escort

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*Elizabeth McIntosh, whose career with the OSS and the CIA spanned 30 years in the Far East and Washington, D.C., now lives in Leesburg, Va. This piece is excerpted from Sisterhood of Spies: The Women of the OSS, which will be published by the U.S. Naval Institute Press next spring.*

to cross the Indian Ocean, where a Japanese task force had been sighted. On April 8, after a zigzag crossing, the women landed safely in Bombay, where Thiry noted a "mysterious haze hanging over the city." A bureaucratic haze also hung over the destination of the OSS women. Adm. Lord Louis Mountbatten had decided to shift the headquarters for the South East Asia Command from New Delhi to Ceylon, where the SEAC supreme commander would reestablish his command at Kandy. Thiry wrote, "Easter Sunday: Off the ship to encounter a real snafu. Our orders were cut for Calcutta, but overnight our destination was switched to Ceylon. The Bombay U.S. military had not been notified, and to add to the confusion, they did not know we were women! Until all the paperwork was finished, we spent the next 10 wonderful days in Bombay, sightseeing, shopping and enjoying our introduction to the Mysterious East."

Eighteen days later, all the women (except Frame, who went to New Delhi) reached Colombo, the port town where several OSS installations were located. They were sent by jeep up to Kandy through lush jungles of palms, acacia and matted liana to their new billet, the aging but picturesque Queen's Hotel in the center of town. "Our OSS offices are grass shacks or *bashas* in the hills beyond the estate where Mountbatten has his headquarters," Thiry wrote in her diary. "Weapons carriers take us to work from our hotel. The men live in *bashas* within the headquarters compound.

Col. [Richard P.] Heppner is our commanding officer, and I am to be his secretary. So tomorrow, to work!"

Ceylon was indeed a beautiful place to work and play, remote from the sordid business of war across the bay in Burma. Mountbatten's headquarters became a byword for elegance and luxury, a place where well-groomed staff, many of them titled, were chauffeured in shiny limousines to offices scattered throughout the lush tropical gardens of a tea plantation. There were some 10,000 men and women under Mountbatten's command in India, and eventually 595 in the OSS detachments in Ceylon.

Most of the women assigned to OSS in Ceylon were new to the Far East; many had never traveled outside the United States. Newcomer Virginia Webbort, an R&A (reports and analysis) officer for Burma, came straight from Fort Knox, Ky. She wrote to friends, "I can't possibly describe how beautiful it is. I am looking out my office window at coconut palms and papaya trees, up the hills to a terraced rice paddy, past a tea plantation to a native pagoda." She continued: "There's so much to see. Buddhist monks in bright saffron robes and shaved heads; the oxcarts, the rickshaws, the little brown naked babies straddling their mothers' hips; the shops of silversmiths; and in the night sky, the new moon lying upside down in this hemisphere."

Another OSS woman assigned to Morale Operations, Jane Foster, reached the pinnacle of social success when she received an engraved invitation for dinner with Mountbatten at the palatial residence. In her 1980 autobiography, *UnAmerican Lady*, Foster wrote, "Not only was he handsome, witty and intelligent, but he was the most charming man I have ever met. He had the great and wonderful gift, during conversation, of making you feel that all his life he had been waiting for your pearls of wisdom, and that he was sincere, at least for the moment."

Julia McWilliams (later Julia Child) reported in as head of the registry. After her long ocean trip, she wrote to her family of life in this tropical rear eche-

lon: "I find Kandy has a delightful climate, skin-warm all the time. Life is pastoral. Our office is a series of palm-thatched huts connected by cement walks, surrounded by native workmen and barbed wire. It is somewhat primitive, but airy and far from dressy. There are movies and dances twice a week at the American officers' club, walks in the moonlight. On Sundays there are picnics, golf, tennis, swimming, or a weekend down in Colombo, depending entirely upon the enterprise of yourself in enticing the enterprise of the other gender."

The future French chef never mentioned Ceylonese culinary customs; that interest would come much later, when the war was long over. However, she did find a way to outwit military censorship, which forbade any mention of location in letters home: She quoted Ogden Nash's now famous mini-poem in a letter to friends in Washington, "Candy is dandy, but liquor is quicker."

In a letter home, Millicent Amstutz, a reports officer on the staff of Secret Intelligence described Kandy's night life of half a century ago. After a grueling week writing reports for her boss, Lloyd George, she relaxed on Saturday night at the officers' club: "This club is open on all sides on a hill overlooking the river. The moonlight is so bright it seems like day. On one jolly occasion, an enthusiastic British couple rode a bicycle around the dance floor during intermission! The music always stops at midnight, and everyone hates to leave immediately, so they sing on into the early morning hours those wonderful songs: 'Lili Marlene' and 'I'll Be Seeing You.'"

As those lighthearted memories attest, Ceylon was not a hardship post, though important missions were carried out from there against the Japanese. During the 21 months that OSS operat-

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### *In Ceylon, Julia*

*McWilliams — the future Mrs. Child — was keeper of the secrets at the Kandy registry. The job required a responsible and imaginative person — who also had a sense of humor.*

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ed in SEAC, missions were conducted in southern Burma, Siam, Malaysia, the Andaman Islands, Sumatra, the adjacent islands of the Dutch East Indies and, finally, French Indochina. Some 2,400 intelligence reports were transmitted to Washington; 215 local agents were trained; and 125 operations were launched into Japanese-held territory. Despite the tangled administrative structure of the theater in this British-dominated war zone, OSS maintained its status as a purely American agency and supplied American military and State Department representatives with the only regular, independent source of intelligence on the enemy in the region.

The most senior OSS woman in Ceylon in 1944 was Cora DuBois, acting head of R&A, a lean, handsome woman with a habit of peering quizzically over her glasses as she discussed operations with her staff. DuBois was an anthropologist, a graduate of Columbia University with a master's degree from the University of California. She specialized in Southeast Asian affairs and had been a professor at Sarah Lawrence College when she was recruited by OSS.

There was still something of the teacher in her, as she tried to cope with military rigidity. Her acerbic cables to her R&A chief in Washington, which requested additional personnel, reveal both her frustration and her perspicacity: "24 August 1944: R&A is poorly staffed in comparison with other operational branches here. It may be an impertinence to tell you that SEAC is the largest unexploited colonial region in the Far East and therefore a potential bone of contention between us and colonial powers in the future." And in an intramural memo to her boss, Col. Heppner, she had the temerity to suggest an

improved *modus operandi* for the OSS base in Ceylon. "At present I feel that each branch operates in relation to any one project as though it were an isolated abstraction," she wrote. "The tendency for responsible people to gallop madly over the countryside should be controlled administratively."

Col. Heppner reacted as an officer, a gentleman and a slightly miffed male. In a progress report to Washington he wrote, "Miss DuBois is an exceedingly brilliant woman. Personally our relations with her are the best. However, she is sharp and tactless and sometimes overbearing. I think you have the usual problems with army officers being placed under a woman's command, which causes trouble."

Eventually DuBois's persistence was rewarded, and her concept of integrating R&A into much of headquarters planning was realized. Her branch ultimately participated in almost every phase of OSS operations, from the determination of tactical objectives to training techniques for native agents. Much of R&A's focus was in support of operations in Siam. DuBois believed this country was politically the most important postwar consideration in Southeast Asia. Strategically, she maintained, it was of vital importance to Japan in wartime; from a clandestine point of view, it was the most accessible. Siam was the crossroads for Japanese troops traveling overland between Burma, Malaysia, Indochina and China. It was also the spawning ground for the only organized Asian-based resistance against the Japanese originated by indigenous peoples.

OSS helped support that movement by dropping men and equipment into jungle hideouts and into the very heart of Bangkok itself, where OSS agents were billeted in one of the royal palaces. An R&A

analysis in late 1945 noted that more than 200 reports a month were filed from the field to Kandy during a six-month time, one of the most intense periods of the war in Southeast Asia. These reports included intelligence requirements, locations of bomb targets and descriptions of troop locations and movements.

For her work in support of Siamese operations, DuBois was awarded the Order of the Crown of Thailand after the war, and Col. Heppner signed off on her Exceptional Civilian Service Award. DuBois later returned to Washington to work in the Department of State's Office of Intelligence and Research before returning to academic life at Harvard College. She died in 1994.

One of DuBois's colleagues in charge of Burmese R&A was Wellesley graduate Virginia Webbert, the only woman staffer working on strategic planning against the Burmese peninsula.

Her reports were also geared toward aiding downed Allied airmen. She developed instructions to these flyers on where to seek help from tribes friendly to the Allies and included amounts and types of currency needed. In addition, she wrote up geographical data for specific operations, both military and industrial. Her town studies were particularly effective, reporting the influence of the Japanese on the political, social and economic life of particular communities. Her work also included cost estimates of reconstruction needs after hostilities ended.

One of her colleagues at Washington headquarters, Bernice Hanson, recalled Webbert's method of operation: "She was slow but methodical and refused to perform a task before she fully understood it herself. As a result, her work was

painstakingly thorough and accurate and, in the end, proved she was reliable in her reporting."

The men in the organization had mixed reactions to the women who were sharing their assignments in SEAC. Capt. Oliver Caldwell, son of China missionaries, later wrote, "If I were making arrangements for an ideal war, I would insist that no women were permitted in forward areas. Regardless of the gallantry and dedication of individual women, the injection of sex into a wartime situation establishes an intolerable obstacle to discipline, without which not much of anything can be achieved."

Lt. Comdr. Edmond Taylor was another critic. This well-known *bon vivant*, former foreign correspondent, author of the classic *Strategy of Terror*, and aide to Col. Heppner, was quoted in a 1944 memo to OSS headquarters in Washington: "It is urgently requested that great care be given in the selection of female personnel for SEAC," he said. "Women must be healthy, able and ... have a degree of sophistication and experience that qualifies them for coping with the unusual situations they will find in Ceylon."

But James M. Cannon, who would later become a foreign correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun*, disagreed with Taylor, his immediate boss: "Detachment 404 was the first place in my experience where women were given professional responsibility and succeeded very well. They proved they could do the work as well as the men." Cannon, who shared a large office with other Secret Intelligence colleagues, described the work of a young woman lawyer, Charlene Roland, in charge of tracking Japan's moves: "She would sit over in a corner — we had no private offices — surrounded by maps and charts. She was completely engrossed in tracing Japanese

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*When the general entered,  
Jane Foster and two young  
Ceylonese women were  
working at a large table,  
busily stuffing messages  
into rubber condoms.*

---

troop movements, to the extent that she'd sometimes sing softly to herself. I can still remember one dirge: 'Oh Gen. Nakamura, can't you hear me cry? If I can't locate you, I think that I shall die!' She was of Scotch-Irish descent, with a fine sense of humor."

Roland's job was to make sense out of bits and pieces of information about Japanese rail and troop movements, information received by shortwave radio and filed on index cards. OSS agents infiltrated Japanese-held territory, risking their lives to transmit intelligence data to Ceylon. Many were students from occupied countries who had been studying in the United States when recruited by OSS. One of Cannon's jobs was to brief them before they left Ceylon. He drove the teams in the early morning hours before take-off to a remote area of a tea plantation, where they had a last good meal and reviewed instructions. Roland's order-of-battle material was always part of this last briefing.

Roland remembers a report she filed at the end of the war that revealed the discovery of a Japanese labor camp filled with Allied prisoners, starving and sick with dysentery. They had been forced to build a railroad from Burma to Siam. Years later when she saw the Academy Award-winning movie, "The Bridge on the

River Kwai," she realized she had transmitted the first report to Washington about this unfortunate group of men.

Lord Louis Mountbatten, his staff and the American military were also briefed by Roland, and at the end of the war she was awarded the Emblem of Meritorious Civilian Service. The commendation noted, "Miss Roland originated and put into effect the Order of Battle [O.B.] for SEAC. Her work consisted of keeping records of Japanese and Allied troop movements, writing intelligence summaries, updating the O.B. map in the headquarters war room. She was commended for her superior judgment in fulfilling her duties."

In those faraway days before computers compacted and stored input on wafer-thin metallic film, there was a system known as index files, consisting of thousands of five-by-eight cards that often occupied acres of office space.

Voluminous collections of intelligence data were stored under lock and key in OSS registries around the world. In Ceylon, Julia McWilliams was keeper of the secrets as the head of Kandy Registry. As she saw her job, it combined a sense of responsibility, executive know-how, and a trained and imaginative mind. For McWilliams, a sense of humor was also obligatory.

Something of the scope of her work can be seen in a report she sent back on Oct. 6, 1944, to the head registrar in Washington, Margaret Griggs. "Our in-and-out material has been snowballing," she wrote. "Of 365 Washington pouches received in September, there are about 600 pieces [of mail] that had to be accessioned, cross-indexed, circulated, filed. This figure does not include our operational and intelligence input from the field.

"Our cross-index is definitely our soul and savior. ... We keep master cards on each current subject, which means my staff must be completely familiar with what is going on. For example, cards for S.I. include names of all agents, student recruits and their various code names."

McWilliams retained her sense of humor throughout her tour. She often lightened official requests for information with postscripts like this of May 25, 1944: "If you don't send registry that report we need, I shall fill the next Washington pouch with itching powder and virulent bacteriological diseases, and change all the numbers, as well as translating the material into Singhalese, and destroying the English version."

One of McWilliams's ablest assistants in Kandy was a young woman from Illinois, Patty Norberg. The reason Norberg requested an OSS assignment in Ceylon was to locate her fiance, Lt. Roy Wentz Jr., a bombardier with the 19th Air Force who

had been shot down in Burma and given up for lost by everyone but Norberg. She was certain he was alive. After Burma fell, Wentz was found in the Insein jail near Rangoon, starved and ill with dysentery. Reunited in Calcutta, the couple later married in Wilmington, Del., where Roy Wentz became a lawyer in the Dupont empire.

Another registry report, carefully filed under "miscellaneous," gave as its source British reports of Japanese intelligence bulletins, evaluated A-1: "It has been reliably reported that OSS/SEAC is planning some kind of a blow-out commemorating a British-American controversy in the late 18th century. All OSS personnel will participate at Bittersweet Basha, opening the officers' new day room on July Fourth!" McWilliams recalls that there were plenty of firecrackers and refreshments at the party and toasts to the Stars and Stripes, as British colleagues glumly sipped their gin and tonics.

After graduating from Smith College, McWilliams had worked in the W&J Sloane advertising agency in New York City before joining OSS, "because I was too tall to get into the WACs or WAVEs," she claims. She spent one happy year with the OSS Emergency Sea Rescuer Equipment Section in Washington, engaged part of the time in developing a shark repellent. "I must say we had lots of fun," she said. "I was an executive administrator working with Harold Coolidge, head of special projects. We designed rescue kits and other agent paraphernalia. I understand the shark repellent we developed is being used today for downed space equipment — strapped around it so the sharks won't attack it when it lands in the ocean."

McWilliams met her future husband, Paul Cushing Child, when he was posted to Ceylon in charge of Visual Presentation for R&A. Paul was a painter, photographer, map-maker, art and French teacher, lum-

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berjack, furniture maker and holder of a black belt in judo. "It was not love at first sight," Julia recalled. "He was very sophisticated. He had lived in France, and I had only been to Tijuana, so I found him very impressive, you see. And he was intellectual while I was a kind of California butterfly, a golf player and tennis person." They were later posted to China together, where, as she described their wartime romance, "we courted around a bit. ... War was sort of an artificial life, and we wanted to see each other in a home environment." The year before their 1946 marriage, Paul Child became an FSO when the Visual Presentation Unit was transferred to the State Department.

Before leaving China, McWilliams was given the Emblem of Meritorious Civilian Service by Col. Heppner. The citation read, "Head of the Registry of OSS Secretariat. Important job calculating and channeling a great amount of

classified documents. Her drive and inherent cheerfulness served as a spur to greater effort by those working for her."

When Japan surrendered in August 1945, Cora DuBois summed up the situation in Southeast Asia based upon R&A intelligence reports: "The Japanese, by breaking up the European colonial system, seem to be advancing the cause of nationalism in Southeast Asia. They have injected a new confidence in the natives and it will be next to impossible for them to go back to their old way of life. The British, French and Dutch have no positive program to offer these people, who witnessed the defeat of the European colonialists at the hands of the Japanese. The United States has a backlog of prestige over here now, but the generalities of our foreign policy must be made specific or we will soon lose this prestige."

One of the areas DuBois saw as a

potential powder keg was Indonesia. One of the few OSS staffers in Ceylon who spoke Malay and knew the country was Jane Foster, who had gone through training with me in Washington. At war's end, she was to be the first OSS woman assigned to Indonesia, days after President Ahmed Sukarno proclaimed that country's independence from the Netherlands.

Foster was an unreconstructed rebel, perhaps in part because of her Irish heritage. The only daughter of a wealthy San Francisco family, she was educated at Mills College and traveled extensively in Europe after graduation. She saw Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy and was sickened by totalitarianism. Upon her return to San Francisco, she met and married a Dutch civil servant from Indonesia who, when he took her home to Java, introduced her to another of her pet hates: colonialism in the Dutch East Indies. After two years of unsuccessful mar-



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Applications should be directed TO: Chair, Cumming Chair Search, Woodrow Wilson Department of Government and Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia 22901.

ried life in Java, where her own artistic individualism was denied and she was expected to bow to her husband's demands, Foster returned to the United States. Disillusioned and rebellious against events abroad, she joined the Communist Party in 1939. Over the years, Foster continued to be a rebel but says that her ties to communism loosened and, finally, the ideology no longer sustained her.

Her second husband, whom she married in 1941, was George Zlatovski, a Russian Jew whose father, a doctor, had migrated in 1922 to Duluth, Minn. They met before World War II in New York City, where they were both active in Communist Party work until Zlatovski joined the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and was sent overseas. Foster was recruited by OSS where, in general, Communist Party affiliations were ignored. At that time in history the Russians were allies, fighting fascism on all fronts and sustaining huge casualties during Hitler's brutal invasion of their homeland.

While in Ceylon, Foster worked mainly in Morale Operations as both an artist and a writer, assigned to Indonesian targets. Her claim to almost instant fame occurred during an inspection tour when Gen. William J. Donovan and his entourage visited Kandy. The general made a stop at the *MO basha* to see first-hand some of the production. His attention was directed to a corner of the room where



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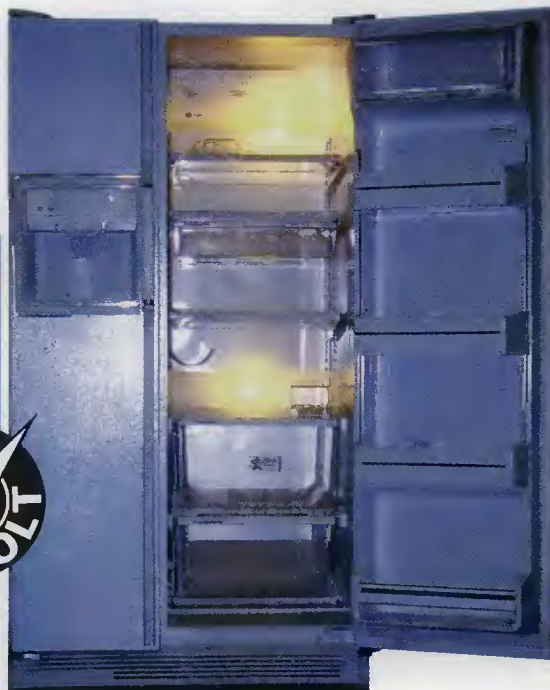
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Foster and two young Ceylonese women were working at a large table, busily stuffing messages into rubber condoms. Expertly, they blew air into the condoms, tied a quick knot, and threw them, one by one, into a large bouncing pile. Foster hastened to explain to the general, who stood over her with a bemused smile on his Irish face, "These are messages to Indonesians urging them to resist the Japanese. Our agents release hundreds of them by submarine along the coastline." Reportedly Gen. Donovan nodded brusquely, asked no further questions, and beat a hasty retreat.

Foster later confided to friends that she had had something of a problem obtaining the condoms in the first place. She had gone over to the resident OSS doctor's office where Navy Cmdr. Willis Murphy met her for what he thought was an office visit. His eyebrows arched slightly when she said she needed some condoms. "When I said, 'Yes, Murphy, about 500,'" she recalled, "he dropped his stethoscope and just stared at me in complete disbelief."

On Aug. 20, 1945, shortly after Japan had capitulated to the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Foster was summoned to the office of the commanding officer of the OSS detachment, Col. John Coughlin. He had succeeded Col. Heppner, reassigned to the China theater. Coughlin asked Foster if she would consider a risky assignment in

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Indonesia. He pointed out that she was one of the few OSS operatives who had kept up with the political situation in Indonesia, and who also spoke the language. He could not order her to go; she would have to volunteer. The Indonesians were in revolt against the return of the Dutch; there was also reportedly a large contingent of the Japanese army in central Java, ready for a bloody last-ditch stand.

Foster enthusiastically agreed, and Coughlin outlined her duties: She was to supervise repatriation of American military and civilian prisoners, take war crimes testimony and report on daily Indonesian political developments to OSS headquarters in Washington.

She arrived in the Javanese capital city of Batavia after helping the navigator find the unmarked airport, which fortunately was familiar to her. She recalled that en route, the pilot buzzed the perimeter of the field where American prisoners of war were being held for repatriation. She was billeted at the Batavia Hotel, guarded by Japanese soldiers under the watchful eye of a small force of British Royal Marines. Her OSS boss was Maj. Frederick Crockett, who had arrived shortly before her aboard a British warship. Foster said that he knew nothing of the language and very little of the country, but he was a most engaging officer who allowed her a free hand in carrying out her assignment.

Foster's first job was to interview prisoners and ascertain the extent of war crimes. She determined what crimes had been committed by individual Japanese officers, usually the *kempeitai*, the hated Japanese gestapo, who had by now escaped to central Java with a small contingent of Japanese troops. Those Japanese remaining in Batavia had elected to accept their emperor's surrender and were willing to work with the Allied conquerors.

Foster processed some 500 American prisoners from the Navy, Army, and air corps as well as civilians. She worked sometimes 24 hours a day taking testimony. "They were a sorry lot," she wrote in her report. "Naked, emaciated, infested with lice, yellow from malaria but still dazed by sudden freedom after years behind bars." From intelligence reports, Foster had anticipated a shortage of clothing. Before she left Ceylon, she took up a collection for women prisoners that she called "Janey's Javanese Junkshop." OSS women were generous in their donations, and several crates of clothes and other necessities were shipped from Kandy to Foster in Batavia.

Acting as an interpreter, Foster also attended meetings of OSS representatives with President Sukarno, leader of the independence movement during the Japanese occupation. Sukarno outlined the aims of his new government and gave her copies of the constitution of the new republic, which called for, among other principles, democracy, unity and social justice for all.

Sukarno also informed his American friends that he was having difficulty holding back the Indonesian populace, which threatened to attack the Dutch who were trying to reclaim the

country. He did not know how long he could handle the situation. Overseas, Dutch forces were not yet available for release from their own war-ravaged country to come recover their colony, and the British troops maintained an uneasy truce. However, using American arms that were just arriving, the Dutch colonials in Batavia began killing Indonesians in open street warfare. OSS headquarters ordered Foster evacuated. At her own request, she returned to Washington by ship to properly prepare her assessment of the situation in Indonesia. Upon reaching headquarters, she briefed Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson on Southeast Asia.

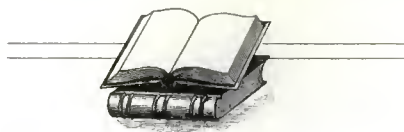
The anticommunist hysteria that swept the United States in the early 1950s threw Jane Foster and her Russian-born husband into the vortex of the storm. In addition to briefing Acheson, Foster also gave a copy of her report on Indonesia to one Jack Sobel, who passed it to his Russian comrades at the United Nations. This led eventually to Sen. Joseph McCarthy's witch hunt against the Zlatoviskis, who by that time were FSOs working in Austria with the U.S. Information Service. Although indicted for espionage, the couple never returned to the United States to face the charges, and were eventually granted asylum in France, where they lived until their deaths.

In her autobiography, Foster quoted a passage from Aeschylus that perhaps summed up what must have been, at the end, a very sad life, "How easy for one who fares in pleasant ways to admonish those in adversity. With eyes open, with willing mind, I erred. I do not deny it. Mankind I helped, but could not help myself."

Many women posted to India ended their careers in OSS in the China theater. Julia McWilliams took over the registry in Kun-ming. Elly Thiry went to Chungking, the capital of Free China and the Nationalist headquarters, again as secretary to Col. Heppner. Rosamond Frame compiled target studies for R&A. All of us, including myself, met our future husbands under the wide blue skies of western China.

Here, too, there was intrigue between Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang Party and Mao Tse-tung's agents, who sent communist women spies to infiltrate into Nationalist strongholds. There were intransigent Free French forces from Indochina who refused to serve under the Chinese military while an OSS recruit, Ho Chi Minh, worked with Americans in an early effort to unite his country. And when the war abruptly ended, there were the final heroic rescues of Allied prisoners from Japanese slave camps throughout Asia.

The China theater was the furthestmost eastern outpost in Asia of Donovan's far-flung OSS empire. In many ways it was also the most challenging, requiring insight and tact in dealing with an alien culture and a country already torn apart by armed rivals with diametrically opposed political concepts. ■



# BOOKS

## TOME UNVEILS SPYMASTER WOLF

### **Man Without a Face: The Autobiography of Communism's Greatest Spymaster**

*Markus Wolf with Anne McElvoy,  
Times Books, 1997, hardcover, \$25,  
368 pages.*

BY MELVIN A. GOODMAN

If members of Congress spent a few minutes with Markus Wolf's and Anne McElvoy's *Man Without a Face: The Autobiography of Communism's Greatest Spymaster*, they might change their minds about giving the CIA more money. This autobiography of Wolf — known as the greatest spymaster of all times — not only acknowledges "the limits of what intelligence can accomplish," but concludes that reporters are a better source of information than spies.

Wolf, who headed East Germany's foreign intelligence services from the '50s through the '80s, notes that his officers rarely passed along so-called political data about the United States that wouldn't show up in the newspapers a few days later.

The need for intelligence is often overshadowed by the exaggerated value of information secretly gathered and the competition in counterintelligence, Wolf pointed out. Referring to most intelligence activities as "children's games," he suggests that cutting clandestine operating also reduces counterintelligence. It is, after all,

counterintelligence that has brought such embarrassment to the CIA and other intelligence organizations in recent years. Wolf describes how the CIA failed to recruit him to reveal the identity of the American mole who destroyed the agency's spy network in the Soviet Union. The CIA operatives were so bad that the East German contacts who reported to the CIA during the Cold War were, in fact, working for Wolf. The CIA apparently had similar problems with double agents in the rest of East Europe, the former Soviet Union and Cuba.

Though it is drably written, the volume provides interesting vignettes of many of Wolf's endeavors that earned him the title of master spy. For example, when Wolf was supervising several thousand spies around the world during the Cold War, he planted one operative — Gunter Guillaume — in West German Chancellor Willy Brandt's inner circle. When Guillaume was exposed in the East German press, Brandt was forced to resign — a critical setback for the East German government because he had tried hard to improve relations with that country. Wolf also controlled "Topaz," who delivered NATO secrets to East Germany for more than 25 years.

Wolf's book is most useful in describing espionage activities between the two Germanies during the Cold War, when he says as many as 80 secret agencies operated in Berlin and that "half of Born was employed watching the other." Wolf, therefore, knew a lot about West Germany but

very little about East Germany. For example, he was surprised by the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the reunification of Germany in 1990. And, the authors note, by the Cold War's end, the KGB concluded it was "impossible to know with certainty which side any German agent was working for." The memoir, therefore, substantiates the futility of most clandestine operations.

*Melvin A. Goodman was an analyst with State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research in the 1970s and with the CIA in the 1980s.*

## WITNESSING APARTHEID'S END

### **Anatomy of a Miracle: the End of Apartheid and the Birth of the New South Africa**

*Patti Waldmeir, W.W. Norton, 1997,  
hardcover, \$27.50, 303 pages.*

BY SEAN KELLY

Watching Nelson Mandela take the oath of office as president of South Africa in 1994 was an emotional experience for many journalists in the audience, especially those who had covered the long history of events leading to the end of apartheid. Neither the years of violence, nor the months of constitutional negotiations to hold South Africa's first democratic elections, could dull the impact of that special



moment. As Patti Waldmeir frankly admits in *Anatomy of a Miracle*, it brought a tear to the eye.

She had come to the South African story from an unusual vantage point. As a *Financial Times* correspondent in Zambia during the 1980s, she met and befriended many of South Africa's future leaders when the banned African National Congress was based in Lusaka. When members returned to South Africa from exile in the 1990s, she greeted them as the *Times's* bureau chief in Johannesburg.

Waldmeir brings an unusual level of sensitivity to this well-reported insider's account of the end of apartheid. It is also a detailed examination of a continuing peace process, which will probably evolve into one of the foremost examples of conflict resolution in this century. Waldmeir follows a nation that has moved from civil war through negotiated peace to present-day truth commissions. She draws heavily on extensive interviews with leaders from South Africa's varied political landscape. She also traces the complex relationship that developed between Mandela and former President F.W. de Klerk, the last head of government under apartheid, who ordered Mandela's release from prison in 1991 and became his partner in the country's first coalition government four years later.

Waldmeir has written a fine first draft of history. As she observes, it "will change as the times change. ... It is history untainted by too much hindsight, for hindsight will write an entirely different story. The death of apartheid is one of the great tales of 20th-century politics. And that will remain so — whatever the sequel."

*A retired FSO with the U.S. Information Agency, Sean Kelly covered Southern Africa and Southeast Asia for the Voice of America. He now lives in Cape Town, South Africa.*

## THE INSIDE SCOOP ON '82 COMMUNIQUÉ

### Crossing the Divide: An Insider's Account of the Normalization of U.S.-China Relations

John H. Holdridge, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1997, hardcover \$40.50, softcover \$14.97, 307 pages.

BY DAVID REUTHER

One of the most significant stories of 20th-century diplomacy was the normalization of relations between Washington and Beijing after years of bitter estrangement. While Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger and Alexander Haig covered China in their memoirs, former ambassador John H. Holdridge's account provides invaluable insights. As eyewitness to the negotiation of the 1982 Communiqué on Arms Sales, Holdridge believes that a mature relationship between these two Security Council members is both obtainable and necessary to a peaceful future for Asia.

This task is formidable, he argues, if diplomats forget the dogged path trod by their pioneers. Holdridge provides a readable, well-grounded account of how persistent, arduous diplomacy overcame years of suspicion and roadblocks thrown up by domestic groups in both China and the United States. He argues that building a stable, productive Sino-American relationship was and remains an awesome task requiring the best of American diplomatic skills.

The unique and valuable contribution of this book clearly underscores that the central diplomatic issue to successful bilateral relations is Taiwan. When both sides put Taiwan aside, progress was possible; when Taiwan was interjected into the conversation, both sides questioned each other's motives and the relationship foundered. From the beginning,

America declared itself proactive in the China-Taiwan relationship by insisting on peaceful atmospherics. Washington otherwise would maintain neutrality via an official relationship with one and an unofficial relationship with the other, while accepting that any future resolution would be mutually decided.

Contrary to Kissinger's memoirs, which suggested that Taiwan was raised only perfunctorily in the 1971 discussions with Premier Zhou Enlai, Holdridge points out that the American position was thoughtfully developed.

Kissinger's team understood that Taiwan needed to be addressed at the first meeting. The American tactic of taking Taiwan off the table was key to the success of the initial Kissinger-Zhou talks.

On the other hand, the events that led to the communiqué flowed from American initiatives to reverse two previous administrations' Kissingerian tactic of keeping Taiwan out of the Sino-American relationship. Holdridge describes the herculean effort that he and Haig mounted during the Reagan administration — and with China — to preserve the relationship. He describes those tense days and agrees with Haig's admission in his memoirs that the secretary's summer 1982 resignation was key to Sino-American reconciliation. This implies that the policy contretemps had originated in America's domestic rather than foreign impulses. Within months after the communiqué was signed, both Haig and Holdridge — who left the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs — were gone.

From the joy of the broad international picture to the agony of detailed briefings, this book describes diplomacy's important nuts and mundane bolts. ■

*David Reuther is a retired FSO with more than 20 years' experience in East Asia and the Middle East, having served in Beijing, Taipei and Bangkok.*



## IN MEMORY

**David Anderson**, 60, former U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia, died of liver disease on July 4 in Berlin, Germany.

As U.S. ambassador to Belgrade from 1981-1985, Mr. Anderson helped Yugoslavia cope with a deepening economic crisis by refinancing international loans. Mr. Anderson was a member of the U.S. delegation that negotiated the four-power Berlin Agreement of 1971 with the Soviets, British and French, which helped reduce Cold War tensions and paved the way for the unification of Germany. His other postings included Bamako, Brussels and Bonn.

Born in Kirkcaldy, Scotland, Mr. Anderson came to the United States in 1952. Before joining the State Department, he earned an undergraduate degree at Union College and a master's degree at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. After his retirement in 1985, Mr. Anderson became a visiting professor of international relations at Simmons College in Boston.

Survivors include his wife, Doris Helen Heitmann Anderson, of Berlin; two children from his first marriage, Natalie, of Florham Park, N.J., and Scott, of Silver Spring, Md.; his mother, Janet, of Pleasant Valley, N.Y.; one brother, Alexander, of Burlington, Vt.; and two grandchildren.



**Robert Warren Barnett**, 85, a retired FSO, died of cancer and pneumonia July 25 at Sibley Memorial

Hospital in Washington, D.C.

During World War II, he served as chief combat intelligence officer with the Army Air Force. After joining the State Department in 1945, he served on its economics and reparations committees of the Far East Commission, which handled the postwar occupation of Japan.

In 1951, he headed China economic affairs, dealing with U.S.-China policy, which he was forced to abandon after his name and that of his wife, Patricia, a foreign affairs consultant, appeared on Sen. Joseph McCarthy's list of 26 State officials suspected of being communist sympathizers.

After the two were cleared, Mr. Barnett was reassigned to Western European affairs. He returned to Asian affairs in the early 1960s, serving as deputy director of the foreign economic advisory staff and deputy assistant secretary of State for East Asia and Pacific affairs, under presidents John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon.

After his retirement in 1970, Mr. Barnett was the director of the Washington Center of the Asia Society, and wrote a half-dozen books dealing with Asian affairs.

Survivors include his second wife, Joan Burrows Barnett, of Washington, D.C.; three children from his first marriage, Eugenia Lois Barnett of Philadelphia, Dickson Glover Barnett of Warsaw, N.Y., and Robert W. Barnett Jr. of Greenbelt, Md.; a sister, Eugenia Barnett Schultheis, of Arlington, Va.; two brothers; four

grandchildren; and two great-grandchildren. His marriage to Patricia Barnett ended in divorce.



**John Anthony Bastek**, 72, a retired FSO, died of lung cancer June 29 at his home in Naples, Fla.

During World War II, Mr. Bastek served in the Marine Corps, fighting in battles on the Marshall Islands and Iwo Jima. After the war, he attended The George Washington University in Washington, D.C.

During his 35-year Foreign Service career as a general services officer, Mr. Bastek served in Warsaw, Rome, Tel Aviv, Berlin and Vienna.

Survivors include his wife of 17 years, Lura Swig Bastek, of Naples; four children from his first marriage, Michael Bastek Garnot, of Triangle, Va., Paul, of London, and Christina and Katherine Bastek Paulhus, both of Storrs, Conn.; two stepchildren, Lura Elsen and Howard Pazhral, both of Oregon; and a granddaughter, Stephanie Hope. His first wife, Hope Rogers Bastek, died in 1976.



**Nelson O. Chipchin**, 86, a retired FSO, died of cancer July 17 at Suburban Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Born in Warsaw, Mr. Chipchin immigrated to the United States in 1929. He settled in New York and graduated from New York University.



## IN MEMORY

Mr. Chipchin served as an Army intelligence officer in Europe during World War II and remained in Berlin as a civilian interpreter for the U.S. occupation after the war.

In 1952, Mr. Chipchin joined USIA after having worked at the agency's Russian desk in Munich and at the Voice of America in New York. He served again in Munich and later in Nuremberg. Mr. Chipchin retired in 1973, but continued to work with the State Department as an escort officer until 1976.

Mr. Chipchin volunteered for many years at the National Institutes of Health Clinical Center.

Survivors include his wife of 48 years, Marilyn Chipchin, of Bethesda, Md.; three daughters, Anne Paone of Annapolis, Carole Schulman of Potomac, and Judith of Baltimore; and three grandchildren.



**Dial Barnwell Garms**, 52, a former associate professor of English at the Institute for Technological Studies in Colombo, Sri Lanka, died of a heart attack June 18 at her home in Fairfax, Va.

Ms. Garms was born in Decatur, Ill. She graduated from the University of California at Santa Barbara and had recently begun a master's degree program at George Mason University. She served in the Peace Corps in Thailand and later taught English in Vietnam. She was the head librarian at the American

International School in Dhaka, Bangladesh, and also worked as a volunteer with a WHO-organized program to eradicate smallpox in Bangladesh. She was a community service volunteer in the Philippines and Malawi.

Ms. Garms was a member of Truro Episcopal Church in Fairfax, Va.

Survivors include her two daughters, Doria of Atlanta, Ga., and Diantha of Fairfax; her parents, Joseph B. and Rosemary M. Barnwell of Kensington, Calif.; and two brothers and one sister. Her marriage to David Garms, a retired FSO with the U.S. Agency for International Development, ended in divorce.



**Margaret Mary Geber**, 79, wife of retired FSO Anthony Geber, died May 2 at Suburban Hospital in Washington, D.C., following a heart attack.

Mrs. Geber was born in Brooklyn, N.Y., and graduated from Notre Dame College in Baltimore, Md. From 1947-1950, she was a security officer with the U.S. Office of Military Government in Germany. She married Anthony Geber in 1950, accompanying him to posts in Indonesia, France, Austria and South Korea.

Survivors include her husband of Chevy Chase, Md.; three daughters, Claire of Malakara, India, Monica of Ithaca, N.Y., and Antonia of Chevy Chase, Md.; and two brothers.

**Robert A. Hancock**, 81, a retired FSO, died of complications of pneumonia on May 7 at the Orange County Nursing Home in Orange, Va.

Mr. Hancock was born in Frankfort, Ky., but moved as a child to Washington, D.C. A graduate of Harvard University, he married Mary Jane Barry in 1938. Mr. Hancock served as a naval officer during World War II.

During his 22-year career with the State Department, Mr. Hancock was posted to Greece, India, Germany, Libya, Mexico, Argentina, Zaire and the United Nations. He retired in 1970.

Survivors include two daughters, Joann Hallahan of Yachats, Ore., and Mary Jane of Springfield, Va.; a sister, Eva Hancock Harding, of Alexandria, Va.; and three grandchildren. He was preceded in death by his wife.



**Helen J. Horan**, 78, a retired FS secretary, died July 15 in Virginia Beach, Va.

Ms. Horan served overseas as secretary to ambassadors in Cairo, South Africa, Afghanistan and Laos.

Ms. Horan's early work with the Works Projects Administration led her to enter the State Department in 1940. After her 1968 retirement from government, she became the personal secretary to Bishop Ernest J. Primeau in Manchester, N.H.

Born in Manchester, Ms. Horan graduated from Hesser Business College.



## IN MEMORY

Survivors include two sisters, Katherine Wood of Santa Monica, Calif., and Madeline McLane of Manchester; three brothers, the Rev. Denis Horan of Nashua, N.H., the Rev. John Horan of Hudson, N.H., and Ret. Navy Capt. Robert Horan of Virginia Beach; and several nieces, nephews, grandnieces and grand-nephews.



**Ernest J. Hortum**, 74, a retired FSO, died of congestive heart failure May 31 at Inova Fairfax Hospital in Fairfax, Va.

A Wisconsin native, Mr. Hortum graduated from Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in 1946. He spent 33 years with the State Department, serving in Japan, the Philippines, Brazil and Indonesia.

Survivors include his wife, Eileen White, of Fairfax and Melbourne, Fla.; a son, the Rev. John D. Hortum, of Annandale, Va.; a daughter, Victoria Sperry, of Charlottesville, Va.; a sister, Eleanor Kuyper, of Los Angeles, Calif.; and four grandchildren.



**Robert A. Hurwitch**, 76, a retired U.S. ambassador, died of lung cancer July 16 at his home in Minot, Mass.

Mr. Hurwitch, an FSO, was ambassador to the Dominican

Republic in the mid-1970s. He received the State Department's Distinguished Service Award for his work as special assistant for Cuban Affairs in 1961, when he helped negotiate freedom for Miami-based Cubans taken prisoner during the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Mr. Hurwitch's assignments included Peru, Germany, Colombia, Chile, Bolivia and Laos. From 1969-1973, he was deputy assistant secretary of State for the Caribbean and Central America. Mr. Hurwitch retired in 1978.

A native of Worcester, Mass., Mr. Hurwitch was a graduate of the University of Chicago. During World War II, he served in the Army in Europe and was awarded a Bronze Star.

Survivors include his wife of 19 years, Beatriz Gil-Borges Hurwitch, of Minot; four daughters from his marriage to Sara Lee Hurwitch: Jan of Costa Rica, Paula Toomey of Coral Springs, Fla., Carol of Rockville, Md., and Sally Hurwitch-Helikson of Mountville, Pa.; two stepchildren, Beatriz Cubillan-Borrell of Spain and Jose Alberto Cubillan of Laurel, Md.; two sisters; and three grandchildren.



**William Leonhart**, 78, a retired FSO and former U.S. ambassador, died of cardiovascular disorder June 26 at his home in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Leonhart was the first U.S.

ambassador to Tanzania following its independence and ambassador to the former Yugoslavia from 1969-1972. His 33-year career, which began in 1946, also included postings in Italy, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, England and Japan. His political career included jobs as special assistant to the president and deputy commander for international affairs at the National War College; he was also a founding vice president of the National Defense University.

Upon retirement in 1979, Mr. Leonhart served as chairman of the CIA's Senior Review Panel until 1991.

A West Virginia native, Mr. Leonhart graduated from West Virginia University and received graduate degrees from Princeton University. He went to Washington, D.C., in the early 1940s as assistant to Nelson Rockefeller, then coordinator of inter-American affairs at State. He served in the Army during World War II.

Survivors include his wife of 53 years, Florence, of Washington, D.C.; two daughters, Debra Lott of Arlington, Va., and Victoria Trefts of London; and four grandchildren.



**John Y. Millar**, 78, a retired FSO, died of cancer May 30 at his home in Colorado Springs, Colo.

During his 27 years in the Foreign Service, Mr. Millar served in Berlin, Madrid, New Delhi, Dar Es Salaam



## IN MEMORY

and Kampala. He also served as the State Department's first ombudsman.

Born in Mineola, N.Y., Mr. Millar attended Choate School and graduated from Princeton University. During World War II, he served as a Navy lieutenant commander on a destroyer escort in the Pacific.

After his retirement in 1976, Mr. Millar founded a firm specializing in residential sales and property management. His anonymous newsletter for overseas clients earned a wide audience and was admired for its witty and insightful discussion of international, national and local affairs.

Survivors include his wife, Janice Johnson, of Colorado Springs; a daughter, Gwendolen, of Minneapolis; two sons, David and Bruce, both of Washington, D.C.; a sister, Mildred Millar Graff, of Brooklyn, N.Y.; a stepdaughter, Anne L. League, of Colorado Springs; and six grandchildren.



**George A. Morgan, 91**, a retired FSO, died on June 24 in Gainesville, Fla.

Mr. Morgan served as U.S. ambassador to the Ivory Coast from 1965-1969; other postings included Moscow, Berlin and Tokyo. He was also director of the Foreign Service Institute.

Mr. Morgan was a graduate of Emory University and received a

doctoral degree in philosophy from Harvard University. He subsequently taught philosophy at Harvard, Hamilton College, and Duke University, and published two scholarly books. During World War II, he rose to the rank of captain, receiving the Bronze Star and Croix de Guerre.

Survivors include two daughters, Anne and Gael, both of Gainesville; a son, John, of Boston; and one granddaughter, Francesca, of New York City.



**Marlen Eldredge Neumann, 81**, died of a pulmonary disorder July 15 at Washington Hospital Center.

Mrs. Neumann, wife of Robert G. Neumann, former ambassador to Afghanistan, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, accompanied her husband to many of his posts before he stepped down as envoy to Saudi Arabia in 1981 to become director of the Middle East studies program of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Mrs. Neumann was chairman of the Foreign Diplomatic Wives Association during the 1960s and 1970s, and served on the board of directors of the Association of American Foreign Service Women.

Born in Miraj, India, to American parents, Mrs. Neumann was a graduate of Rollins College in Winter Park, Fla., and received a master's degree in diplomatic history from

Yale University. Before her marriage in 1941, she worked as a secretary.

Survivors include her husband of Bethesda; two sons, U.S. Ambassador to Algeria Ronald Eldredge Neumann and Gregory Woodsmall Neumann of Culver City, Calif.; and five grandchildren.



**Dorothy Louise Pascoe, 68**, a retired Foreign Service secretary, died of lung cancer Feb. 11 in Las Vegas, Nev.

Ms. Pascoe joined the Foreign Service in 1969, serving in Kathmandu, Tel Aviv, Santo Domingo, Nairobi, Taipei, Beirut, Canberra and Bangkok.

Upon retirement in 1987, Ms. Pascoe volunteered for eight years at a hospital in Las Vegas.

Survivors include her sister, Jean Locklear, of Henderson, Nev.; three nephews; and two nieces.



**Ahmed Mahmoud Qutub, 58**, an Arabic writer and editor with the USIA, died of a heart attack July 20 in Annandale, Va.

Born in Tulkarm, Palestine, Mr. Qutub studied journalism at the University of Wisconsin.

He was an information specialist with USIA in Tunisia from 1963 to 1983, moving to Washington, D.C., in 1983 to become a translator, writer and editor at USIA.



## IN MEMORY

Survivors include his wife, Nadia, and three children, Mahmoud, Husam and Yamena Qutub, all of Annandale.



**Albert A. Rabida**, 78, a retired FSO, died on April 17 of a lung ailment at Manor Care nursing home in Bethesda, Md.

A native of Pueblo, Colo., Mr. Rabida graduated from Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in 1942 and joined the State Department the following year. His 31-year career included assignments to Guyana, Angola, Brazil, Ethiopia, India, Ecuador, Burma and Portugal.

Survivors include his wife, Dorothy Wendrich Rabida, of Rockville, Md; and a son, Gregory, of Germantown, Md. A second son, Geoffrey, died in 1977.



**John L. Sandstrom**, 75, a retired FSO with USIA, died April 27 in Stuart, Fla.

Mr. Sandstrom's career took him to posts in Berlin, Bonn, Saigon, Kingston and Lagos. Mr. Sandstrom was the spokesman for the U.S. delegation in the Four Power Talks on Berlin from 1970-1971.

During World War II, Mr. Sandstrom served in the Army Air Corps and was honored with the American Theatre Ribbon, Good Conduct Medal and Victory Medal.

A native of Minneapolis, Mr.

Sandstrom was a graduate of the University of Minnesota.

Survivors include his wife, Sarah, of Palm City, Fla.; two daughters, Deirdre of Minneapolis and Penelope Sandstrom Rosentel of New York, N.Y.; three sisters, Carol and Verla Olsen of Minneapolis, and Mary Ann Dorholt of Big Lake, Minn.; and two grandchildren.



**Richard Montgomery Service** Sr., 83, died April 28 in Sarasota, Fla.

Born in China to missionary parents, Mr. Service was home-taught before attending the Shanghai American School. He graduated from Pomona College and later attended the National War College.

Mr. Service joined the Foreign Service in 1935 and served in nine cities in China. Other posts included Hong Kong, Moscow, Brussels, Florence, The Hague, Melbourne and Manila, where he was deputy chief of mission. He retired in 1970.

Survivors include his wife, Helen, of Sarasota; two sons, George and Richard Jr., both of Palm Springs, Calif.; a daughter, Margaret S. McFadden, of Potter Valley, Calif.; five grandchildren; and a brother, John.



**Marie Louise Telich**, 62, a retired FSO, died of cancer July 13 in Washington, D.C.

Ms. Telich joined USIA in 1963,

serving in public affairs posts in Peru, Portugal, Argentina, Brazil, Cyprus and Guatemala. Before she retired in 1986, she was deputy director of USIA's Office of Cultural Centers and Resources.

A native of Los Angeles, Ms. Telich was a graduate of Stanford University, where she also received a master's degree in Latin American studies. After moving to Washington in 1956, Ms. Telich took her first government position as an analyst of Latin American affairs with the CIA.

The names of Ms. Telich's survivors were not available.



**Benson Timmons**, 81, a retired FSO who had been U.S. ambassador to Haiti in the 1960s, died June 11 in Southampton, N.Y., after a stroke.

Born in Oklahoma, Mr. Timmons graduated from the University of Georgia and was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University. His government career began at the Treasury Department in 1940.

During World War II Mr. Timmons served in the Army as a military government officer in Italy and received the Legion of Merit and the Bronze Star, the Order of the British Empire, the French Legion of Honor and several Italian decorations.

After the war, Mr. Timmons returned to Treasury and in 1947 transferred to the Economic Cooperation Administration. From 1948-1955 he was deputy head of the



## IN MEMORY

Marshall Plan mission in Paris and then worked in the Foreign Operations Administration. Mr. Timmons transferred to the State Department in 1955 and served as deputy chief of mission in Stockholm and New Delhi. He was ambassador to Haiti from 1963-1967, and then became senior deputy secretary general of the Organization of Economic Cooperation in Paris. Mr. Timmons retired in 1974 and spent 17 years as head of fund-raising for Southampton Hospital.

Survivors include his wife, Sanya, of Southampton; two children from his first marriage, Peter of Washington and Nicholas of Richmond, Va.; a stepdaughter, Nicola Lubitsch, of San Antonio, Texas; and four grandchildren.



**Janet Ashby Twinam**, wife of retired U.S. Ambassador to Bahrain Joseph Wright Twinam, died May 6 in Santa Fe, N.M.

Born in Parkersburg, W. Va., she attended Stephens College in Columbia, Mo., and graduated from Ohio University.

Mrs. Twinam accompanied her FSO husband on assignments to the Netherlands, Kuwait, Lebanon and Bahrain.

Survivors include her husband of Santa Fe; a daughter, Courtenay Twinam Golden, of Franklin, Tenn.; and a son, Marshall Ashby, of Dallas, Texas.

**Mildred Alice Vardaman**, 92, a retired FSO with USIA, died June 26 at Coosa Valley Baptist Nursing Home in Sylacauga, Ala.

Ms. Vardaman was a teacher in Alabama before beginning her government career in 1934 at the Office of War Information. She transferred to the State Department in 1945. As cultural affairs officer in Beirut in 1951, she was instrumental in establishing the Point IV scholarship program at American University in Washington, D.C. Ms. Vardaman also worked under Edward R. Murrow in the Near East Division. In 1959, she became the first director of the newly founded Hellenic-American Union in Athens, later serving as deputy public affairs officer in that city.

Ms. Vardaman was a graduate of The George Washington University and also studied at the University of Montevallo and American University.

Survivors include her nephew, Wade Brannon Sr., of Anniston, Ala., and two nieces, Louise Vardaman Fusselman of Moline, Ill., and Meda Vardaman Bennett of Sylacauga, Ala.



**Harold Winer**, 87, a retired FSO of Falls Church, Va., died of renal failure July 2 at Inova Alexandria Hospital in Alexandria.

Mr. Winer's diplomatic career took him to posts in Iran, Nepal

and South Vietnam.

Before joining the Foreign Service, he was a secondary education teacher in upstate New York. As an Army reserve officer in 1941, he was called into World War II, serving as an infantry company commander and battalion commander with the 77th Infantry Division on Guam, Leyte, Kerama Retto, Ie Shima and Okinawa. He received the Silver Star, Legion of Merit, Bronze Star with Valor and a Purple Heart.

Survivors include a son, retired U.S. Marine Lt. Col. Peter D. Winer, of Fairfax, Va.; two daughters, Susan W. Albers of Vienna, Va., and Jane of Lubbock, Tex.; a brother; three sisters; and five grandchildren. His wife of 62 years, Elizabeth, preceded him in death in 1996.



**Mildred Yenchius**, 80, a retired FSO, died April 24 in Albuquerque, N.M., of Alzheimer's disease.

Ms. Yenchius received a bachelor's degree in 1939 from the Ohio State University and a master's degree from the University of Washington in Seattle, Wash.

She served as the U.S. consul in Tehran and Monterrey, Mexico. Earlier, Ms. Yenchius was secretary to the U.S. ambassador to Cuba.

Survivors include two sisters, Margaret Y. Prince of Albuquerque and Florence Y. Pergiel of Austin, Texas; and one brother, Edward, of Reno, Nev. ■

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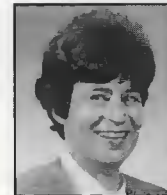


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# POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

## *Cycles of Life in Copenhagen*

BY ERIC RUDENSHIOLD

From the moment you arrive in Denmark, you see them everywhere. As you walk out of the airport, they are there. As you step off a ferry, they pass you by. You even see them on trains. There's no escaping their presence, in the city or in the countryside. The whir of bicycle wheels and tinkling of bells can be heard across this Scandinavian country at all times of the day and night, 12 months of the year.

When I arrived in Copenhagen in 1995, it was difficult to get used to the bicycle-designated lanes and special traffic lights. But cyclists must be yielded to at all times, and I soon learned that they're always right — for example, they're never held liable for accidents with cars. And there's nothing more humiliating than the stare of a Danish cyclist who has been cut off by a careless driver, or so I've heard.

The bicycle-thronged streets sport few cars. It's tempting to conclude that Danes simply love their bikes and are ecology- and exercise-conscious: Indeed, protesters take to the streets several times a year demanding that cars be banned from Copenhagen. But the real answer is probably the high price of cars and gasoline, both of which are heavily taxed. The Danes take on a

*Eric Rudenshiold is director of programs for the Copenhagen-based Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."*

*Rush hour finds  
Danes in sun,  
rain and snow,  
bicycling their  
way to work.*

nearly 200 percent sales tax to the price of a car and 40 percent to gasoline.

It's simply not common for most Danes to own a car or even know how to drive. Unlike Americans, who grow up with a steering wheel in their hands, Danes can be seen teaching their toddlers how to ride bicycles almost before they've learned to walk.

And ride they do. Rush hour finds Danes in sun, rain and snow, wheeling their way to work on bicycles of every size, age and shape. Remember, this is the country where a member of Parliament was elected on a platform that facetiously promised to reduce the wind in cyclists' faces.

In a country where bicycles are so revered, it's hard not to get caught up in the local custom, and I developed an itch to join the throngs. So I bought a high-tech bicycle with 18 speeds, alloy wheels and a special bell, which is required by law. With abandon I joined the locals on my daily eight-mile, 30-minute commute, but quickly discov-

ered that my shiny new bike was far too glitzy for the Danish cycling crowd.

Most Danes own old bicycles, some with slightly bent wheels, which add a certain excitement to the commuting experience. Not only do you worry about the guy behind you who's ding-dinging his bell to pass, but you also wonder if the guy in front of you will be able to stay upright on his bent wheels.

But I quickly rose to the challenge. I used my gears and my bell, and fought the crowds. I learned a number of survival tips. Beware of grandmothers on bikes, who tend to travel very slowly; bicyclists walking dogs alongside their cycles, who are prone to sudden stops; and dangerous wolf packs of young men, who are still dreaming of professional cycle racing. I even learned how to pass while riding in snow.

But it all got to be too much. It was always a race, always someone itching to pass the guy on the flashy bike. I never was able to stop and smell the flowers, so to speak. So, I was almost glad when, four months after I began the commute, my locked bike was stolen from my backyard. In a country with comparatively no crime, bicycle theft seems to be a notable exception. Kindly, the thief left me his old bike: an ancient Danish cruiser with wobbly wheels, coaster brakes and high handle bars. I do ride it on occasion.

However, now I walk to work, smiling as I hear the pleasant sound of commuters' bike bells. I'm enjoying the slower pace of life in Copenhagen, and I'm finally able to stop and smell the flowers. Ding ding. ■

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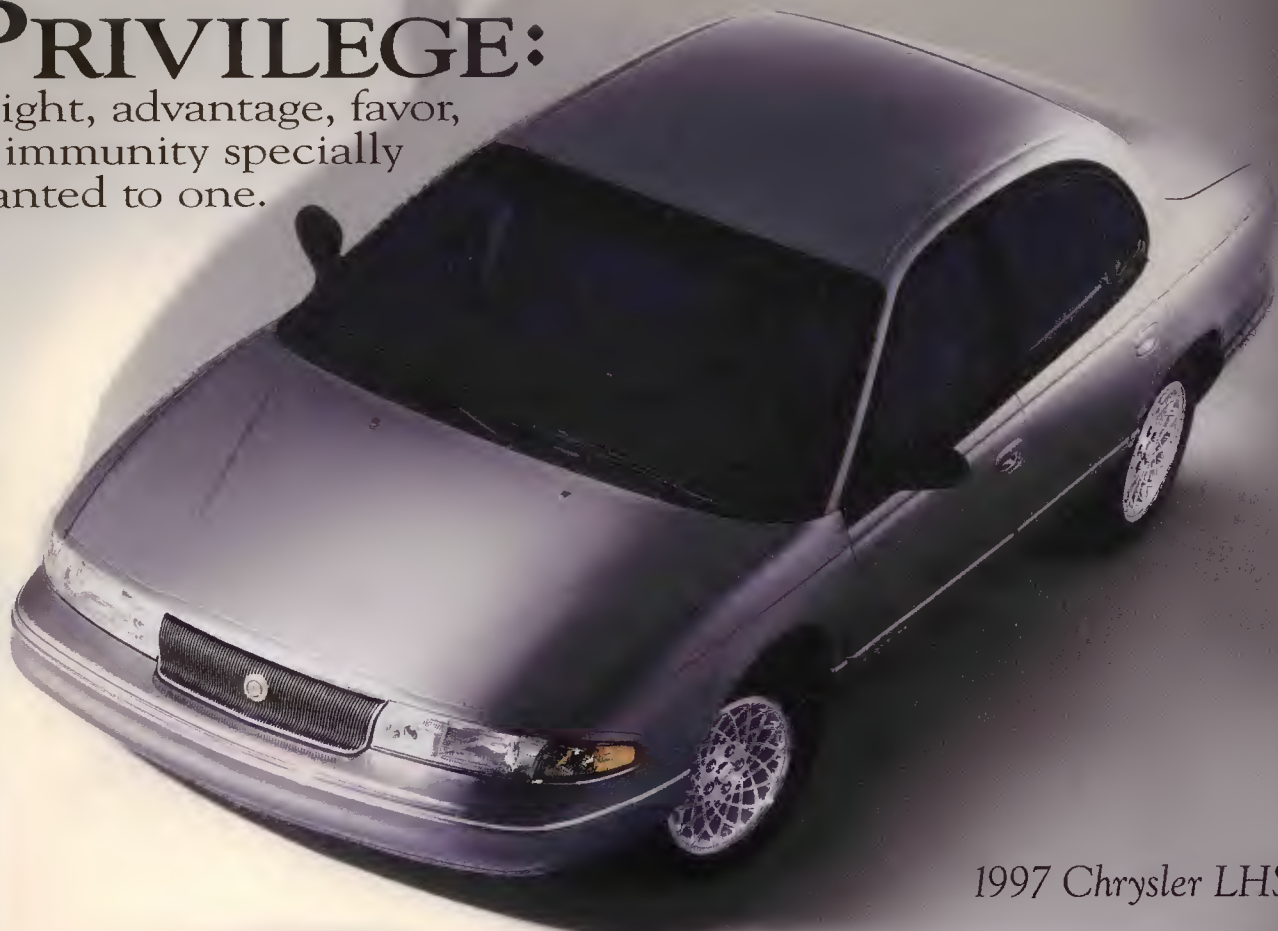
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